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Dr. R.

per 25771 d. $\frac{6}{1}$

THE CRISIS,

OR THE CHANGE FROM ERROR AND MISERY, TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

1832.

IF WE CANNOT YET

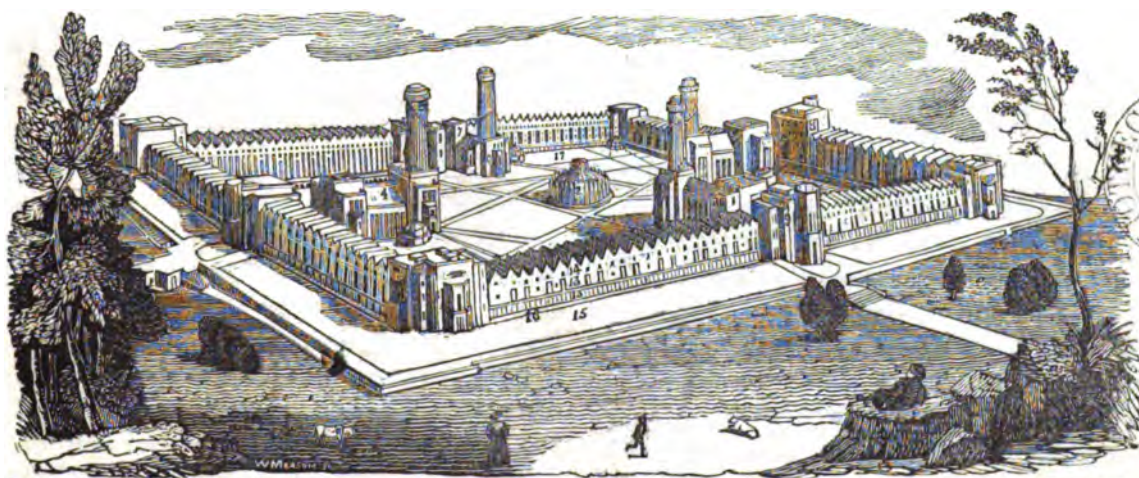
LET US ENDEAVOUR



RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS,

TO UNITE ALL HEARTS.

IT IS OF ALL TRUTHS THE MOST IMPORTANT, THAT THE CHARACTER OF MAN IS FORMED FOR—NOT BY HIMSELF.



Design of a Community of 2,000 Persons, founded upon a principle, commended by Plato, Lord Bacon, Sir T. More, & R. Owen.

EDITED BY
ROBERT OWEN AND ROBERT DALE OWEN.

London:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. EAMONSON, 15, CHICHESTER PLACE,
GRAY'S INN ROAD.

STRANGE, PATERNOSTER ROW. PURKISS, OLD COMPTON STREET,
AND MAY BE HAD OF ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1833.

THE



[Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's-Inn Road.]

CRISIS.

THE CRISIS; OR THE CHANGE FROM ERROR AND MISERY, TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I.—No. 1.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

PROSPECTUS.

It is now evident to every one who observes passing events, and who reflects upon the new public opinion which is arising throughout the various Nations of the World, that some great Change in the condition of man, either for good or for evil, is about to take place—in fact, that a *momentous* Crisis is at hand. Be it our task to discern the signs of the times—to watch the progress of this Crisis, and to direct it for good instead of evil. For good and evil, in a pre-eminent degree, are now before the world; and it cannot longer defer making a choice whether it shall adopt general measures to attain and secure the former, or to ensure a continuance and increase of the latter.

The time is immediately before us, when either reason, or physical violence of the worst character, must attain the mastery in the future direction of the governments which are now deemed the most civilized.

This is the important Crisis now before us. Calm reflection, devoid of prejudice in favour of old errors, will convince every one, that the real, substantial, permanent interest of mankind will be promoted, by now substituting reason for our guide and director, instead of mystery, fraud, or violence.

It is our intention not only to watch the symptoms of the great change now in active progress, but to aid and assist to the utmost of our power in giving it such a direction as we believe will ensure the well-being, the well-doing, and the happiness of all ranks equally, without regard to the artificial divisions which now separate and divide man from man throughout the world, greatly to the injury of all, and without real benefit to any.

We well know that for a short period it will be impracticable to "reconcile all opinions;" but we also know, that by judicious efforts, all may be interested in promoting practical measures which will materially assist us in "uniting all hearts."

"THE CRISIS" will therefore be no party paper: it will be occupied in developing, in plain simple language, the great principles of human nature, and the means of applying them, with equal simplicity, in practice, to all the affairs of domestic life, and to society in all its ramifications.

"THE CRISIS" will upon all occasions *discourage religious animosities, political rancour, and individual contention: its fixed purpose being to promote real charity, kindness, and union among all classes, sects, and parties.*

All we require from our readers is, that they will endeavour to divest their minds of early prejudices or prepossessions, and candidly judge for themselves, from the data we shall place before them, of the truth of our opinions, and of the beneficial consequences to which they will lead in practice.

We do not mean to offer to our readers any of the excitabilities arising from personal contests, or criminal proceedings; but we hope to create a more lively and lasting interest, by exhibiting the mode by which a new world of happiness is to be attained and secured for the human race.

We must not, however, conclude this Prospectus without stating, most distinctly and unequivocally, that one great object which we have at heart, is first, *to put a stop to the rapid sinking of the Industrious Classes into poverty, crime, and wretchedness*, which the progress of science injudiciously directed has produced, and then to explain the mode by which they may be gradually elevated in the scale of society, in proportion as they can be placed under better circumstances, to be well educated and beneficially employed.

Thus shall we aid in removing Error and Misery, and in promoting Truth and Happiness—by Education and Employment, the only possible mode by which such results can ever be produced.

When we determined to commence our Penny Publication, with the view of attempting to create a new public opinion in every department of society, we did not in the least expect to go to press as we do with a list of actual subscribers for 8,744 copies of the "Crisis." From this commencement we augur well of our ultimate success, and feel assured that the great crisis is indeed near at hand.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1852.

UNDER the extraordinary changes which have latterly taken place in this Country, and under the present agitated state of men's minds over the civilised world—*What is the most useful knowledge that can be given to the public; and how can it be best conveyed?*

These are questions at this moment of deep concern to all parties—whether in the higher, the middle, or the lower walk of life; all are equally interested in making these inquiries; and no one can solve them beneficially for the public, who has not in view the permanent well being of the individuals who now compose all these classes.

We will endeavour to meet these questions in the spirit with which "THE CRISIS" is intended to be conducted.

It is "*the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth*"—without mystery, mixture of error, or fear of man—that can alone now guide the present Crisis in the affairs of man in such a manner, as to produce prosperity and happiness, instead of the pecuniary difficulties and misery which have hitherto so generally prevailed. Let no party or sect suppose, that these questions are put, or that the answers will be given in reference to it, in opposition to the opinions, or supposed interests of any other: for we now, and for the future, disclaim any intention to injure, directly or indirectly, any portion of society; but we shall seek for the Truth upon every subject coming under our discussion, and when we have discovered it to our satisfaction, it shall be openly declared and advanced with singleness of purpose, solely for the public good.

And first,

"What is the most useful knowledge that can now be given to the public?"

We reply, 1st. That which shall develop the means by which the perturbed spirits, engendered by the erroneous notions transmitted to us through the less experienced ages of human existence, shall be calmed; enlightened through the medium of undeniable general facts, and thus made to understand their true interest, and be induced to act in perfect obedience to it.

2ndly. An explanation of the plain straight-forward course to be adopted, to enable the population of *all* countries, to produce, in the most moral and practical manner, all those things, which are necessary for the existence, comfort, improvement, and enjoyment of man, in such abundance, that the individual accumulation of these productions shall cease, at no distant period, to be an object of contest among any portion of the human race.

3dly. To instruct the population of all countries in the mode by which their respective productions—mineral, agricultural, manufacturing, or any other—may be distributed the most beneficially for their best interests.

4thly. To make known to the comprehension of all parties, the principles, by a knowledge of which, a superior character, physical, intellectual, and moral, can be given to mankind; and also, the mode by which those principles can alone be applied in practice.

5thly. To make evident to the people, and to those who govern them, the principles on which the human race can be best governed—to attain and secure the greatest amount of prosperity and happiness to the governed, and to those who govern—and also to develop the mode, by which these means can be the most advantageously, for both parties, carried into immediate execution.

And, lastly. To make known the measures to be pursued, to induce all parties in the civilised world to unite cordially in the shortest time, to change the existing irrational state of human existence for another; and to raise a better, from a new understanding of the innumerable substantial advantages to be derived from a new state of man's existence, founded on principles and practice to be made known to the world through a detailed exposition of the five preceding branches of knowledge.

In future Numbers of "THE CRISIS," the exposition just mentioned shall be given; and, it is hoped, in such a manner, that all the existing various opinions of men upon these subjects shall gradually cease, and, that all shall acknowledge, that the Crisis has arrived, when Error and Misery shall be exchanged for Truth and Happiness.

The mode by which the most useful knowledge can be now conveyed in the shortest time, and at the least expense, shall be also explained in the subsequent pages.

. The new System of Society is explained, by the Editor and his disciples, in Lectures delivered every week in the Great Room of the Institution of the Industrious Classes; and after each of these Discourses the persons present are at liberty to ask any questions for explanation.

SOCIAL FESTIVALS.

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

ANY species of relaxation which combines instruction and amusement, and thereby contributes to the improvement of the mind, is a step advanced towards its perfection. This is eminently the ruling principle of the present age; and when its practice shall have become similarly extended, the results will be exhibited among *all* classes; among those who, under *present* circumstances, are either above or below *rational* amusement. It is one thing to gratify the senses merely for their own sake, and another, and a far different one, to awaken their inclination to procure stores for the future use of the mind. Unfortunately, the pervading character of the present public amusements, is too much allied to the former practice; while their superabundance maintains too close an equality with the paucity of the latter. To "combine instruction with rational amusement," has been the object in establishing the Social Festivals; and hitherto, there has been no cause to suppose, that the end has not been at least partially accomplished. We allude to the two Festivals which have already taken place under the auspices of the Association of the Industrious Classes; and it is on that of the 2d of April, that we are now particularly commenting. The vast number of the Company (we believe nearly 1000), among whom might be noticed many distinguished individuals, was no bar to their general satisfaction; and the entire order pervading an Assembly, necessarily composed of *all* classes, was a convincing proof of the propriety of feeling by which they were influenced. The splendor of the rooms and corridors, and the excellence of some of the musical performances, evinced the desire of the Association to spare no exertion or expense in prosecuting their design to its completion—while the Address delivered by the Governor, full as it was of charity and kind feeling towards the whole human race, agreeably relieved and diversified the amusements; at the same time that it enlarged the minds of his audience towards his benevolent and philanthropic views.

These Festivals are professed to be held the first Monday in every month; and will, we have no doubt, become more and more useful and entertaining as they advance.

Let us also hope, that they may serve as a corrective to the thoughtless spirit of ridicule, with which the amusements of the Industrious Classes are frequently treated by the higher. This is to be done, and only to be done, by bringing the several parties in immediate contact with each other, and convincing all, that they are not severally so estranged by nature, as the present arrangements of society would almost imply.

CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS.

Our advertising page contains the announcement of the approaching Congress of the Delegates from the Co-operative Associations of Great Britain and Ireland. We trust that the parties who have been chosen are men whose dispositions are fitted for the great task which they have to perform; that they will prove themselves to be men capable of having their minds elevated to the full comprehension of the glorious work which is before them; that they possess moral courage and singleness of purpose sufficient to enable them to disregard and overcome all party and sectarian objects and feelings; and that they will not permit the passions of men to turn them either to the right hand or to the left out of the godlike course which they have to run. The world will now look to them to make evident to all the causes of human errors and miseries, and to develop the practical measures to be adopted by which the ignorance and folly, now so prevalent throughout society, shall be changed for wisdom, and unceasing future prosperity, good feeling, and happiness.

To the proceedings of this Congress, and to the future progress of Co-operative Societies, we shall give our best attention. We know they are in the right course, we shall hail them on their way, give them the encouragement they require, and should they, for want of experience, occasionally err, we shall call them, with the feelings of parents, brothers, or friends, to return in the shortest time again into the true path, and we have no fears for their ultimate complete success.

We perceive they are to hold Public Meetings upon Easter Monday and Wednesday. We strongly recommend the well-disposed of all classes and sects to attend, and by their peaceable and orderly conduct to give an earnest of the happy change about to be effected for mankind.

DIFFICULTY IN COMPREHENDING THE ART OF WRITING.

THIS mode of communicating sentiments was an inexplicable puzzle to Finow (the king of the Tonga Islands); he took the letter again and examined it, but it afforded him no information. He considered the matter a little within himself, but his thoughts reflected no light upon the subject. At length he sent for Mr. Mariner, and desired him to write down something. The latter asked him what he would choose to have written:—he replied “put down me:”—he accordingly wrote “Feenow,” spelling it after the strict English orthography. The chief then sent for another Englishman who had not been present, and commanded Mr. Mariner to turn his back and look another way; he gave the man the paper, and desired him to tell him what that was; he accordingly pronounced aloud the name of the king, upon which Finow snatched the paper from his hand, and with astonishment looked at it, turned it round, and examined it in all directions; at length he exclaimed, “this is neither like myself, nor any body else! Where are my legs? how do you know it to be I?” and then, without stopping for any attempt at an explanation, he immediately ordered Mr. Mariner to write something else, and thus employed him for three or four hours to put down the names of different persons, places, and things, making the other man read them.

This afforded extraordinary diversion to Finow, and to all the men and women present, particularly as he now and then whispered a little love anecdote, which was strictly written down and audibly read by the other, not a little to the confusion of one or other of the ladies present. It was all taken in good humour, however, for curiosity and astonishment were the prevailing passions. How their names, and circumstances, could be communicated through so mysterious a channel, was altogether past their comprehension. Finow had long formed his opinion of books and papers, and this as much resembled witchcraft as any thing he had ever seen or heard of. Mr. Mariner in vain attempted to explain. He had yet too slender a knowledge of their language to make himself clearly understood: and, indeed, it would not have been an easy matter to have explained the composition of elementary sounds, and of arbitrary signs expressive of them, to a people whose minds were already formed to other modes of thinking, and whose language had few expressions but for what concerned the ordinary affairs of life. Finow at length thought he had got a notion of it, and explained to those about him that it was very possible to put down a mark or sign of something that had been seen both by the writer and reader, and which should be mutually understood by them:—but Mr. Mariner immediately informed him that he could write down any thing that he had never seen.

The king directly whispered to him to put down Tooga Ahoo, the king of Tonga, whom he and Tooba Nuha had assassinated many years before Mr. Mariner's arrival. This was accordingly done, and the other read it; when Finow was yet more astonished. He then desired him to write “Tarky,” the chief of the garrison at Bea, whom Mr. Mariner and his companions had not seen; this chief was blind in one eye. When “Tarky” was read, Finow inquired whether he was blind or not! This was putting writing to an unfair test, and Mr. Mariner informed him that he had only written down the sign standing for the sound of his name, and not for the description of his person. He was then ordered in a whisper to write, “Turkey, blind in his left eye,” which was done and read by the other man to the increased astonishment of every body. Mr. Mariner then told him that, in several parts of the world, messages were sent to great distances through the same medium; and, being folded and fastened up, the bearer could know nothing of the contents: and that the histories of whole nations were thus handed down to posterity, without spoiling by being kept, as he chose to express himself. Finow acknowledged this to be a most noble invention, but added, that it would not at all do for Tonga Islands; for there would be nothing but disturbances and conspiracies, and he should not be sure of his life perhaps another month. He said, however, jocularly, that he should like to know it himself, and for all the women to know it, that he might make love with less risk of discovery, and not so much chance of incurring the vengeance of their husbands.—*Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.*

[How readily can we find parallels in the history of more civilized nations with the circumstances of those less enlightened, leading us to suspect that the former have not cast off the yoke of barbarism and ignorance in the degree they imagine!]

The art of printing is to-day acknowledged in England to be a “most noble invention,” as that of writing was by poor Finow, but it must not freely be trusted in the hands of the people, because it may lead to “disturbances and conspiracies!”—Ed.]

LITERARY NOTICES.

The National Advancement and Happiness, considered in reference to the Equalization of Property and the Formation of Communities. 8vo. London, Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, 1832. pp. 48.

A well-written and highly interesting pamphlet, under the above title, has lately drawn forth popular attention. The motto which the author prefixes to his publication is singularly well chosen, and beautifully illustrates its general tenor. It is an extract from the eminently gifted Southey, and we shall frequently adopt it as an appropriate exemplification of the objects whereon, in our succeeding numbers, we shall essay to amuse, enlighten, or inform the public of every class.

“Train up thy children, England,
In the ways of righteousness—and feed them
With the bread of wholesome doctrine.
Where hast thou thy mines—but in their industry?
Thy bulwarks where—but in their breasts? Thy might—
But in their arms?
Must not their numbers, therefore be thy Wealth,
Thy Strength, thy Power, thy Safety, and thy Pride!
Oh! grief, then grief and shame,
If in this flourishing land there should be dwellings
Where the new-born babe doth bring unto its parent's soul
No joy! where squalid Poverty receives it at the birth,
And on her withered knees
Gives it the scanty bread of discontent.”

Mr. Wayland appears to have treated the whole subject very skilfully. He is obviously a deep thinker, clear reasoner, and an accurate observer of human events; and no reflecting man, having at heart the welfare of his fellow beings, and the good of the population of this and other countries, can fail to view it in a similar light, or to be inspired with the same feelings of philanthropy and patriotism. We recommend the attentive perusal of this pamphlet to our general readers, who will at once appreciate the merit of the work, and the pretensions of its author to the acknowledgments of the Public. We shall, however, recur to this work at a future period.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

We hesitated whether to admit of Advertisements, but our friends so strongly urged their wishes to be permitted the privilege of appearing in our columns, that we consented to devote one page to them, and so many disinterested respectable individuals have personally stated to us the efficacy of Mr. Morison's System of Medicine from their own experience, deeming it a cheap mode of preserving health, that we make an exception in his case relative to advertising medicines.

We are obliged to omit several Advertisements that have been sent us.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS in aid of the ASSOCIATION for Removing Ignorance and Poverty by Education and Employment, are received by the following Bankers:—

Barclay, Tristram, Bevan, & Co., 54, Lombard-street.

Barnard, Dimsdale, & Barnard, 50, Cornhill.

Bosanquet, Pitt, Anderson, & Franks, 73, Lombard-street.

Bouverie & Lefevre, 35, Craven-street, Strand.

Child & Co., 1, Fleet-street, next to Temple Bar.

Cockerell, Trail, & Co., 8, Austin-friars.

Cocks, Cocks, & Biddulph, 43, Charing-cross.

Coutts & Co., 59, near the Adelphi, Strand.

Curries, Raikes, & Co., 29, Cornhill.

Curtis, (Sir Wm.) Bart., Roberts, & Curtis, 15, Lombard-street.

Call, (Sir Wm.) Arnold, & Martin, 25, Old Bond-street.

Drummond, (Andrew B., John, Chas., & Henry,) 49, Charing-cross.

Duckett & Co., 50, Pall Mall.

Esdaile (Sir James) Esdailes, Hammetts, & Co., 21, Lombard-street.

Fuller, Richard & George, & Co., 84, Cornhill.

Glyn, (Sir R. Carr) Bart., Mills, Haffix, Glyn, & Co., 67, Lombard-street.

Hammersleys, Greenwood, Brooksbank, & Clarke, 69, Pall Mall.

An Annual Subscription paid, of not less than One Pound, constitutes a Member, who is entitled to be admitted to the Lectures and all Social Festivals at half price.

A donation paid at one time, if not less than Twenty Pounds, constitutes a Member of the Association for life.

A donation of One Hundred Pounds and upwards a Visitor for Life, with the right of attending all the Meetings of the Council.

A donation of Five Hundred Pounds and upwards, constitutes a Vice-President for Life, with the right of attending and voting at all Meetings, Councils, and to recommend one child to the Boarding-House Establishment, and five to the Day-School, subject to the regulations of the Institution.

A donation of One Thousand Pounds, or upwards, in addition to the last-mentioned privileges, gives the right to recommend ten Children to the Day-schools, or two Pupils to the Boarding-house Establishment, under the same regulations.

A WIDOW LADY without Incumbrance may be Accommodated with **BOARD AND LODGING**, (and use of Coach House, Stable, &c., if required), in a respectable quiet Family, residing in one of the most healthy and pleasant Squares of the Metropolis. For the Address, &c., apply, by Letter only, to K. V. (Post paid), Wilmer's Library, Seymour Street, Euston Square.

LAND.—WANTED to Purchase from Two Hundred, to Four Hundred Acres of Freehold Land, in a Ring Fence, Eastward of the Metropolis, and at no great distance from the Thames; if without Buildings the more agreeable. Address Letters, with full Particulars, (Free of Postage), to Mr. Bromley, 1, Euston Square. Personal Enquiries cannot be Answered.

MONEY.—Wanted immediately, **TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS**, on Mortgage of ample Leasehold Security, in Middlesex. Direct, (Post free) to Mr. Henderson, Solicitor, King's Arms Yard, Coleman Street.

DOUBLE COACH HOUSE, Three-Stall Stable, Rooms over Ditto, Large Paved Yard, with other Requisite Accommodations, to be LET to a respectable Tenant. For Cards of address apply to Mr. Richards, Tea Dealer, Corner of Baker Street, New Road.

IMPROVED FRENCH GAITERS for **LADIES AND GENTLEMEN**, which are now so much approved of by the Nobility and Gentry, are to be purchased only of H. NICHOLLS, 57, Quadrant, Regent-street.

N.B.—Waterproof Shooting Gaiters, India Rubber Braces, Elastic Belts, and Town-made Kid Gloves in great variety.

Cockburns & Co., 4, Whitehall.

Hanbury, Taylor, & Lloyds, 60, Lombard-street.

Hankeys & Co., 7, Fenchurch-street.

Herries, Farquhar, Halliday, Davidson, & Chapman, 16, St. James's-street.

Hopkinson's (George Caesar, Charles, & Edmond) 18, Regent-street.

Ladbroke, Kingscote, & Gillman, Bank-buildings.

Martin, Stone, & Martin, 68, Lombard-street.

Masterman, Peters, Mildred, Masterman, & Co., 23, Nicholas-lane.

Maude & Co., 13, Great George-street, Westminster.

Prescott & Co., 62, Threadneedle-street.

Puget, Bainbridge, & Co., 12, St. Paul's Church-yard.

Ransom & Co., 1, Pall Mall East.

Scott, (Sir C.) Dent, & Co., 1, Cavendish-square.

Spooner, Attwoods, & Spooner, 27, Gracechurch-street.

Twining, E. G. & J. A. A., Devereux-court, Strand.

Williams, Deacon, Labouchere, & Co. 20, Barchin-lane, Cornhill.

Wright, Selby, & Robinson, 5, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden.

THE THIRD CONGRESS of **DELEGATES** from the **CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS** of **GREAT BRITAIN** and **IRELAND**, will be held at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's-Inn Road, near King's Cross, during the Easter week. First Public Meeting, Monday, 23d April, at Twelve o'clock; Second Public Meeting, Wednesday, 25th, at same hour. Many distinguished characters, and the Members of both Houses of Parliament are invited to attend. The Chair will be taken during the week by Robert Owen, Esq., and the Rev. Arthur S. Wade, D.D.; and the Progress of Co-operation in the United Kingdom will be fully developed at the above Meetings. The business of the Congress will terminate by a Social Festival, on Friday evening, 27th April, at Six o'clock.—Particulars in future Advertisements.

BRITISH COLLEGE OF HEALTH, NEW-ROAD, KING'S-CROSS, LONDON.

MR. MORISON, the President, and **Mr. MOAT**, the Vice-President, in conjunction with all the Honorary Members, and Country Agents of the British College of Health, being now fully borne out with the conviction, approbation, and indubitable proofs of upwards of 200,000 individuals (who have been thrown aside by the Faculty, and out of the Hospitals, as incurable) having been restored to sound health by the "Universal Medicines,"—with all this incontrovertible mass of evidence in support of the Hygienic Theory and Practice, which challenges the controversy of the whole body of Medicists under the old system to subvert, they, the heads of the College, hesitate not to declare, in the face of the Faculty, that this new light must completely change the whole course of the Materia Medica, and introduce a new era in the science of physic: that, in fact, mankind will be taught in future, a new and certain mode of investigating the nature and cause of Diseases in general, and possess a certain and harmless mode of cure, making every individual his own efficient doctor. In confirmation of what is here asserted, the Heads of the College mean to insert, in this paper, a continued series of new cases, from individuals giving their names, residences, and dates of time of cure, all of which have been voluntarily given, and ascertainable as to the facts, by inquiry.

CURE OF THE CHOLERA MORBUS.

To Mr. Morison and the Members of the Royal College of Health.

Gentlemen,—I have the pleasure to inform you that the Halcyon arrived at Cromarty, from Riga, on the 26th ult. all well. She is bound to Glasgow; but according to the restrictions on the Baltic ships, has to perform quarantine at Cromarty. The mate's wife received a letter from her husband, who states, that "when at Riga, he caught the infection, then raging at its height; ships lying on all sides losing daily part of their crew;" but observes, that "by my (the writer, Mr. Gardner, who is part owner of the Halcyon) plentifully supplying the vessel, at Sunderland, before sailing, with the Universal Medicines of the British College of Health, he resorted to the means, in strong doses, which soon had the desired effect of removing the complaint, and bringing him to a perfect state of health, and also kept them all clear of the infection afterwards." Surely this ought to induce all Commanders of vessels to take them to sea every voyage, not only as a certain preventive to all diseases, but a sure investment of trade, the Medicine being now in high request in all parts of the Baltic. I expect to have more particulars from the Captain in a few days. There have been very few ships arrived from Riga without loss of part of their crew.

I am, Gentlemen, your humble Servant, **MICHAEL GARDNER.**

Bishop Wearmouth, 6th July, 1831.

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THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR & MISERY,



[Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's-Inn Road.]

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I.—No. 2.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

PROGRESS OF LIBERAL OPINIONS IN BOTH HEMISPHERES.

We have now before us publications affording a remarkable evidence of the growth of the public mind in America and India, two countries, which in manners, customs, religion, and politics are as far removed from each other as they are in geographical situation. Who would appear to differ so widely in condition as the free-born republican and the subjugated Hindoo? and yet in both do we find the same spirit of inquiry and indomitable resolution to maintain the cause of truth.

This fact, which we shall subsequently confirm by extracts from the publications themselves, calls up a train of ideas which is terminated alone by the cheering prospect of an emancipated world and one universal family. In the East as well as the West, it is true, we hear of struggles and persecution; but these, we are persuaded, will finally contribute to the tranquillity of the whole. To this conclusion we are chiefly led by the analogy which exists, though not in name, yet, in the character of the disputes between the respective parties in both countries. Well may we, in more civilized Europe, inquire whether *our* discussions are more reasonable or justifiable than the scruples of the Americans to forsake Methodism, or those of the Hindoos to abjure idolatry. A hundred years hence and our children will regard our senseless disputations with the same feelings as we now look upon a people contending for the worship of images of wood and stone. This reflection ought, at least, to render us less tenacious of old opinions, and more open to conviction as to the truth of those which are newly advanced, than most of us are disposed to be—for improvement and perfection are ever before us. We must never look back for them.

In Europe, America, and India, we find two parties, calling themselves the Orthodox and the

Liberal, and in each country the term means something different. The Orthodox Hindoo stands up for polytheism and an abstinence from meals; and resists all innovation upon these long established customs of his nation, as subversive of religion and propriety. The Orthodox American is in many instances a stickler for revivals and camp meetings, prophesying the ruin of the nation unless these steadily continue. The Orthodox European stops short before this point of enthusiasm, but tenaciously asserts that unless the doctrines of Christianity are fully maintained, the world itself will be turned upside down. Now, who is to decide between these *infallible* guides to truth and happiness? We answer, Time: and Time has proved to us that India groans under a weight of mental and moral evil entailed by Hindooism; that the progress of civilization in America is retarded by fanaticism; and that Europe lies under a complication of difficulties resulting from party and sectarian feeling.

The Liberals in each country are the pioneers to clear the path of future progress. We see that the great laws of the universe require a continual mutation and improvement in society—and why should any be opposed to this most desirable end? It is the interest of all that such should take place. Let no one look upon society as a corrupt mass, without tracing the visible marks of regeneration which it bears upon its features. To imagine that they do not exist, is to believe a theory in contradiction to what we see around us in the visible world.

Here, in England, in the nineteenth century, we have a prominent sign of the progress of society. Hitherto all changes and improvements have been carried on at the point of the sword; but now we cast away this weapon from us for ever, perceiving, through our additional experience, that reasoning and persuasion, by expostitions, theoretical and practical, are the only legitimate forces to be opposed to error. Dis-

covering the root of the evils against which we are contending to be the divisions existing among mankind, we wish to sink every obstacle that may rise up in the way of union. Whatever proves a bar to this desirable end, whether it may have been hitherto regarded as of a sacred or profane character, we are satisfied is wrong,—is, in fact, immoral in its tendency, and ought to be removed. Who can differ with us in opinion on this point? Who can say, whatever creed he may profess, that union is not the ultimatum of the desires of society, and the foundation upon which not only its happiness, but its very existence rests? For this reason we would go forth, and with the touchstone of truth, viz. consistency—try all things, whether opinions or institutions, by this test; judging thence of their tendency permanently to unite or divide mankind, and would reject or retain them accordingly. Does any one refuse this mode of decision? he is no true Christian; for peace and good will are the essence of his religion.

We have been led to these remarks by the perusal, as we have stated above, of two papers, the one published periodically in New York, the other in Calcutta. By a singular coincidence they are both denominated "the Enquirer," a name particularly denoting the temper of the times. We wish that there were Enquirers all over the world, and we should soon have believers in what we conceive to be truth, that truth leading to universal union.

We shall begin with extracts from the Calcutta paper, which is edited by a native named Baboo Krishna Mohana Banerjee, who thus declares himself:—

"We have perceived Hindooism is folly, and we speak against it. If we be not convinced of the truth of Christianity, we cannot possibly do it any mischief; for we are only clearing the obstacles that lie in the way of its propagation, and preparing the mind to receive it it true.

"A reverend gentleman of the Presbyterian sect, has undertaken this task of unfolding to us the nature

of this set of doctrines. We attend him every Thursday evening, and avail ourselves of his benevolent services with feelings of thankfulness. Whether we shall be convinced of all that he says or not, it is impossible for us to predict at present. We have entered into the inquiry with a sincere love of truth; and this is all we could do. *Conviction depends not on the will*; one cannot at his own pleasure feel a certain truth, although he may pretend to do so. Before we are settled respecting it, we will not be so short-sighted as to be hostile to it."

Again, referring to the Hindoo religion, he says:—

"Then let the fanatic and the bigot bewail in silence the fate of their religion. The liberal, although now persecuted by the brutal tyranny of priestcraft, will soon have occasion to seal his triumph in the overthrow of ignorance. Proud shall we be of such a day; and all the pains, all the troubles we are at present undergoing, will be lost in the high satisfaction we shall feel at the triumph of knowledge over ignorance; of civilization over barbarism; and of truth over falsehood."

Such language as this makes us yearn for the day when the cause of truth shall be so advanced in England, as to permit its advocates to become missionaries in every part of the world. This noble-minded Hindoo and his party have thrown off the trammels of one superstition; but it appears highly doubtful whether their limited knowledge will enable them to cast aside all "mystery and mixture of error," and seize upon such principles alone as will lead to universal union. The tenor of their words seems to import, that they have not as yet perceived the true basis upon which society must be built, and therefore we dread that the tragic scenes, enacted in Europe during the last 1800 years, may be repeated in the eastern continent.

Friends of peace and union in England! redouble your exertions at home, that ye may have the greater chance of averting this dire calamity from millions of your fellow-creatures in distant regions.

[Further Extracts from both Publications will be given next week.]

TO OUR READERS.

We have increased the quantity of matter in the present number to meet the wishes of many of our subscribers, and we shall endeavour to make arrangements to enlarge the paper; we are, however, desirous that our readers should appreciate the difference between the value of pages written solely to develop the most important truths, to be speedily made applicable to the general amelioration of society in this and in every other country; and those works which are written chiefly to amuse and occupy time, which the parties know not how better to employ. **QUALITY** and not **QUANTITY** is the object at which we aim.

THE CONGRESS.

THE approaching Congress of Delegates from the Co-operative Societies, engages the attention of the more Intelligent and Well-disposed of the Industrious Classes in an eminent degree; they look forward to it with expectation of some superior practical mea-

sures being proposed to relieve the working classes from the poverty which threatens to overwhelm them, and we trust their hope will not be disappointed.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 21.

WE are to give "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," upon those subjects which are now the most important for the well-being and happiness of the human race.

In our first number we made a promise to explain the most useful knowledge that can now be given to the public. This knowledge we stated to be, first, "That which develops the means by which the perturbed spirits, engendered by the erroneous notions transmitted to us through the less experienced ages of human existence, shall be calmed; enlightened through the medium of undeniable general facts, and thus made to understand their true interest, and be induced to act in perfect obedience to it."

These perturbed spirits are men who generally possess strong powers, physical or intellectual, or both, by the perversion of which, under the present system of error, they are forced to become the firebrands of society; whereas, by the proper application of these powers, they might be rendered highly valuable to their fellow-men, and become, not as we find them now, the leaders of factions, parties, and sects, but the guides of the human race to permanent happiness and well-being. The unavoidable consequence of this mis-direction of their powers is, unceasing division and contention among all nations, tribes and people, and between the individuals of each sect and faction.

This evil, now so prominent wherever man is found, is to be remedied solely by the same natural means that can alone effectually overcome all other evils, that is, by removing the CAUSE which engenders it.

The cause why these perturbed spirits now exist is, that they have been forced to imbibe from infancy erroneous notions regarding themselves and human nature generally; and the only method of withdrawing this fruitful source of evil, is to replace these notions with real knowledge as to what manner of being man really is, and to show clearly how the individual character is formed, as well as the character of, nations.

Now, by a minute investigation of facts, we find that children are, without exception, passive, yet wonderfully constituted compounds, which are capable of receiving individually and collectively, any character whatever. The same child might be rendered, by different treatment, a savage or civilized human being, intelligent or ignorant, virtuous or vicious. Let him live, while an infant, among the tribes of North America, and he would be a North American Indian in all his habits, thoughts, and feelings. On the other hand, carry him among the refined circles of European society, and his habits, thoughts, and feeling, will receive a totally

different colour. Place him, from birth, among the Esquimaux, and he would be profoundly ignorant; or, among highly informed people, and he could not fail to be, in some measure, intelligent. Show him nothing but virtuous examples, and he would be virtuous; expose him continually to vice, and he would infallibly be vicious. This appears a principle sufficiently simple in itself; but if brought into every-day practice, what gigantic results would it not effect. For the knowledge thus obtained would lead all who possess it, to make due allowance for the difference of sentiments and manners, not only among their friends and countrymen, but also among the inhabitants of every region of the earth, even including their enemies.

With this insight into the formation of the human character, there is no conceivable foundation for private displeasure or public enmity. Say, if it be within the sphere of possibility, that children can be trained to attain *this* knowledge, and at the same time to acquire feelings of enmity towards a single human creature? The child who from infancy shall be rationally instructed in accordance with this principle, will readily discover and trace *whence* the opinions and habits of his associates have arisen, and *why* they possess them. At the same time he will forcibly see the injustice of being angry with an individual for possessing qualities which, as a passive being during the formation of those qualities, he had not the means of preventing. Instead of anger or displeasure being generated in his mind, commiseration and pity will be produced, for those individuals who possess either habits or sentiments, which appear to him to be destructive of their own comfort, pleasure, or happiness; and will produce on his part a desire to remove those causes of distress, that his own feelings of commiseration and pity may be also removed. The pleasure which he cannot avoid experiencing by this mode of conduct, will likewise stimulate him to the most active endeavours to withdraw those circumstances which surround any part of mankind with causes of misery, and to replace them with others, which have a tendency to increase happiness. He will then also strongly entertain the desire "to do good to *all* men," and even those who think themselves his enemies.

The knowledge that man forms not his own character becomes, by extracting the very seeds of bitterness from within him, the only possible source of universal charity, good will, and affection, among men. Nor is it competent only to insure these virtues when it shall be taught to children from infancy, for although previously formed habits and feelings may strongly influence those of maturer age, yet if the principle be placed before them in a proper spirit and manner, it will gradually acquire such power over them, as to extinguish in their breast all angry emotions.

This, then, is the knowledge which we first desire widely to disseminate, that it may calm the perturbed minds of those who, seeing and feeling the existing evils in society, without being able to trace them to their true origin, or to discover the only remedy for them, are ready to commit acts of violence. Let us also, by pointing out the enormity of these evils, and suggesting a pacific but effectual remedy, arouse those to exertion for their removal who have hitherto been sunk in hopeless indifference or apathy; for it is this apathy on the one hand, and violence on the other, which now stand in the way of the general amelioration and improvement of society, not only in the British empire, but in every part of the world.

CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS:

We are informed that the following is a Copy of the Circular sent to each member of both Houses of Parliament, inviting them to be present at the ensuing Congress of Delegates from the Co-operative Societies:—

"Some time ago, Sir Robert Peel, when Secretary of State for the Home Department, expressed a strong desire that "the Working Classes would take their own affairs into their own hands," as he found Government could do little to relieve them from their increasing pecuniary difficulties.

"We, the peaceably disposed of this Class, have taken this statement into serious consideration, and have endeavoured to ascertain the real position of the Working Class, under the extraordinary changes which have latterly taken place, and in consequence of which they have been gradually sinking into a state of wretchedness and degradation, formerly unknown to any class in the British Empire; indeed, it is doubtful whether their present condition is not worse than any slavery now in existence.

"We blame no parties for this change in our condition; but believe it to be the necessary result of the onward progress of society, and that we, as well as all other classes, shall be ultimately benefited by the very means which have produced the severe distress which we now experience.

"It appears, then, to us, after having given deep attention to the subject, that we have discovered the mode by which we can be relieved from our difficulties, without violence on our part, or without the present organization of society being prematurely altered; and the ultimate effect of which would be, to advance the combined interests of the whole population, not excepting any portion of it.

"To promote these measures of relief now absolutely necessary to save us from starvation in the midst of means; to obtain not only necessities, but superfluities, Societies have been formed in various parts of the kingdom, under the name of Co-operative Societies, which have now gained considerable experience as to the means of effecting their objects. Delegates from the Societies have already met twice in half-yearly Congress, the first having been held at Manchester, the second at Birmingham.

"The third Congress will be held in London, and commence its sittings on Monday, 23d April, and continue for the four following days, beginning business each morning at ten o'clock. The place of meeting will be the Institution of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes, Liverpool Street, King's Cross, New Road.

"During these Meetings, it is expected that much useful information relative to the means to be adopted in order to obtain immediate and permanent relief for the Working Classes, will be elicited by plain practical men, who have the peace, order, and improvement of society solely in view.

"You are therefore respectfully invited to attend, to witness the proceedings, that as a member of the Legislature, you may support or oppose the measures proposed, as they may appear to deserve.

"Signed on behalf, and by order of the Committee appointed by the various Metropolitan Co-operative Societies,

"J. D. STYLES, Secretary."

Committee Room, April 10th, 1832.

ON THE PLEASURE TO BE DERIVED FROM KNOWLEDGE.

We have great satisfaction in extracting the following plain precept to be borne in mind in the acquirement of Knowledge, from a "Discourse on the Objects, Advantages, and Pleasures of Science," being the "Preliminary Treatise" to the valuable works on Science and General Information, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. We have more gratification in doing so, from the presumption

that the Treatise was probably written by a man who, in our estimation, forms a sort of fancied connecting link between the present system of society, and that which we now advocate. We had many extracts to make; but at present for want of room must content ourselves with the following.

"Lend but a patient attention to the principles explained; and, giving us credit for stating nothing which has not some practical use belonging to it, or some important doctrine connected with it, you will soon perceive the value of the lessons you are learning, and begin to interest yourselves in comprehending and recollecting them."

We trust that the efforts of the author and his fellow labourers, added to the irresistible force and progress of Truth, will ere long contribute to the enlargement of the minds of readers of all descriptions; and thus assist in preventing the continuance of the prejudices, which now so unfortunately affect society. While we are upon this subject, we recommend to our friends the perusal of the works published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, many of which are remarkable for their cheapness, cleverness, and perspicuity: they will then find what rapid strides science has made within so short a period; while at the same time the human mind generally, is grossly ignorant of the most important laws of its nature, and the rules for its best guidance and direction."

PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS.

AT OUR INSTITUTION, IN GRAY'S-INN ROAD, ON SUNDAY LAST.

In the morning, soon after eleven, MR. OWEN commenced his lecture, before a numerous and respectable auditory of both sexes. The substance of the lecture was a comment on the leading article of "The Crisis," of last week. Several letters were read. One contained a very able article on some of the points in dispute between the advocates of "The New System of Society" and its opponents. Others were communications from parents, who wished their children to be registered for education in the schools of the institution. Notice was given, that the REV. THOMAS MACCONNELL would deliver a lecture in the Institution, on Good Friday morning, at eleven o'clock, "On the morality of Mr. Owen's System," to which lecture the admission would be free; and that on the same evening at seven, the discussion on "Human Responsibility," would be resumed—admission gratuitous. In the evening of Sunday, the large lecture-room was crowded by both sexes, although all but the members paid for admission. The subject of MR. OWEN'S lecture was the same as that of the morning, and so clear and self-evident were his doctrines, that no discussion arose out of any difference of opinion in his mixed auditory upon them at either time. The notices of the morning were repeated, and in the morning and evening there was good sacred, vocal and instrumental music.

A MEMBER.

TO THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

At a time like the present, when all classes of society are complaining of anxiety or distress, and are filled with gloomy forebodings; being apprehensive of some gradual advancing inevitable evil, which every one anticipates, but knows not how or when it will happen; when many are taking precautionary

measures to guard against, or to obviate this indescribable something—this change or "crisis"—it surely becomes necessary for the Industrious Classes to watch it with a providential eye, as well as their more affluent brethren; brethren!! did I say?—I am afraid the term has become nearly obsolete—it will be revived in happier and brighter days to come. The Industrious Classes at present, therefore, must look to themselves for any assistance they may require; and this they may do. While the wealthy are hoarding their glittering dust, and others tired of their burthens are expatriating themselves to other regions; you must not be idle, you must have your remedy also: you must remember that all wealth springs from labour and knowledge. Gold, all-powerful as it is called, can neither feed, clothe, nor lodge the possessors of it without your labour—hence labour is the only true wealth; nothing is produced without it.

—Now my friends, the question that arises from this proposition is, how is it then, that those who possess this wealth in the greatest superabundance are so badly provided with the necessities of life?—it is because a proper direction has not been given to your producing powers. Let us calmly reason upon this anomaly of the producers of wealth being most in need of that which they produce: let us trace the effect to the cause, which merely requires a little examination to make it apparent to you, and then it will rest with yourselves to say whether poverty shall continue, or cease for ever.

First, then, the majority of you are in distress for want of the necessities of life. Who are the producers of these necessities? Yourselves. A. can grow more corn than he can consume; B. can make more shoes than he can wear; C. can make more clothes than he has need of; and I might go on enumerating a thousand different persons similarly circumstanced, all producing more than they can consume:—thus you perceive, that it does not arise from any scarcity of these necessities that you are unable to procure them, but merely from a want of knowledge as to the best mode of obtaining them. Hitherto the non-producer, or the monied man, has been the general receiver of your produce, and he has retailed this produce amongst you, always retaining a part of the produce for himself in every transaction, say one-tenth part as an average. Now suppose A. wants a pair of shoes, and B. requires a bushel of wheat:—they apply to some third party to procure what they want; but in so doing, they pay much more than they would have done had they transacted the business with each other, and in ten of these exchanges the non-producer procures for himself a pair of shoes and a bushel of wheat. Besides this loss to yourselves, you are obliged to supply him with gold or silver for what you require; and as there is more produce than gold and silver, you have to make a great sacrifice in the value of your produce to obtain these metals. Hence it is clear that could A., B., C., &c., see and communicate their respective wants to each other, they would most gladly exchange their surplus produce without the intervention of the monied man; and as he can no more exist upon his gold, than you can exist upon your individual production, he would be obliged to bring his gold to you in fair exchange for your produce; and he would be most happy to part with it in much larger proportions than he does at present:—for remember, by producer exchanging with producer, you can obtain every necessary of life without him, but he cannot exist without you.

One of our talented friends inquires, "What if the labourers should form a league to employ one another, and to work for themselves?" Nothing would be more easy if they were united, firm and intelligent. The rich would then discover that they themselves were the poor, the dependent, and the inferior classes of society, and not those who are now so designated. But you say, how are A., B., C., &c. to bring about this desirable operation? The answer is a very plain one.—Let a place be selected where articles of every kind may be deposited, and where parties may with the least inconvenience and under equitable arrangements, make their required exchanges:—your end is

then accomplished, and you may bid a long farewell to poverty and distress. Now, my friends, such a receptacle is being prepared for such of you as are desirous of becoming members, or associating under the superintendence of your sincere friend, ROSSAR OWAN, at the Institution of the Industrious Classes for removing Ignorance and Poverty by Education and beneficial Employment—here an equitable exchange of labour for labour will be established for Provisions, Clothing, and Articles of all kinds in general consumption; and here will be your safeguard against any dreaded change or crisis—you have only to be true to yourselves and evil cannot reach you—let your motto be, *each for all, and all for each*. In my next I will enter more fully into the subject, which I trust will be the means of delivering you from the oppression of ruinous competition.

Your sincere friend,

C.

MISNOMERS.

It has arisen in the progress of civilization, that many names have acquired a meaning which does not belong to the etymology of the word or words. Thus, we have "a good education," meaning that we know a great deal that is useless, and have learnt to despise that which is useful; "a good marriage," meaning that the parties have gained a great deal of wealth, and very little happiness; "good society," meaning that among certain circles there is a great deal of ceremony and very little social enjoyment.

If these are not the actual readings of the above terms in opposition to their true meanings, we leave it to the candour of our readers to determine. Now, as nothing tends so much to the development of truth, as to make use of precise terms, and to have their meanings fully recognized, we propose, as opportunity offers, to give the true reading of all those doubtful terms which every body uses, and yet in the mouth of each take a different colour. As there can be but one meaning, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of the thousand must be wrong. What chance, then, is there for consistency of action in the different parts of the social machine? and it is this inconsistency which seems about to consummate its ruin. We do not wish to withdraw our support, without giving (unlike the blind calculators of profit and loss) two in return; so that in no way shall we be entitled to that invidious appellation, "levellers."

And first, as to that important and comprehensive term, "a good education." We have said that the dictionary of the world, and more particularly that portion of the world, known by the name of the *beau monde*, renders it thus:—"the acquisition of a great deal which is useless, and learning to despise that which is useful." Let us make good our assertion, by examining the consistent parts of this same popular "good education."

The helpless scions of rank and wealth, after having been consigned during the first years of their infancy to ignorant nurses, and the dull monotony of their dominions, are handed over, enfeebled in body and mind, to some *highly favoured* individual, or individuals, in order to be instructed. In what? Not in the saving knowledge which shall render them useful to themselves and others—not in the graces of mind and spirit, which would be continual ornaments about their person—not in those just opinions of themselves, which alone can render them superior beings;—but in obsolete languages, abstract sciences, and subordinate accomplishments; pursuits which, considered separately, are sufficiently useful in themselves, but which, when rendered the sole objects and employment of life, are totally unworthy the dignity of men and women. And the tastes which are formed for the pupils at the generality of schools and universities, abide with them during life. The seeds there sown we see spring up in the shape of fashionable follies, and but too frequently fashionable vices. The gamester, the spendthrift, the coxcomb, the despised wife, and the ignorant mother,

are characters emanating daily from these fountain heads of light and knowledge.

We speak this not in derision, but in sorrow; for having the good of every class in society at heart, we hope, by pointing out the fallacies of the present system, to remove the obstacles which now stand in the way of justice being done, in the matter of his education, to the poor as well as the pauper, conceiving that both have been nearly equally sinned against.

If there be little that is *really* useful taught to our young fashionables at schools and universities, there is much that is absolutely injurious and degrading communicated to their characters, upon their introduction into the great world. They are literally taught to think, that in proportion as they are dependant upon others, they are worthy of consideration and regard. To use their limbs, even in the manner and degree necessary to secure good health and cheerful spirits, is a high crime and misdemeanour against the established rules of *civilized* society. In China, they cramp the feet of the ladies, by bandaging them from childhood. In England they do the same, by means of the iron fetters of custom and etiquette, and any impartial observer will discover how wide the difference! In a word, the votaries of fashion spend their days in idleness and their nights in dissipation; or, at least, in endeavouring to drive away the *ennui* occasioned by their inanity during the hours of light. One might imagine, in fact, that they partook of the nature of those existences, which do not acquire their full powers but with the return of darkness.

All this, it must be apparent, instead of ennobling, is in truth, derogatory to their characters as human beings. The fashionable world mistake their mark. Distinction is their darling object; but they seek for it in a wrong direction, unless truly they mean to gain it on account of superlative feebleness of body and imbecility of mind; for what distinction can be so noble as that arising from superiority of physical, mental, and moral powers—that superiority which would enable them to discover, and to grasp the means by which they might contribute in the greatest degree to the interests of society? Can they believe that the end of their existence is to dress, to dance, to eat, to drink, and to exercise dominion over others? Forbid it common sense! Man has nobler objects in life, and more exalted means of obtaining happiness. He cannot be a truly happy, without being a truly useful, being; and it is for this reason that we would exactly reverse the present reading of the term, "a good education," and say, that it means "the acquisition of all that is useful, and learning to set no value upon that which is useless."

But these terms again may be apprehended in various ways, and we must shortly explain ourselves.

By *useful*, we mean all that can, in any way, contribute to the benefit or improvement of the human race; and by *useless*, all that is opposed to this object.

Genuine refinement in mind and manners we conceive to be highly useful, and therefore would rejoice to see it diffused over every class in society; but as all (to use a familiar expression) "is not gold that glitters," we may be allowed to doubt whether the tinsel of the fashionable world is the precious metal we are in search of. No! that which alone ought to pass current is sterling worth, possessing that native polish which is the attribute of a truly refined mind, refined by the purifying influence of true knowledge. Do the rich possess this any more than the poor?

E. N.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

Notice to Correspondents and the Public.

Several very interesting and valuable communications have been received, and will be used as early as our plan will admit; but our course being entirely a new one, we have, in consequence, to request our Correspondents' patience and forbearance.

We believe we shall soon be induced by the encouragement already received and promised, to commence a Weekly Newspaper. The two next weeks' papers will be printed each on a full sheet, in order to communicate the proceedings of Congress.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

We are compelled for want of room to put out several Advertisements.

THE THIRD CONGRESS OF DELEGATES from the CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, will be held at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's-Inn Road, near King's Cross, during the Easter week. First Public Meeting, Monday, 23rd April, at 12 o'clock; Second Public Meeting, Wednesday, 25th, at same hour. Many distinguished characters and the Members of both Houses of Parliament are invited to attend. The Chair will be taken during the week by Robert Owen, Esq., and the Rev. Arthur S. Wade, D.D.; and the Progress of Co-Operation in the United Kingdom will be fully developed at the above Meetings. The business of the Congress will terminate by a Social Festival, on Friday evening, 27th April, at Six o'clock.

BRITISH COLLEGE OF HEALTH, NEW ROAD, KING'S-CROSS, LONDON.

MR. MORISON, the President, and Mr. MOAT, the Vice President, in conjunction with all the Honorary Members, and Country Agents of the British College of Health, being now fully borne out with the conviction, approbation, and indubitable proofs of upwards of 200,000 individuals (who have been thrown aside by the Faculty, and out of the Hospitals, as incurable) having been restored to sound health by the "Universal Medicines;" with all this incontrovertible mass of evidence in support of the Hygienic Theory and Practice; which challenges the controversy of the whole body of Medicines under the old system to subvert, they, the heads of the College, hesitate not to declare, in the face of the Faculty, that this new light must completely change the whole course of the Materia Medica, and introduce a new era in the science of physic: that, in fact, mankind will be taught in future, a new and certain mode of investigating the nature and cause of Diseases in general, and possess a certain and harmless mode of cure, making every individual his own efficient doctor. In confirmation of what is here asserted, the Heads of the College mean to insert, in this paper, a continued series of new cases, from individuals giving their names, residences, and dates of time of cure, all of which have been voluntarily given, and ascertainable as to the facts, by inquiry.

CURE OF A VIOLENT SCORBUTIC AFFECTION.

TO B. HALL, P. H. S. SOUTHERN.
SIR,—To your worthy Agent, Mr. Elliott, of Southampton, I am indebted for the remarkable benefit I have received, for it was at his earnest recommendation that I was induced to take Mr. Morison's Medicines, and I am now desirous of having my cure made known, and others may derive a similar benefit. I have been the subject of scorbutic sores all over my body, some of which were the size of half-a-crown, and half an inch in depth.

I was obliged to make use of a stick to enable me to walk, and I might have continued in this deplorable state for years longer had it not been for Mr. Morison's Medicines, which have now cured me. Believe me, Sir, I feel no little gratification in making this acknowledgment.

Your most humble servant,

Cadenham, near Southampton, ROBERT VIENEY.
July 6th, 1831.

The "Vegetable Universal Medicines" are to be had at the College, New-Road, King's-Cross, London; at the Surrey Branch, 96, Great Surrey street, Blackfriars; at Mr. Field's, 10, Aldersgate, Quadrant; Mr. Chappell's, Royal Exchange; Mr. Walker's, Lamb's Conduit passage, Red Lion-square; Mr. J. Loft's, 10, Mile-end-road; Mr. Bennett's, Covent Garden-market; Mr. Haydon's, Fleur-de-lis-street, Norton Folgate; Mr. Haslett's, 147, Ratcliffe Highway; Messrs. Norbury's, Brentford; Mr. Stepping's, Clare-market; Messrs. Salmon's, Little Bell-alley; Miss Varrall's, 24, Lucas-street, Commercial-road; Mrs. Beech, 148, Sloane-street, Chelsea; Mr. Chapple, Royal Library, Pall-mall; Mrs. Clements, 12, Bridge-street, Southwark; Mr. Wallis, 2, Borough-road, near the Obelisk; Mr. Kintiam, 4, Bolingbroke-row, Walworth; Mr. Pain, 64, Jersey-street; Mr. Wood, Hairdresser, Richmond; Mr. Meyer, 8, May's-buildings, Blackheath; Mr. Griffiths, Wood-wharf, Greenwich; Mr. Benjamin Pitt, 1, Cornwall-road, Lambeth; Mr. J. Dobson, 35, Craven-street, Strand; Mr. Oliver, Bridge-street, Vauxhall; Mr. J. Monk, Bexley-heath; Mr. T. Stokes, 12, St. Rosan's, Dartford; Mr. Cowell, 23, Terrace, Pimlico; Mr. Parritt, 90, Edgware-road; Miss C. Atkinson, 19, Trinity Grounds, Deptford; and at our Agent's, in every principal town in Great Britain, the Islands of Guernsey and Malta, and throughout the whole of the United States of America.

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William Dent, Printer, Burton Street, Burton Crosscut.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR & MISERY,



[Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's-Inn Road.]

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I.—No. 3.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

RESPONSIBILITY.

THE subject of individual responsibility, or accountability to artificial, in opposition to nature's laws, is one, in this crisis in human affairs, of the deepest interest to mankind. A gentleman of good manners, kind feelings, considerable eloquence—who has evidently read much, and reflected more—on Thursday evening attended our lectures, some weeks since, to hear what we and our coadjutors had to say in favour of an entire Change in the whole construction of human affairs. Admitting many, if not all, the fundamental principles on which we propose to base the new construction of society, he was alarmed when he heard the editor say that the notion of man's responsibility to man's laws, made in ignorance of, and in opposition to nature's laws, were the origin whence proceeded all divisions among men, all unkind and uncharitable feelings, all prostitution of mind and body, all robberies, murders, and war—in short, all crime and misery. Hearing this denunciation, he naturally asked—"If this kind of accountability is to be now destroyed—what motives will you substitute in the New State of Society of sufficient power to restrain man from bad actions, when there is none to see or know what he is doing?"

The importance of the question all must admit, for individual accountability is indeed the corner stone upon which the present edifice of society has been erected—withdraw it, and the whole fabric tumbles into ruins. All who reflect, therefore, must be anxious to ascertain the truth upon this subject. Several interesting discussions have already taken place in the Great Room of the Institution, Gray's Inn Road, and many well-written communications have been sent to the Editor; some of the most interesting of these shall appear occasionally in the Crisis—we commence with the following:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,

April 7th, 1832.

From the practical importance of the subject now under discussion at the Institution, and at the suggestion of some friends who heard the following essay read there on the evening of the 5th instant, I beg leave to submit it to you for insertion; trusting that the principle of action indicated at the commencement, and immediately derived from nature, may be as widely circulated as afterwards duly estimated: for there appears no hope but in the full development of this principle for the solid foundation of man's happi-

ness. Hitherto society has been conducted upon a contrary notion, in opposition to nature; and the consequence of this single error is so great, that upon examination we find that all our evils, vice, and misery, originate solely with, or exist only as sanctioned by, the false principle of responsibility.

I am, sir,
Your's most respectfully,
R. A.

RESPONSIBILITY.—We are endowed, from the outset of existence, with a principle of action—it is the desire for enjoyment. The objects around us possessing more or less attraction, we grasp at them to the utmost of infant capability, to seek that good which they seem to promise: those objects which give no pleasure are well noted in our minds, and those which give us pain or displeasure are well remembered. Such is the original principle of action with all sentient beings—it is the incipient love of happiness. How shall man—who has, as it were, all nature given into his hands—deal with this principle or test of action? He has but three modes:—1st. To let it entirely alone.—2nd. To root it out and plant another.—3rd. To cherish, guide, and bring it to maturity. That we cannot adopt the first mode is evident from the fact, that the experiments of an early age will, if unrestricted, be sure to bring destruction on itself and others; and this was, no doubt, the circumstance which confounded the ignorance of men. They said our nature was bad at its origin,—that it delighted in injury; and the superstitious said, "yes: we are born with a blind free will, that acts well or ill indifferently, and which must be determined by rewards and punishments." Thus has been adopted the second mode; and in lieu of the test given us by nature, whose end is, under proper guidance, the rational enjoyment and perfect happiness of the individual, we have had imposed on us, by ignorance and superstition, the test of responsibility.

And what is responsibility? Is it, like all the known laws of nature, beautiful in simplicity, and ever consistent? or is it, like all the other impositions of error, conspicuous only for inconsistency, contradiction, and the extensive injury produced? Let us examine into its operations.—At first we are made responsible to parents, and they, by turns indulgent and severe, give us to study their humours and commands instead of our native impulses. Thus we become modelled after them; we grow cunning and false in proportion to the rewards heaped upon us, and, as far as the fear of punishment affects us, we grow base. Always aiming at the knowledge suited to our age, we are, from the commencement, restricted in our pursuits; would we examine the objects about us,—no, we must not, for fear of harm; dainties are brought in our way, and we must not eat them: in

short, we are not to do any thing we would do, and we are compelled to do every thing we would not do. Hence the rewards and punishments, cunning, falsehoods, and servility. After a while another sort of responsibility presents itself: that due to the instructors of learning. We may expect the schoolmaster to be a man superior in temper and understanding to the generality of parents; therefore the responsibility exacted by him will be different from the former one. The child has consequently—indeed of his learning—a new study of opinion and temper before him: at home he must conform to one sort of responsibility, and at school to another. Alas! poor child, it is ten to one but that he gets well flogged at both places. However, the child or man, if he lives long enough, gets over his school-days, and now enters, as they say, into the world. What there awaits him? Certainly a third sort of responsibility: he hears of acts of parliament, statutes, laws, prisons, treadmills, transportation, and hanging: he is told, moreover, that in London at least one person in every three hundred becomes criminally convicted. Here, then, is a more awful responsibility than the other two: the lad had better prepare himself, and get by heart all the law-books to which he is liable; but we know that to read these would exhaust the longest life, and to understand them would, if possible, exhaust eternity. The youth, therefore, necessarily resigns himself to chance; he pursues, like others, his apparent self-interest; and, conscious of the weight and terror of the laws, he goes grovelling on his way, with the fear and trembling of a persecuted slave. Are these three sorts of responsibility not yet sufficient? No, we must have a fourth:—it shall be called a religious responsibility, and this shall be due to a being or beings (for the religious are not agreed) beyond nature, to whom have been ascribed books of laws and precepts in various languages, in various nations, which books are found, nevertheless to be contradictory of each other, and inconsistent in every part. The men who bring forward this responsibility, and these books, are the priesthood: their rewards and punishments are to be eternal after this life; and they have managed, by vast accumulations of wealth and assumptions of power, to deal out very extensively rewards and punishments here also.

Well: is this fourth sort of responsibility reconcilable with the other three which were found to be irreconcilable? No; the youth finds, on examination, a no less impracticable task than before: he cannot, in fact, ascertain—such are the contradictory opinions of men—what are the extent and precise character of this responsibility. Its origin and strict signification are equally involved in obscurity, and by attempting to bring it into the full and open daylight of scrutiny, we the more surely bring upon ourselves the denunciations of the priesthood, whose in-

terests in the first place, and feelings in the second place, are wound up with this particular responsibility. Leaving them to enjoy the fruits of it, we will consider for a moment the general effects of all these responsibilities. How can human nature withstand them? Is it by strength of mind, or by callous indifference? or does our nature become overpowered, the finer sensibilities perverted, the mental faculties utterly deranged? Have we not on either side of the Thames, Bedlams, buildings of vast extent, crammed with human beings? Are not some of these the victims of parental responsibility, others the victims of scholastic responsibility, still more the victims of legal responsibility, and the great majority the victims of religious responsibility? And we, who are not confined in these bedlams, do we not form among ourselves, in all society, one immense bedlam of opposition, ill will, reciprocal injury, comparative destitution, and actual, or impending wretchedness? Are not these results the necessary consequence of responsibility, and is not this the joint production of ignorance and superstition?

Let us now recur to the original principle of action—the desire of every individual for his personal enjoyment. We will at length adopt the third mode, namely—cherish, guide, and bring it to maturity.

At the period when the child tries every object by his senses, it is the pleasant and easy task of the experienced attendant so to form his arrangements, that nothing but what is salutary shall be in the way of the child. I speak of the forthcoming rational communities,—not our present petty family concerns and the fritterings of a subdivided property. The child then having no contradiction, will go on examining every thing, and by the same process develop his rational faculties. Nature will conduct his steps, and wisdom will assist him. The necessity for enjoyment which first prompted to action, will never be brought into opposition with the human will: the temper formed under the influences of nature will ever be beneficent. As the child grows up to manhood, he will perceive, by the gradual unfolding of intellect and sensibility (the united work of natural objects and the direction given by wisdom) that to enjoy complete and perfect happiness, cannot be effected by any one individual without the full participation of the same by all other individuals whom he knows, or who may come under his knowledge; and therefore an inevitable law of nature becomes thence apparent, equally simple, beautiful, and sublime—that the true well-being of each is the true well-being of all, and the true well-being of all is the true well-being of each—to which law there cannot be a single exception. He will know, in consequence, that responsibility of man to man, or to any being exterior to himself, can only lead to irrational pursuits and be the forerunner of wretchedness. He will know, in fine, that the high and sole duty and happiness of every individual, is to cherish, cultivate, and exalt his, or her own being, for that herein are involved the elements of the perfectibility of human society, and that such will ever be the conduct, under wise direction, of every member of the rational communities.

R. A.

MORALS FOR SLAVES AND MORALS FOR FREE MEN.
—I pity the mind which thinks meanly of man. It must soon either sink into the gloom of misanthropy or sell itself to crime. He who despises his fellows, wants but the occasion to trample on them; he who despises himself, is irrecoverably despicable.

The respect of self, and a noble opinion of the nature of our race, are the only foundations of virtue. Would you form a nation of heroes? lead the child to covet and conciliate its own esteem; lead him to seek through life, within the inner breast, a witness to the moral nobility of man. Would you form a nation of slaves? teach the child that he is, by the necessity of his nature, all that he sees the crowd around him made by false tuition and example.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 28.

So much of our time has been occupied with the proceedings of Congress, and a sudden domestic calamity which has befallen us, that in lieu of the regular leading article we subjoin the unanimous ADDRESS of the CONGRESS to the GOVERNMENTS of the CIVILIZED WORLD, and which was read to, and unanimously approved by, the great Public Meeting, called by the Delegates of Congress, and held on Wednesday last. The best attention of the intelligent and well-disposed of all classes will be well applied to the first Public Document, from a body of men who know the real state of things, and who have the good of all men of all ranks solely at heart: and the calm consideration of all governments may prevent the loss of much valuable life, of immense property, and of confusion and chaos for many years among the most civilized nations. Nothing short of an ENTIRE CHANGE of a system, which has proved itself to be, not only defective for all the higher objects of human existence, but even amidst the most ample means to create and maintain universal prosperity, and to form men to become, in all countries, intelligent, virtuous, and a superior order of beings—it dooms the human race, in the mass, to poverty, to gross ignorance, to violent passions, and to the commission of every kind of crime, thereby inflicting and perpetuating misery to the human race. It is, indeed, high time that this irrationality of man should give place to a system, founded on facts, competent to be applied to make him intelligent and happy.

AN ADDRESS

TO THE
GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA,
FROM THE
CONGRESS OF DELEGATES
OF THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES OF GREAT
BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
HELD IN LONDON,

During the last Week of April, 1832.

WE address you in the spirit of peace, of justice, and of good-will; but also as men claiming the right of performing the highest services for humanity.

We know and feel that ignorance and error have made man imbecile and miserable; the evil is even now vividly present to our minds, and we believe that we well know, by the experience of the past, that man may now be transformed to become virtuous, intelligent, and happy, all his wants being fully supplied; and that we also know the practical steps by which this change can be effected. It is a glorious task, designed to be accomplished in the present day, and we invite you, with ardent feelings for your own

safety and happiness, to unite among yourselves and with us, in commencing the great and good work without delay: that those now living may have some foretaste of the perpetually increasing improvement and enjoyment which this generation is, by the new circumstances evidently arising, destined to prepare for succeeding generations.

We seek a change of principles and of practice, to be effected by existing governments, in preference to any mere change of men. It is not disorder or confusion we desire, but a change from evil to good, without causing thereby injury to any individual of the human race.

The old system of governing and directing mankind is worn out; its incompetency to remove the causes of vice and misery is now apparent to every reflecting mind,—its sufficiency to create them is equally apparent.

Another system, derived from facts and experience is now required; a system which shall remove the causes of all the evils which have so long afflicted humanity, and we are prepared now to develop such a system, and to submit it for your consideration. We thus offer it from a conviction, that upon a fair investigation you will find it founded in truth, and capable of being applied most advantageously to immediate practice in every country; not only in Europe and America, but in every part of the world.

In this system we discard all considerations of religious sects and political parties: we know but one religion, which is Truth derived from facts well ascertained, and but one party, which is composed of those who will ardently engage in applying the Truth, so obtained, upon all subjects, to practice, for the benefit of the human race.

Aided by the power you now possess, and with the consent of the people whose happiness you would promote, arrangements may be completed, in a short period, by which wealth may be produced so easily and pleasantly in every part of the world, that poverty and the causes of it may be for ever removed from the human race, and, in consequence, contests for property would entirely cease.

From the education which you have received you may, perhaps at first, deem these statements wild and visionary; they are not so: it is true we are plain obscure men, but we have deeply studied these subjects both in principle and practice; and judging from facts within our own knowledge, we have no doubt respecting the complete attainment of all the results which have been stated.

We have thus placed before you our own convictions of the practicability of now relieving, in a short period, Europe and America from the direful effects produced by a false and most highly injurious state of society, miscalled civilization.

We are most desirous of uniting the best powers of all mankind in bringing about this glorious change in the shortest possible period, that the sufferings of humanity, which, among many classes are now almost beyond endurance, may terminate; that all may be prepared, as speedily as the requisite practical arrangements will admit, to enjoy that healthy and sound state of existence, which a true knowledge of human nature and of society, can alone create, and permanently maintain.

Amongst such practical arrangements, we would particularly call your attention to the following:—That equal education, and that too, the best which human knowledge can now devise, should be imparted to every human being, male and female, under your respective authority,

and that such new institutions, or modifications of present institutions, should be immediately introduced, as would secure to every human being all the comforts and conveniences of life, in return for such improved faculties exercised for the common good: an object which would be easily effected by the union of adequate numbers, and the proper application of their labour, supplying their mutual wants through the medium of agricultural and manufacturing operations.

We desire most sincerely that this change may be effected without even temporary evil; that not a single individual should be injured by it in mind, body, or estate, and to accomplish the god-like purpose, no efforts on our parts shall be wanting. Whatever others may deem right to do under the new circumstances arising, and hourly advancing, we shall, with singleness of purpose, endeavour to stay the passions of men, which instigate them to violence, for their own hurt, and, if possible, bring men under the direction of calm reason, and the influence of charitable and kind feelings for all mankind.

Having thus stated our convictions of the capital errors, on which society has been founded from the beginning until now, and our desires relative to the charitable and kind mode of effecting the change to a superior state of human existence, we proceed to state our own resolves and determination which we hold, we believe, in common with all the intelligent and well-disposed of the industrious classes wherever the mind has been allowed the liberty of free thought and expression.

We know all men desire to be happy.

We know all men cannot be happy unless their natural wants shall be provided for without over-care or anxiety.

We know men cannot be happy unless they be virtuous.

We know that man cannot become virtuous until he shall be taught to have his highest pleasure in promoting the happiness of his fellows, without any exceptions on account of individual differences or any other cause whatever.

We know man cannot thus act so long as he is constrained to remain in ignorance, in poverty, or in fear of it, or made to acquire prejudices or notions in opposition to facts.

We believe that we know the mode of education and the particular combination of circumstances by which man may be made a superior being to what he now is, or has been, as far as is known from history by the existing race of men.

And, we believe, we also know the social and economical arrangements by which all his wants may be, with pleasure to the producers of such wealth, amply provided for, without desiring the possessions of those who are now the holders of superfluous property.

We know that the intelligent and well-disposed of the industrious classes are in possession of the power and means to effect this mighty revolution in the affairs of mankind, by their union and practical knowledge, without the aid of the wealthy or of the higher classes, whose knowledge (experience wofully proves) is of little use to them, and it must be now evident to all that the latter cannot exist without the continued assistance of the former.

Yet, as this portion of the Industrious Classes desires to establish, in the shortest possible time, peace, order, goodwill, and happiness among all men, they are anxious that the wealthy and higher classes, as heretofore, should lead and pursue the measures which shall be developed, to

gradually effect this long desired change, this consummation of man's hopes and wishes.

There is, in every country, an abundant supply of all materials requisite to put these measures into immediate practice; sufficient to give at once the most valuable employment to all the industrious classes over Europe and America, by which the real wealth of both continents may be greatly increased; there is, in truth, nothing wanting to ensure peace, order, prosperity, and happiness over the world, but practical wisdom on the part of governments, and corresponding knowledge of their own interests on the part of the industrious classes.

We express this sentiment, not with a view to displease, but honestly to inform you and the world, that the proper remedies may now be applied to put an immediate stop to human misery.

With anxiety for your welfare, and permanent peace of the world, we sincerely hope that you will co-operate with us. But be assured that our resolve is not to lend the aid of any of our powers longer to support a system which has generated only violence, fraud, and disunion, and which, being founded on false principles is a foe to real knowledge, and, in consequence, can produce only vice and crime continually.

Choose, therefore, which course you will: either lead us openly, fairly, and at once in the direct path to wisdom, union, perpetually increasing prosperity and happiness, or abide by your past and present wretched and futile proceedings. In the former case we will follow you with alacrity, will lend you our utmost aid, and protect you from all evil; in the latter, we will no longer look up to you for relief, or to be our guides or directors; and we shall not oppose you by violence, because, without the aid of the productive classes we know you are powerless, but we shall henceforth form arrangements, "to take our own affairs into our own hands," to produce for ourselves, and to enjoy that which our industry and knowledge shall thus provide for us.

As, however, the peace and happiness of the world will be more easily and speedily effected and secured by the existing governments, (if so informed and inclined) directing the great and glorious change, which is to emancipate the world from ignorance, oppression and vice—a change which man can no longer delay—we ardently desire that the individuals directing these governments, may now acquire sufficient useful practical wisdom to discern, through the signs of the times, the wonderful crisis, which is brought about by the sufferings of the industrious classes, (produced by a most unnatural and unnecessary demoralizing competition) in this our day; and that seeing this they will also perceive, and understand, the good to be obtained beyond the powers of man to estimate, and pledge themselves to lead this glorious moral revolution; and also that they may discover the evil which must befall them and their adherents, if they longer attempt to resist the change which the progress of events, and the interests of mankind demand.

Thus shall you proclaim peace and goodwill, and entirely remove the evils of ignorance, disunion, fraud, violence, crime and misery, from among mankind for ever.

THE FIRST MEETING OF CONGRESS.

MONDAY, APRIL 23, 1832.

On Monday last the first meeting of the Co-operative Congress was held at the Institution, King's Cross. All the members of both Houses of Parliament had been invited to attend, but we only ob-

served Mr. Mackinnon, M. P., and Mr. James Johnston, M. P., together with Mr. Noel, Dr. Stewart, and others. The first half-yearly Congress was held at Manchester, and the second at Birmingham. About 800 persons were present, independently of the Delegates of the Congress. On the motion of the Rev. Dr. Wade—

Mr. Owen was called to the Chair.

Mr. OWEN commenced by explaining the object of the Congress then assembled. They had met in order, by their deliberations, to assist society in creating new circumstances, and to escape from those vicious circumstances by which it was trammelled. The wisest men in past ages had come to the conclusion, and the experience of succeeding ages had confirmed it, that man ever has been, now is, and must continue to be, the creature of the circumstances by which he is surrounded. By creating new circumstances they sought to improve the human character—they sought to raise man, physically and morally, to the highest point of perfection, and to direct his powers and faculties in the highest possible manner for the benefit of himself and fellow man. They did not endeavour to establish anything but what had been proved to be true, and their object was to find out a new road in which all might be united in one common interest. He concluded by requesting that the meeting would pay the utmost attention to the addresses of the different speakers.

Mr. LOVETT, after reading the first Resolution, observed, that when such strange anomalies exhibit themselves as are presented in this kingdom at the present moment, it is the duty of all men, setting aside all private interests and feelings, to inquire into the causes of the various evils by which we are afflicted, and to unite heart and hand to provide an efficient remedy. It arose on the part of the governors, from believing that the principle of competition was the principle on which all governments depended. They taught mankind to compete with each other, and to outstrip his brother by every means in his power. The prevalence of this competitive principle occasioned envy, hatred, jealousy, and a long train of evil passions. With respect to machinery, the society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge had declared that the results of machinery were cheap production and increased employment. He admitted that it cheapened production, but let them inquire what the bulk of the people gained by it [hear hear!]? In order to ascertain this, they must in the first place inquire what forms the greatest portion of the expenditure of any poor family? Rent, taxes, fuel, and victuals. Rent within a few years past had been doubled; taxes, fuel, and food enormously increased in price. The advantage, then, of this cheapness of production would only be felt in a few articles of clothing, bedding, and furniture [cheers]. And if workmen's wages were reduced one-half, and they had been in various branches of the cotton and other manufactures, what advantage, he would ask, had the working classes derived from machinery [cheers]? The society attributed the deficiency of employment not to the prevalence of machinery, but to the over population. But how did the fact bear out this statement? It appeared that we had got a moving power of machinery equal to 600,000,000 of men, and which might be managed by about 30,000. They had about 280,000 looms, which were equal to the supply of 77,000,000 of human beings. He did not object to the machinery itself, but he objected to the continuance of the productive power under individual arrangements. If the demand were increased beyond the present powers of machinery, new machinery would be created to meet the increased demand; but the working man would not find any proportionate increase of employment. The question might be stated in a very simple form. Within the same period that the population had increased two-fold, the powers of production had increased eighty-fold [hear, hear!]. The system which they sought to establish was the reverse of the competitive—it was all for each, and each for all; and if carried into execution, would sweep away all

this world's cares and troubles, and make it bloom a terrestrial paradise [continued cheers].

Mr. FINCH (a Delegate from Liverpool) seconded the motion. He would merely say a few words on the distress existing in commercial pursuits. He had lately travelled from Belfast to Dublin, and found it stated on all hands that commerce was in a worse state than for fifty years past. He himself was in the iron trade, and such was the effect of competition that scarcely the first cost of the article could be realized. The iron trade might be taken as an index of other trades, since every trade, more or less, consumed iron. They had now met to ascertain the progress which the new views of society had made, how far the people were prepared to act upon them, and what were the best practical measures to be adopted at the present moment. The speaker then proceeded to detail the fundamental principles of the co-operative system as laid down by Mr. Owen. The practical mode of relief was to be considered. They required for this purpose labour, knowledge, virtue, capital, and land. Of labour there was a superabundance; as to knowledge he proposed an application to the present liberal and enlightened government [a laugh] to extend a national system of education to England as well as Ireland [strong marks of dissent]. As to religion, he would not meddle with it at all, but he conceived a system of national education to be essential to the promotion of co-operative principles.

Mr. MANLEY (a Delegate from Manchester) supported the Resolution. He adverted to the great distresses of the weavers and manufacturing classes of society there. Crime also had increased in a frightful degree. The habits of great numbers had become depraved. To these radical reform would afford no relief—nothing but the plan of their father, Mr. Owen, could afford an adequate improvement [hear, hear!] He was happy to state, that there were numbers of young men in Manchester—some younger than himself, some older—who were determined to carry out Mr. Owen's system in spite of all the scoffs and sneers that might be heaped upon them [cheers]. He could confirm Mr. Lovett's statement of distress. He knew that a master, at Dewsbury, in Yorkshire, had agreed to send out blankets to America, upon consignment, at half the manufacturing price [hear!], whilst the wretched beings by whom those blankets were manufactured were without a blanket to cover them!

Mr. FOSKITT also supported the Resolution. A preceding speaker had referred to the necessity of founding their exertions upon a system of education. He agreed to this proposition; but he did not think the government would ever consent to a system of national education. He was afraid we might as well expect the sun to melt the rocks. Let them do this great work for themselves [cheers]. He proposed a plan of mutual co-operation and division of labour. Money was not necessary. Labour-notes were sufficient. The working classes would then soon obtain capital and land, and find numbers willing to come forward and impart to them and their offspring the advantages of education. Let them refuse to supply those who would not join with them, and in the next age they would perhaps find man a machine, of which intellect would be the main spring, and benevolence the ruling passion [cheers].

The CHAIRMAN then read the first Resolution, as follows:—

"That with all the boasted attainments of Englishmen in literature, the arts, and the sciences—with all our improvements in agriculture, manufactures, or powers of production—the affecting scenes of misery daily witnessed, together with the unheard-of privations that exist amongst the industrious classes of the United Kingdom, as well as the present state of our trading and commercial pursuits, and, above all, the fearful extent of pauperism and crime, afford lamentable proofs either that a state of civilization and refinement does not augment the happiness of the human race, or that we have yet to learn the correct basis of social polity, and to erect a superstructure thereon, differing in every respect from the one that is productive of such contradictions and anomalies."

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

The Rev. Mr. MARRIOTT (of Warrington) proposed the second Resolution. He commenced by attributing the evils and inequalities which had been expatiated on, to the feudal system. No system of society could be more unnatural than ours, where the industrious classes were, without any fault of their own, in a state of the most abject distress, whilst the idlers were revelling in luxury and wealth. (Cheers.) Let them remember the great principle of religion, that man should love his fellow as himself. Community and co-operation would tend most effectually to the development of this principle. (Hear.) This he conceived to be the cause of true religion; and he sincerely regretted that so few of the ministers of religion were to be found in the ranks of its advocates. (Loud applause.)

Mr. WIGG (Delegate from one of the London Societies) seconded the Resolution. The happiness of the greatest number was contended for by some of their friends—the happiness of the greatest number was contended for by many philosophers; but they contended for the happiness of all. (Cheers.) In some respects, man, in his savage state, possessed more liberty and more advantages than man in such a state of society as that which now existed. No restraint was put upon his liberty; for him nature exhibited all her various beauties; the wild bird sang freely above him; the flowers of the earth yielded him their fragrance, and the trees tempted him with their fruit; but in unhappy England there were Game Laws, and Property Laws. The man who sought to range over its fields would be stopped by the laws of trespass, or by certain painted boards, warning him that man traps and spring guns were set upon these premises. (Cheers.) Yes, the worm rioted freely in the earth—the foxes had holes, and the birds nests, but the Son of man had not where to lay his head. (Loud applause.) There were various other evils to add to these disadvantages. Allusion had been made to the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: that Society had recommended them to emigrate to Canada; but the Knowledge which the Society taught them, proved that such emigration was unnecessary whilst 15,000,000 of uncultivated acres remained in England which were capable of cultivation. Why then should they emigrate to the Wilds of Canada? (Cheers.) The speaker then proceeded, at considerable length, to trace the progress of Society up to the present time, attributing the various evils to the principle of Individuality which prevailed throughout Society. Happiness had been destroyed even among the higher classes; they were in constant dread of violence: they were afraid of being deprived of their possessions. They were compelled to double their police force, to maintain a standing army, and still they dreaded the occurrence of anarchy and tumult. The individual interests which had thus been raised up, combated every attempt at improvement, and would shackle the most enlightened Ministry that ever existed. Do the Ministers seek to abolish slavery?—up start the slave masters and complain that their interests are set at nought, and their property unprotected. When the Ministry sought to give cheap beer to the working classes, the distillers and the great brewers declared that their interests were attacked, and up rose in his place the Right Rev. Father in God, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and deprecated the existence of the little beer shops, demanding that they should be closed at the earliest possible hour, whilst the great and splendid gin shops are suffered to deal out their poison to the people uncontrolled. (Hear.) He then proceeded to expatiate at great length, but with much force of argument and felicity of expression, on the value and importance of the Working Classes of the community; and concluded amidst the loudest demonstrations of applause.

The Chairman then read the second resolution, as follows, which was carried unanimously:—

"That the paramount object of all our social arrangements should be to add, by every combination of means, to the happiness of every member of the community; and to abstract the least possible from his personal independence—instead of that which has hitherto been our mistaken policy, to keep in igno-

rance, and thus destroy, the happiness of the many in order to increase and most injuriously administer to the luxuries of the few."

Mr. JOSEPH SMITH (a delegate from Manchester), in rising to propose the third resolution, spoke as follows:—I hold in my hand a motion, which I feel no hesitation in submitting to the meeting, feeling assured that it will meet with its cordial approbation. Something far, very far, beyond individual property is the source of all our miseries, and the foundation of those evils under which we labour. Out of evil originates individual property, and from out of individual property, fear. (Mr. Smith then entered somewhat fully into the subject of machinery, and maintained that its effects were seriously injurious to all—not less so to the consumer than to the working man). The system which I recommend, is this—"Every man for every man—himself included." But some ask, how is this to be done? I reply, "look at our numbers, our strength, and our resources; we have only to will it, and to have it." I ask, in the first place, what are the requisites for the formation of an incipient community? *We possess them*; and all now to be ascertained is, how to carry our intentions into effect. The words of the resolution are, that "the combined and well directed efforts of every individual shall be made to contribute to the happiness of all, when mutual affection and the pursuit of truth shall form the basis of their education, and when every arrangement shall harmonize with the laws of human nature." We have not only all the requisites, but all the powers, to carry this resolution into full operation. Public opinion is getting more favourable to a change of some sort; and the change that we contemplate would be a change from misery and degradation to truth and happiness. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. PARE (a delegate from Oldbury, near Birmingham), rose to second the resolution.—The present distress amongst the industrious classes may be attributed, in a great measure, to the vast increase of machinery, in all the manufacturing towns and villages, during the last fifty years. In the year 1792 the machinery then in operation in the country was equal to the labour of about ten millions of men; but now, mark the difference, and your wonder, at our present distress and want of employment, will soon cease. At the present time the machinery—and I have my calculations from good authority—in the United Kingdom, alone, is equal to the laborious exertions of six hundred millions of hard-working industrious men. Now let us see what the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in a work entitled "The Results of Machinery," published under their entire superintendence and control, says upon this subject:—

"There is a glut of labourers," says the Society, "in the market. If you (the labourers) continue in the market of labour during this glut, your wages must fall. What is the remedy? To go out of the market. (Loud laughter). When wheat falls five shillings at Mark-lane," continues the Society, "the farmer receives a hint that the supply is beyond the demand; he holds back for a few weeks, and prices regain their former level. What enables the farmer to hold back his corn? He has something to fall back upon; he is not compelled to sell his corn that week, or that month;—he is a capitalist. Endeavour to acquire the same power yourselves. Become capitalists." (Laughter.)

This society, truly, is most excessively kind, and manifests a ludicrous desire to better the condition of the working classes, by telling them to "become capitalists;" but they neglected one most important particular, and that is to tell them *how* they are to become such, and "hold back" their labour, with wages amounting to not more than, perhaps, five, seven, or ten shillings a week! and out of this pittance to keep a wife and children, dependent for their "daily bread." The work thus proceeds, after telling the starving artisans to "become capitalists!"—(loud laughter)

"When there is too much labour in the market, and wages are too low, do not combine to raise wages, but go out of the market." "No, no,"

[For the Remainder see SUPPLEMENT.]

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR & MISERY,



[Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's-Inn Road.]

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I.—No. 4.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

[Continued from p. 12.]

says this Knowledge Society 'do not combine to raise wages, or we, and those moving in the same rank of life, will have to pay more money for our coats and waistcoats, and every other commodity which we require will be raised in price in proportion.'

This is certainly arguing the question to some purpose; but I would have you bear in mind, it is on the side of themselves, and themselves only; leaving wholly out of the question the interests of the working man. I will read you one more extract, and then dismiss the Useful Knowledge Society's "Results of Machinery."

"When wages fall short, by a glut of labour, you not only continue to work, but you work harder; and thus you increase the evil. You have in too many cases nothing but your labour for your support. We say to you, get something else; acquire something to fall back upon. When there is a glut of labour, go at once out of the market. Become yourselves capitalists."

Upon this fallacious mode of reasoning I will make but one remark:—it is a gross delusion; and a greater insult could not be offered to the working classes than the offer of such a remedy [loud cheers]. Now as to Savings Banks—it is most fallacious to suppose, for a moment, that they have ever been any benefit to the labouring classes; and I can only express my surprise, that they were such dupes as to be hoodwinked so long as they were respecting their alleged benefit to them. The depositors received a certain rate of interest for their money, and the bank, in return, lent the money to the manufacturer to enable him, by the use of such capital, to depress the rate of wages and keep up the price of his commodities. [Mr. Pare, after pointing out, with much force, the benefits which would be derived by a hearty and steadfast co-operation amongst the working classes, concluded (amidst loud cheers) by replying to many objections which had been raised against such societies, in the course of which he denied most positively, that it was either their wish, or even contemplated by them, to level all things, or to subvert, or level to the dust the existing institutions of the country.] No, no, they knew better than this. It was true they wished "equality," but then it was "voluntary equality." (Cheers.) It was true they were levellers, but then they wished to level up, not down. (Cheers.) They knew well enough that if all the wealth in existence were to be equally divided to-morrow, so far from being beneficial, (if the present competition were to continue) it would be highly injurious. (Hear.) They had no desire to touch one particle of the wealth now existing, but they were fully determined to establish new institutions by which they might create and retain fresh wealth for themselves. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was read by the chairman, and unanimously adopted. It was as follows:—

"That the proposed system of co-operation in which the combined and well-directed efforts of every individual shall be made to contribute to the happiness of all, where mutual affection and the pursuit of truth shall form the basis of their education, and where every arrangement shall harmonize with the laws of human nature, is therefore, in the opinion of this meeting, worthy of the attention of every lover of his species, and seems the only plan calculated to promote permanent prosperity and happiness."

Mr. WILLIAM CARSON (a delegate from Wigan, in Lancashire) in rising to propose the fourth resolution, addressed the meeting to the following effect:—I appear here, as the representative of a co-operative society, consisting of above three thousand members (cheers); the whole of whom have put into practice—and much good has been the result—that which has been recommended here this day. They have begun to work for themselves; and they have found, notwithstanding all that has been said against the beneficial effects of co-operation amongst the working classes, they can now do better for themselves and for their families, than ever they did before under the bondage of their masters. They have now an estate which once belonged to a large manufacturer, and a mansion now turned into dwellings for the poor, for which they pay the yearly rent of six hundred pounds. (Hear, hear.) Upon this estate there are sixty cottages, which are all turned to a good and profitable account. (Cheers.) The large drawing-room of this wealthy and powerful manufacturer, which was too extensive for the wants of these humble mechanics, has been despoiled of its ornamental trappings, and divided into two conveniently sized apartments. I can assure you, my friends, it is indeed a glorious sight to see these men enjoying themselves, during their leisure hours, by bodily recreation and mental amusement, as well as the other cotton lords by whom they are surrounded. They are now placed in an independent situation—morally as well as physically—and far, very far, above want; their families are healthful and cheerful, their bodies clothed and their appetites satisfied, by means of industry and perseverance. They feel that they are working not only for their brethren around them but for themselves; and all idea of poverty and wretchedness is banished from their minds, and although these men pay the enormous sum of six hundred a year for the premises they occupy, they have found that, notwithstanding all the complaints made by the manufacturers, of no profit and little trade, they have found no cause to complain on this score. They have thus proved that the complaints of the master-manufacturers were groundless, and only made for the purpose of keeping down the wages of

their men. (Mr. Carson then exhibited various specimens of gown-prints, stockings, &c. manufactured by the Wigan co-operative society, which called forth the warm approbation of the meeting). The co-operators were determined to get machinery themselves, and turn mechanical power to their own account. They have done so; and the specimens which I now exhibit to the notice of this meeting, are the successful results of that determination. The political economists, with a Christian clergyman at their head, wish what they term the surplus population of the country to transport themselves to distant shores and foreign climes. To these persons I would wish to give this piece of advice—Let them transport themselves; they are useless here, and we can well do without them. What! are the drones only to be suffered to remain, and the bees only to be sent away? He would answer, no. [No, no? from all parts of the room.] (The speaker here instanced the good effects which have resulted from the establishment of reading-rooms amongst the working classes, and their beneficial tendency upon their habits and morals.) It is one of the rules of the co-operative masters not to suffer any one of its members to receive parochial relief; they supported each other in sickness and distress, and administered to their comforts with the feeling of brothers.—I stand here as a victim of these societies; and by what means I will endeavour briefly to explain to you. I have always taken a most active part in the foundation of co-operative societies, which has called down upon my head the vengeance and spite of some of the under powers that be. I held a situation with a highly respectable architect, employed by the commissioners for building churches, amongst whom are several dignitaries of the church and aristocracy; my discharge was forwarded to me, although having a large family to maintain, because I had rendered myself obnoxious to the commissioners by the active exertions I made in aid of co-operation. Upon the architect appealing to the commissioners in my behalf, telling them, at the same time the situation in which I should be placed if they were determined upon his discharging me, they told him in reply that I must be discharged, and they would bear the responsibility. (Mr. Carson now exhibited to the meeting several other specimens of the "handy work" of the co-operators, amongst which were several highly-finished specimens of hard-ware, and a literary work, written by a co-operative member, and printed at a co-operative press; and then continued:) I can assure you, there is scarcely an article that could be mentioned, which these co-operators have not the means and machinery to manufacture. Every thing has been done by the powerful, the rich, and the affluent to do a lasting injury to the working classes; but they have failed. For the future we will take the advice of no men, nor any set of men, but those who have no interest, either present or remote,

in keeping down and trammelling the labouring classes. I had almost forgotten to mention that we have established a school—a co-operative school!—(loud cheers)—feeling convinced that without knowledge there is no happiness. But that school has been opposed, and by whom? By those who have done ill, and are alarmed at the progress of knowledge amongst us. Our aim is to make all happy: we wish not to take the property from the rich which they now possess, but to add to the property of the poor and industrious, who have been so shamefully neglected by those whose real interest it was to succour and support them (loud cheers).

Mr. HIRST (a Delegate from Huddersfield) next rose, and spoke as follows:

This numerous and respectable meeting, in the metropolis of the Empire, is a most pleasing and gratifying sign of the times. There was a time—and that period has not long passed by—when scarcely half-a-dozen persons could be found to advocate the cause we are here assembled to promote: but now we may truly say, “the tables are turned,” for we can now number thousands amongst our society—our brotherly society of Co-operatives. The resolution states, that “to ensure so desirable and beautiful a change as the one contemplated by co-operatives, no exertion of our talents should be spared, or the pursuit of honest and honourable means neglected.” To this doctrine I do, most warmly and sincerely assent. There is much truth in the following observation, which is embodied in the resolution I hold in my hand:—“The establishing of co-operative trading and manufacturing associations has been the means of peaceably uniting a great number of the industrious classes, as well as greatly instrumental in promoting co-operative knowledge.” (hear! hear!) Let me, therefore, in the language of this resolution, respectfully urge on all engaged in co-operative societies to renew their exertions, and embrace every opportunity in promoting and extending their usefulness. Now with respect to the dreadful state of trade, some tell you it is caused by machinery—others say it is the East India monopoly—then there was a cry out against the Corn Laws, and the Poor Laws, and half-a-hundred other laws; till, at last, you lose yourselves amidst those conflicting statements, in endeavouring to hit upon the true one. I have no hesitation in saying that the newspapers—at least the generality of them—are bribed by the rich to advocate their cause against the cause of the poor; and those newspapers, consequently, advocate any cause but the poor man’s. The public who read their newspapers, imbibes as many different opinions as the they read newspapers. They therefore never arrive at the truth, but go on pondering in error. I deny that it is machinery which is the cause of distress; but I will, with equal boldness, maintain that it is the ill-directed production of that machinery. All I desire is, to give a right direction to those productions; accomplish this most important object, and all would then go on well. Competition may be mentioned as one of the most baneful sources of all our misery. What has destroyed our trade? Competition and monopoly. What has been the cause of the almost total end of profit, in carrying on business? Competition and monopoly. To monopoly and competition and their evils may therefore be attributed a great source of our evils. The whole system of trade is now one great system of falsehood and fraud. Walk but through the streets of any town in the kingdom and what stares you in the face at the windows of the shopkeepers? In one you will find a notice to the effect that “the stock of the shop is selling off at prime cost.”—In another, “the goods of the concern are to be sold 20 per cent. under manufacturers’ prices”—while in a third, which I saw myself, a short time ago, “the whole of this extensive stock selling off fifty per cent under prime cost!” (laughter) What dependence is to be placed upon these announcements you are as good judges as I am.—This proves what I have just stated, that a system of falsehood and fraud is openly carried on, to the great and very serious injury of the fair and honest trader. Such are the workings of this deceptive and

ruinous system—such is the unnatural manner in which trade and commerce are now conducted. Now, with respect to our imports and exports, I think I shall be able to convince you that other countries are very materially benefitting at the expense of this. Our rulers and our political economists appear to have been all in the wrong, as will appear from the following deductions and calculations, which may be relied upon for their correctness:

For instance, we will take the amount of labourers at 6,000,000 at the rate of 20s. per week wages, as was the case twenty years ago, 52 weeks would amount to £312,000,000, take one third of this for support alone, and there will remain £208,000,000 to circulate in the country, and supposing this amount to change hands, or circulate ten times before it appeared in the shape of wages again, it would have made returns to the amount of £2,080,000,000: allowing ten per cent as the average of profit upon these returns there would appear a nett income to the nation of £208,000,000, arising from the circulation of wages. But as the matter now stands, by the reduction of wages to half their former price, the returns would be as circulated above, only 520,000,000, and allowing the same rate of profit, would only produce to the nation fifty-two millions, or a loss of £156,000,000 in the national income, arising from the reduction of wages alone.—By way of further elucidation and bringing the subject more plainly to our comprehension, I have weighed a piece of cotton goods of twenty-two pounds, and find that twenty years ago this piece would have left the country at 5s. 6d. per pound, that is £5 19s. 2d. per piece, and the cotton wool to make it from would have cost 2s. per pound at that time, consequently would leave 3l. 15s. 2d. for labour, profit, &c., but at the present time, a piece of cotton goods the same weight would go out at 14d. per lb., and the cotton wool come in at 6d. per lb. or 22 lbs. at sixpence (eleven shillings), and would go out at 1l. 6s. 8d., leaving for the labour and profit 14s. 8d. instead of 3l. 15s. 2d. as formerly, or five times as much work to do for the same amount of money. It will thus be seen that it is necessary that some science—some new method to conduct the affairs of the country—is essentially necessary to the well being of every class. I can prove that it will only take one forty-eighth part of what England can produce, to pay all the taxes—even according to their present unjust amount—and keep us all as well as our forefathers were kept into the bargain. What then becomes of the other forty-seven parts? ask the unproductive classes—they can best tell you, for they devour them. I therefore consider, as the resolution expresses, that in order to ensure a desirable and beneficial change in our condition, it must be effected by means of co-operation. It is the duty of every man, (and to the working classes I more particularly address myself) morally and politically to extend, by every means in his power, the universal usefulness of co-operative societies. All we want, or at least one great object which we wish to achieve, is to do away the war, and the bickerings, and the ill-will, which has so long subsisted between master and man. This object would be fully accomplished by the organization of co-operative societies. (Mr. Hirst here exhibited to the meeting several specimens of handkerchiefs, flannels, gown-prints, Britannia metal teapots, and some beautifully finished knives, &c. manufactured by various co-operative societies in the north of England.) We have brought a small stock of these articles to town with us, for the purposes of sale, which will be exhibited to the public for that purpose on Thursday next; I hope you will not let us take them back again unsold. I have now upon my back a co-operative shirt (laughter and cheers), and here’s a co-operative coat, and here’s a co-operative waistcoat. (Loud laughter.) Let me now urge upon you to be united—be firmly determined in a good cause as ours is, and it must prosper; although we were deserted in the hour of need. Mr. Carpenter deserted us, (low murmurs, and cries of—no, no—no such thing), “The Trades’ Free Press” deserted us, “The Voice of the People” deserted us—and we were thus left without any advocates to support

our cause. But we have now got a press of our own (loud cheers), a co-operative press, and I trust we shall find it succeed without the aid of those who left us. In the town of Bolton, to mention the word co-operative would have been almost considered treasonable; I, however, visited that town sometime since, for the purpose of giving a lecture on the benefits and advantages to be derived from the co-operative system. But knowing the feelings of the persons there resident, and the prejudices existing in their minds against co-operation, I issued a notice, to the following effect, leaving out, you must bear in mind, the word “co-operative” altogether. (Laughter.) “A lecture will be given in the Assembly-room of this town, on the immoral condition of the Working Classes, and the best means of remedying it.” The result was as I expected—the Assembly-room was crowded to suffocation, and hundreds were turned away from the doors for want of room. Such was the effect my lecture had upon those who attended, and such their conviction of the truths I adduced in favor of co-operation, that I was besetted the next morning by several respectable inhabitants to give a second lecture—they offering at the same time to engage the theatre for that purpose. This I was obliged to decline, as I was engaged to deliver a lecture at Stockport the same evening. Since that period no less than six co-operative societies have been formed, and are flourishing in Bolton. (Hear, hear.) Co-operatives can sleep in safety without locks, bolts, or bars, or even doors, but if the present system goes on we shall have nothing but goals, and too, well filled. Let me now beseech the radicals to cease from exciting the lower orders against the higher; and all who are present at this meeting, to be quiet, peaceable, and united. Let all the co-operatives in London be on their guard against the divisions which will be attempted to be created amongst them, by those to whose interests they are opposed. (Cheers.)

A gentleman (whose name we were informed was WALKER), rose from the body of the room, and observed that Mr. Hirst had done great injustice to Mr. Carpenter, by stating that that gentleman had deserted their cause, when the fact was, that they had deserted Mr. Carpenter. The Trades’ Free Press, ably as it was conducted, and advocating the rights and interests of the working classes, was compelled to be abandoned from the want of subscribers, while, at the same time, the Weekly Dispatch, with its dog fights, cock fights, and man fights, possessed a circulation of nearly thirty thousand weekly. He rose to do justice to Mr. Carpenter, who he thought had been unfairly and most unjustifiably attacked.

Mr. HIRST rose for the purpose of explanation. He did not intend to attack Mr. Carpenter, whom he had not seen till that day, and whose writings and principles he had always warmly admired.

Mr. CLEAVE thought that all must be filled with delight at the cheering accounts they had that day heard of the progress of co-operation, throughout a great portion of the kingdom. But he begged leave to correct the statement of Mr. Hirst, that the principles of co-operation were not known in Bolton till Mr. Hirst entered there. Such was not the fact. The Reverend Mr. Baker had delivered lectures there two years before, and works had been freely circulated in the town on that subject. With respect to Mr. Carpenter, and the “Trades’ Free Press,” he begged leave to state, that that gentleman lost two hundred pounds by the undertaking before he abandoned it. He then gave to the public unstamped co-operative knowledge in his Political Letter, which was suppressed by the strong arm of government, and Mr. Carpenter was incarcerated within the walls of a prison for endeavouring to inculcate cheap knowledge amongst the working classes. He then recommended the Political Magazine (a work highly eulogized by Mr. Owen, their chairman), which to the everlasting shame of the working classes be it spoken, had never paid him for paper and print. (Shame, shame.)

Mr. HIRST, in reply to the observations of Mr. Cleave, stated that he merely intended to remark that no co-operative society had been formed in Bolton before his visit to that place. With respect to Mr.

Carpenter he had taken in his magazine from its commencement, and warmly admired the sentiments that it promulgated. He thought, according to the existing institutions of the country, the government were bound to prosecute him (hissing from many parts of the room)—for selling his unstamped paper. (The hissing and groans became still louder, and Mr. Hirst resumed his seat.)

Mr. OWEN trusted that all they had heard that day on the subject of the beneficent principle of co-operation, would be deeply impressed upon their minds: although much information had been imparted to them, they had not heard of half of the inestimable benefits which every man, woman, and child throughout the kingdom would derive from co-operation; and although many were now opposed to the interests of the working classes, he would not find fault with them as individuals—for it was the system in which they were involved wherein the fault lay. On Wednesday next will be laid before you a document for your consideration, which, if adopted, and firmly abided by, will be the means of speedily relieving society from the woful anomaly of too much wealth and too much poverty, by removing the ignorance which is the sole cause of this anomaly.

The fourth resolution was then put from the chair, and carried unanimously. It was as follows:—

"That to ensure so desirable and beneficial a change as the one contemplated by co-operators, no exertion of talents, however humble, should be spared, or the pursuit of honest and honourable means neglected; and as the establishing of co-operative trading and manufacturing associations have been the means of peaceably uniting a great number of the industrious classes, as well as greatly instrumental in promoting co-operative knowledge, this meeting respectfully urges on all engaged in them to renew their exertions, and embrace every opportunity in promoting and extending their usefulness."

Upon the motion of the Rev. Dr. WADZ, the meeting was adjourned till Wednesday.

It was now six o'clock in the evening.

RICH AND POOR.

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

THE most obvious division of Society is into rich and poor; and it is no less obvious that the number of the former bears a great disproportion to that of the latter. The whole business of the poor is to administer to the idleness, folly, and luxury of the rich; and that of the rich, in return, is to find the best methods of confirming the slavery, and increasing the burthens of the poor. In a *state of nature*, it is an invariable law that a man's *acquisitions* are in proportion to his *labours*. In a *state of artificial society*, it is a law, as constant and invariable, that those who labour most enjoy the fewest things; and, that those who labour not at all, have the greatest number of enjoyments. A constitution of things this, strange and ridiculous beyond expression! We scarce believe a thing when we are told it, which we actually see before our eyes every day without being the least surprised. I suppose that there are in Great Britain upwards of a hundred thousand people employed in lead, tin, iron, copper, and coal mines; these unhappy wretches scarcely ever see the light of the sun; they are buried in the bowels of the earth; there they work at a severe and dismal task, without the least prospect of being delivered from it; they subsist upon the coarsest and worst of fare; they have their health miserably impaired, and their lives cut short, by being perpetually confined in the close vapour of these malignant minerals. A hundred thousand more, at least, are tortured without remission, by the suffocating smoke, intense fires, and constant drudgery necessary in refining and managing the products of those mines. If any man informed us that two hundred thousand innocent persons were condemned to such intolerable sla-

very, how should we pity the unhappy sufferers; and how great would be our just indignation against those who inflicted so cruel and ignominious a punishment! This is an instance, (I could wish no stronger), of the numberless things we pass by in their common dress, which yet shock us when they are nakedly represented. But this number, considerable as it is, and the slavery, with all its baseness and horror, which we have at home, are *nothing* to what the rest of the world affords of the same nature. *Millions* are daily bathed in the poisonous damps and destructive effluvia of lead, silver, copper and arsenic—to say nothing of those other employments, those stations of wretchedness and contempt, in which civil society has placed the numerous *enfants perdus* (the forlorn hope) of her army.

Would any rational man submit to one of the most tolerable of these drudgeries, for all the artificial enjoyments which policy has made to result from them? By no means. And yet, shall it be said that they who elaborate all these commodities, are not at all the same persons as those who enjoy them. On considering the strange and unaccountable fancies and contrivances of artificial reason, we may well consider this world as the Bedlam of the solar system. Looking also upon the effect of some of these fancies, may we not with equal reason call it likewise the Newgate and the Bridewell of the universe? Indeed the blindness of one part of mankind co-operating with the frenzy and villany of the other, has been the real builder of this respectable fabric of political society. And as the blindness of mankind has caused their slavery, so, in return, their state of slavery is made a pretence for continuing them in a state of blindness; for the politician will tell you gravely, that their life of servitude disqualifies the greater part of the race of man for a search of truth, and supplies them with no other than mean, grovelling, and insufficient ideas. This is but too true; and this is one of the reasons among many others which led me to think that the present institutions of society are as barbarous and savage in their effects, as unjust and irrational in their origin.

Lincoln's Inn.

P. W.

SECOND MEETING OF CONGRESS.

On Wednesday, at one o'clock, the adjourned Public Meeting of the Congress of Delegates was held at the Institution, in Gray's Inn-lane. The room was not so well filled as on the previous occasion, though several ladies were present.

The Rev. Dr. WADZ was called to the chair. He commenced by apologizing for the absence of Mr. Owen, the painful cause of which was the death of his youngest daughter. He denied that the plan of Mr. Owen contemplated any thing injurious to society. Co-operation, on an extensive scale, was absolutely necessary to relieve the people from the moral and physical evils in which they were plunged. Partial remedies, agricultural labourers' friends, and other societies, had all failed. They must, by co-operation, seek to relieve the physical wants of the multitude, if they wished to raise their moral and mental character. Want depressed and degraded the mind of man, and drove him to measures which were opposed to the best interests of society; and though he himself was placed above want, yet he would not and could not undertake to say, that were he in a similar situation, he should not fall in a similar manner. (Cheers.) He expressed his approbation of the proceedings of the Congress, and as a clergyman of the Church of England, he was proud to be a link between the poorer and the richer classes of society; and if his poorer brethren were to fall,

he would rather perish with them than flourish with the rich. (Applause.)

The Resolutions passed at the previous meeting were read.

The Secretary then read a letter from Lord Boston, declining to attend any public meeting; the Resolutions passed at which, might come before him in the capacity of legislator. When they should so come, he promised to give them his best attention, and do all in his power to promote the interests of the working classes. He also read a long letter from Mr. Leigh Hunt, regretting his absence on account of ill health, and expressing his approbation of the objects of the Meeting; and another from Colonel Evans, M.P., stating that absence from town prevented him from attending the meeting.

As the first meeting, on Monday, adjourned before putting the last resolution given in our report of the meeting—

Mr. CARSON (Delegate for Lancashire) now proposed its adoption. The resolution was as follows:

"That with the view of creating an enlightened public opinion on subjects of every importance connected with the welfare and happiness of society, and thereby effecting a peaceable and desirable change in the condition of all classes, this meeting impressively urges on the attention of the legislature the great necessity of removing all impediments to the cheap diffusion of knowledge, and of promoting by every means in its power the establishment of schools, libraries, and reading rooms in every town and village of the United Kingdom."

He attributed the wants and distresses of the working and industrious classes to want of knowledge. He stated that there were three thousand persons who had entered into a bond of co-operation in Lancashire, and were resolved to do that for themselves which the government would not do for them. They rented land to the amount of 6000*l.* per annum, and had thirty cottages of their own. It was necessary for the poor to co-operate—why should they not? The rich did so; the rich entered into societies. The railway was erected by co-operation [hear!]. He had calculated what every man working on the railway ought to receive, if he took a share of profit proportionate to his labour,—he would receive one pound per week. Now all they got was employment in making another. The power of producing wealth was not sufficient, without knowledge to teach them how to distribute their wealth. To all these co-operative establishments they therefore attached schools of knowledge and industry, which served not only for their own and their children's instruction, but as places of meeting; for they were determined never to meet in a public house [cheers]. Indeed these societies had produced a great moral effect; for the publicans were the only sufferers [hear!]. A mistake and a prejudice had gone abroad against them on account of Mr. Owen's peculiar tenets, but they entered into co-operation in the country because it accorded with Christian principles. Their establishments consisted of manufactories, libraries, reading-rooms, wholesale and retail warehouses. Though they did not talk so much of the beautiful principles of unanimity in the country, yet they had an eye to community. He then proceeded, in a very interesting detail, to explain the gradual progress of co-operative societies. It seems that twelve individuals met together and clubbed sixpence each, with which they bought twelve pounds of candles. Upon this stock they traded, and in six months they realized a capital of 150*l.*; and they had now a wholesale establishment at Liverpool; they purchased their eight or ten hogsheads of sugar in the market, and their warehouse was filled with every variety of articles. He adverted to the support of many gentlemen in the country, who supported co-operatives because they found co-operatives pay their rents. He begged, in conclusion, and on behalf of thousands, to state, that they were neither Atheists nor Deists, but Christians, and acted on Christian principles [cheers].

Mr. FLATHER (a London Delegate) summarized the Resolution. They were met together to gain the progress made since the last

would mention to them what had been done by the 150 whom he represented on this occasion. They had been enabled, by co-operation, to rent a house of 80L, to build an assembly-room, to establish a library and reading-room; they had public discussions and balls, at which they and their families attended, and surely this was much for working men to do (hear!). This showed that they must look to themselves—on their own exertions they must depend for their own emancipation. In Poland-street they had established a Labour Bank; and during the period of six months they had effected upwards of one thousand exchanges, to the great advantage of the co-operators. They had therefore practically disproved the dogmas of the political economists, that no demand could be equal to the supply, for they had produced a demand always adequate to the supply. They had also proceeded to a step which some few years ago would have been deemed ludicrous; they were making arrangements for a course of Lectures on the Philosophy of Language (loud cheers). He contended that it was necessary for the working men to have schools for themselves, notwithstanding the Sunday and other cheap schools, on account of the petty and vexatious regulations which were enforced there.

Mr. B. WARDEN supported the Resolution, and stated that they had erected a new school, called a Labour Exchange School, in which they had, during the last six weeks, effected 899 exchanges.—(At the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Hume, M.P. entered, and was received with loud cheers).

Mr. HURST (Delegates from Huddersfield) dilated upon the various and complicated evils of the present system, particularly the abominable and unjust law of primogeniture. Various men attributed those evils to various causes: some to primogeniture—some to the funding system—some to the paper currency—some to the East-India Company—some to the aristocracy—some to the corn laws; but perhaps it was owing to the ignorance of the working classes themselves. But that ignorance would not last long—the schoolmaster had gone abroad—he had got into Yorkshire, and the ignorant Yorkshireman now knows great B from a bull's foot (cheers and laughter). The evil of which they complained arose from all those causes together, combined with others of which he perhaps might make mention. These were the causes of the present anomalous state of things—a few excessively rich, and millions extremely poor. Strange that riches should lead to poverty—abundance to want—and plenty to starvation. He trusted this would not be put in printed history, for generations unborn would think those who lived in the present day not right in their heads (cheers). Some persons said the government should remedy these evils—but no government could do it so as to meet the exigencies of the present constitution. The remedy is co-operation; they must work for themselves—they must unite and gain knowledge—and union, combined with knowledge, is the most powerful engine by which despotism could be overthrown, or good effected (cheers).

Mr. WATSON agreed in the Resolution, but differed from some of his friends who had preceded him. It was, his opinion, the working men of England were more particularly interested in the diffusion of useful knowledge. The observations of the gentlemen who had spoken had not been strictly directed to the proposition before them. He contended, that if they sought to diffuse cheap knowledge by establishing schools and libraries throughout the kingdom, they must look to themselves, and not to the government, who had endeavoured to put down cheap knowledge. His friend from Huddersfield had said that the government must put the law in force, even though it were bad. He, however, would soon show them that it was no such thing. He and the other violent men—at least men who were called violent—would compel the government to repeal the law against knowledge, not by force, but by suffering; they would show the government that in a good cause suffering loses its effects on a virtuous mind. The law punishes them for being ignorant, whilst, at the same time, it associated those men who sought to destroy ignorance, in a prison among thieves

and felons. His friend, Henry Hetherington, was also called a violent man (cries of question). As an Englishman, not wishing to violate the freedom of discussion, he claimed the same right for himself; he claimed to be heard. He was one of those individuals who, in the estimation of the world, was a violent man; but he would show them that those men called violent were consistently honest (loud cries of question, hisses, cheers, off, off, and no politics). His friends said, "no politics"—he had not entered on politics; he was speaking to the question, and more so than the previous speakers had done. He wished to show them that they must depend on themselves for education and knowledge, and that an appeal to the government would be of no use. *The Literary Gazette* had lately been pulled before the authorities (question—what has this meeting to do with that)? If they disapproved, he would now withdraw: but he was only acquainting them with the truth, though it might be unpalatable.—He then proceeded to declaim against the Useful Knowledge Society for instilling into the people antiquarian and zoological knowledge, instead of making them acquainted with their rights, and discussing the means of obtaining those rights. They patronised Mechanics' Institutions also; but it was only in order to instruct them to create wealth—they cared not, though the creators were starving (mingled cheers and disapprobation).

Mr. HUME retired when Mr. Watson commenced his political allusions.

Mr. CLEAVE next addressed the meeting in support of the resolution, pressing upon the attention of all interested in the success of co-operation the necessity of securing untaxed publications, circulating the information essential to the ultimate establishment of that system, and to every thing else important to the well-being of mankind. He differed from those who thought that no appeal ought to be made to the government; on the contrary, it was his full persuasion that no opportunity ought to be neglected—no means left untried—to effect that all-important object. He then proceeded to dwell upon the evidences which every where presented themselves to the most casual observer of the prevailing thirst for knowledge, especially amongst co-operators; there was not a man amongst them who did not endeavour to teach his children all that he conscientiously believed himself to be true and valuable; and more too—they were, with scarcely an exception, found in possession of a library suited to their means, and, as far as those limited means would permit, calculated to promote their true interests, and to supply them with that species of information of which they stood most in need.

The Resolution was then agreed to.

The SECRETARY informed the Meeting, that an Address to the Governments of Europe and America had been agreed to at the meeting of the Congress that morning, and he should now read it to the Assembly, as he understood that a resolution would be proposed to them, founded upon that Address.

(See this Address in Leading Article.)

The Rev. THOMAS MACCONNELL moved a Resolution approving and adopting the Address, and pledging the meeting to promote its publicity.

Mr. ROSSER had much pleasure in seconding the motion. He observed, that the working classes of this country, and of almost every country in Europe, were reduced to a condition lower than which they could not sink; and the time had at length arrived when the working classes were able and resolved to emancipate themselves, and to save the other classes of society from ruin otherwise inevitable. No means had ever yet been devised for arresting the progress of that ruin, excepting those which originated with the admirably-minded and purely-hearted Robert Owen (great applause). He then proceeded to enlarge, with much fervour, upon the universal charity and universal applicability of the system of Mr. Owen, vindicating it from the charge of hostility against any of the present rulers of the earth—it only opposed itself to those systems of society which were adverse to the civilization and happiness of the human race. In conclusion, he begged to congratulate the meeting upon the important fact, that the

working classes themselves had put their shoulders to the wheel. Having now resolved to depend upon themselves, and not upon others, their success must be regarded as a matter of certainty.

The Address was then adopted unanimously. Thanks were voted to the Chairman, in acknowledging which he said he felt that the time was at hand when the tythe-system must undergo great modification. For his part he was one of those who thought that it would be a vast improvement in the present mode of remunerating religious instructors if each flock paid its own pastor [applause]. As a minister of religion, he could conscientiously declare that he never received a shilling for which he did not feel that he had given ample value, and he wished to see every one of his reverend brethren placed in such a situation as would enable him to say the same. He then went on to call the attention of the meeting to the social evils, which, in every quarter of the world, arose from the want of co-operation, instancing the case of Poland as affording in the present day a grievous and lamentable proof of the abuses to which uncontrolled power was liable—of the grinding effects of that iron despotism which afflicted the North of Europe, and which the progress of society, under the improvements to be derived from co-operation, would speedily terminate, and prevent from ever rising again.

Mr. BROMLEY, kindly offered the use of the lecture room, for a public meeting, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning parliament, to take off the "Taxes on Knowledge" and to turn their attention to "The suffering Poles," who had been alluded to in the business of the meeting.

The meeting then broke up.

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CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I.—No. 5.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

GENERAL SOCIAL FESTIVAL.

On Friday evening the Congress celebrated a General Social Festival, which was very numerous and respectably attended. Every person seemed to be, what every person is aiming to be; *happy*. Previous to the commencement of dancing, which was kept up, aided by excellent music, till half-past one, Mr. OWEN entered, and delivered the following Address to the numerous mixed and assembled parties; after which he immediately retired.

"The period has arrived when the ignorance and error of men have been so far removed as to permit them, for the first time in their known history, to listen to truths, founded on facts, evident to all who can accurately observe and compare them, on a knowledge of which their permanent improvement and happiness solely depend.

All are now compelled to admit that the existing state of society over the civilized world, is deplorable in the extreme; and yet that the materials requisite to ensure a high degree of prosperity and happiness to every part of it, are scattered about in all directions in the utmost profusion, and which, if rightly used, might be applied to remove the cause of all just complaint from the inhabitants of every country.

It is therefore full time, seeing that all are conscious of the folly and evil of the existing system of society, that a system so wretched should be made to terminate in the shortest possible period. But it may be properly asked, Shall we destroy the existing system before we build up another? Or shall we use the present system lawfully and beneficially, not only to assist in effecting the change, but also to save the population of all countries from war and violence during the whole of its progress? I do not hesitate to make a reply to this important question, as it is one of the most serious moment. It would be most injurious to pull down an old house occupied by many inhabitants before a new and a better had been provided in its

stead; so it would be equally unwise in the present generation to destroy the existing system of society, before they had discovered one superior to it in every respect, and had shewn all the practical measures by which, without inconvenience, it may be made to supersede it.

I propose to night to explain those practical measures by which this glorious change may be now effected without violence; nay, I believe, without opposition from any intelligent, well-disposed individual of any rank in any country; for as soon as the means can be devised to enable them fully to comprehend the subject, and thereby learn the incalculable benefits which the human race must secure to themselves by the change, one and all would be most eager to have the New System adopted in practice without any unnecessary delay.

I proceed, therefore, to explain to the assembly, and more especially to the members of Congress, the great change now contemplated in the affairs of the human race.

All societies of men from the time they first congregated until now, consisted, and they ever must consist, of the same simple elements and divisions; there is no difference in these divisions between the savage and most civilized nation.

In each there must be arrangements to produce or procure what the tribe or nation requires to live upon, use, and enjoy.

Also other arrangements to distribute the wealth so produced or procured.

There must be also some arrangements to form the character of the individuals composing the tribe or nation.

And arrangements must also exist for the government of the tribe or nation.

It is also a general principle, that man is, to a very great degree, the creature of the circumstances in which he lives.

Now it is evident, that in proportion as these four great divisions of human society are separately, well or ill organized, and wisely or ignorantly united, that the circumstances of the individuals, whether savage or civilized, will be favorable or unfavourable.

What does the past history of the world declare upon this subject?—

That there never has been any tribe or nation

among whom any one of these departments has been understood, or in which they have been advantageously united.

In many of the savage tribes, when they were first discovered by Europeans, these departments were more beneficially carried on and united for the well-being of the tribe, than they are now in Great Britain, the most civilized of nations, for the happiness of the people.

Suffice it to say at present, that these four departments are now totally unknown in the British Empire, both by the government and people, except as random measures, pursued without any knowledge of the science on which society is formed, and that the practice in each department, in a chaos of confusion and folly, alike destructive of the best feelings and intellects of human nature, as of the prosperity and happiness of the mass of the people.

Without intention on the part of the government, it is scarcely possible to conceive that a nation possessing such extraordinary resources for the creation of wealth and the improvement of the people, could have applied these invaluable powers to produce such wretched results; yet it is evident, that the government does not intend to inflict misery on the people, if it knew how to avoid such misery. The government is to be pitied; it does not know how to make any better use of the enormous powers at its control. False incongruous theories have led the government and legislature through mazes of error that have now confounded their understandings until their faculties are bewildered.

The model now before you, is intended to assist in the removal of these errors and the innumerable and severe miseries which they inflict on the whole population.

It is a model of a new machine, to enable men to perform, in a very superior manner, all the business of human society.

It is a model of an entirely new combination of circumstances for forming the character of, providing for, and governing men, to ensure permanently their prosperity and happiness.

It is founded on a knowledge of the science of man—of society, and of the influence of external circumstances over man. It is formed to comprise within it, the due proportion of the departments of production of wealth, of the distribution of wealth, of the formation of individual and general character, and of police or government.

And it is capable also, of accomplishing all these objects much better than they have ever yet been accomplished, with less than a hundredth part of the labour and capital now employed to carry on the present wretched state of human misery, in which there are anomalies of folly of every description, so much so, that in no one department of human life, is there a particle of real wisdom to be found.

The department of production, consisting of agriculture, manufactures, and trades, will be in proportion to the wants of the human race.

The department of distribution, will be to apportion the wealth produced with the least labour, most beneficially for all.

The department of forming individual and national character will, at a trifling expense, insure the formation of a very superior race of beings, placed in the midst of the most advantageous circumstances to promote their daily improvement.

And the department for governing, will be so extremely simplified, that all, and each one of the population, will be at the proper period of their life, equal to understand the whole system of governing, and be fully competent to take their due share of it.

The domestic arrangements of this system, are equally novel with every part of it, and are founded on a knowledge of human nature, an acquaintance with modern inventions, improvements, and discoveries. They are devised to insure the highest improvement of the children, and the greatest happiness of the adults. And these are all made to harmonize together in such a manner, as to promote the happiness of every individual without any exception.

It is true, that there will be an equality, but the condition of men will be then higher than any yet known or imagined.

There would be no end to the explanation and description of these details. This must be effected in courses of lectures, which will admit of the due amplification of such particulars.

The essential difference between the two systems is—that the one encourages the growth of evils upon a most alarming scale; and then attempts fruitlessly to cure a few of them!

While the new, is a system to *prevent* the existence of the *cause* of evils, and thus save enormous expense and misery arising from their existence—

The one produces—	The other—
Ignorance	Intelligence
Disease	Health
Poverty	Riches
Disunion	Union
Vice and crime	Morality and virtue
Misery:	Happiness.

SPEAKING OUT.—Those who have never spoken in public, can scarcely judge of the consternation of an old lady who *spoke out* in church. It was formerly the custom in country towns for those who lived several miles from church to remain during the interval between morning and evening service. On this occasion, she had taken some milk in a pitcher for the children; and in the most interesting part of the worship, a dog, who had followed them into the pew, thrust his head into the pitcher. Whether his head was too large, or the pitcher too small, it is not our province to determine; but having regaled himself, the pitcher still obstinately retained its position, and he was discovered backing out, with the pitcher stuck fast upon his head, and the milk streaming in every direction on his head and shoulders. "Get out, pup!" said the old lady. Frightened at the sound of her own voice—"O dear, I spoke out in

meeting!" said she—"There I spoke out again—O dear me, I keep talking all the time!"

[The above reminds us of another church story. The situation of parish clerk being vacant in some country town, a new candidate offered himself to fill the empty chair. A trial of his musical and literary powers was proposed, and accepted. Accordingly the next Sunday saw him installed, *pro tem.*, in his new dignity.

It so happened that he was not particularly skilful in decyphering the mysteries of typography; or, to avow the truth in plain English—he was but a sorry reader, especially if he chanced upon some long, out-of-the-way word. Aware of this, his weak side, he agreed with a friend who could master the hardest nut in the vocabulary, to sit just below him, and kindly act as prompter, as occasion might require. "Whenever I see you at a loss," said his considerate assistant "I'll whisper the word for you, and do you repeat it after me."

So said, so done. Our knight of the responses got through half his first psalm marvellously well. Two or three times, to be sure, he lit upon some knotty three-syllable mystery, but his prudent precaution saved him; his prompting friend whispered, and he repeated the whisper as gravely as if the discovery had been all his own.

Accidents *will* happen, however, as the proverb has it, even in the best regulated families; and the deepest laid plans are sometimes defeated by a trifle. Our hero pursued his way fearlessly and successfully, until he arrived at two formidable monosyllables. The prompter was at his post, but our friend, in his eagerness mistook the word, and gave out something else instead.

"That's wrong," said his faithful prompter.

"That's wrong," echoed the attentive clerk.

"Now you have spoilt all," whispered the vexed prompter.

"Now you've spoilt all," responded the indefatigable clerk, to the great astonishment and scandal of the congregation, who had no recollection of any such phrase throughout the whole version of the psalms.

The prompter was utterly confounded. He snatched up his hat, ran out of the place—and his aspiring friend lost the snug berth under the pulpit, notwithstanding the sonorous tone in which he had regularly chanted, Amen!]

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 5.

THE CONGRESS OF CO-OPERATIVE DELEGATES.

THE new condition of man is beginning to open gradually upon society, and every step of its progress proves to those who witness it, how totally different are its principles to those of the old worn out system of incongruity and folly, with which all the nations of the earth have been heretofore afflicted. The time cannot be far distant, when the world will acknowledge that the former transactions of men up to the present moment, are no more than the history of the irrational period of human existence, in which, through a want of the requisite experience and knowledge of facts, the desire of happiness generated selfish individual feelings, counteraction of interest, poverty, violence, fraud, vice, and all the misery attendant upon these evils.

These observations are made in reference to the Congress of Co-operative Delegates, which commenced Monday the 23d, and terminated at

a late hour on Monday the 30th April. It consisted of about sixty members of almost all the religious sects and political parties in the country. Among them were two clergymen of the Church of England, one Unitarian minister, three Methodist preachers, and others, members of the Society of Friends, Swedenborgers, Independent Materialists, &c. &c., yet during the whole period of their sitting, not any difference of feeling beyond the moment arose, although questions of the most vital importance were fully discussed with all the earnestness of men who were most conscientious in their different religious and political impressions.

The Great Leading principle, however, on which the social system is founded, served to check every feeling of violence or of unkindness, for when any member was becoming too warm in stating any thing of a personal kind, that could create an unpleasant feeling in any other member, it was quite sufficient to recal to the mind of the speaker the fundamental principle of the system, and like a charm it changed the current of his remarks into a new direction, with an altered tone and expression of kindness, instead of anger or any displeasure.

It is the first time that men of such opposite religions and political sentiments have thus met for many days, and have so parted, each satisfied that a new era is indeed approaching, when the lion shall lay down with the lamb; when war shall be known no more; when swords shall be turned into plough shares; and, when every man shall sit under his own vine and his fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid. It may be confidently stated that no other principles than those on which the new system of society is founded, can thus disarm men of their feelings of anger, violence, and injustice towards their fellow men; can create pure charity and real kindness for those who widely differ from them in opinion, or can establish in *practice* peace and good-will among mankind.

A general account of the proceedings of Congress will be found in another part of the paper.

PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS AT THE INSTITUTION, GRAY'S INN ROAD.

ON the evening of Thursday the 26th ult., the discussion on Human Responsibility was resumed. It was thought to be terminated, but owing to the dissatisfaction of some parties, with the concluding remarks of the individuals who introduced the subject, it was given out on Sunday last, that it would be continued next Thursday evening. The Rev. Thomas Macconnell lectured on Sunday morning and evening last, Mr. Owen being absent on the urgent business of the Congress. The education proposed to be adopted in the institution, was the subject of the morning lecture; and "the security which there is for individual exertions in a society where there is to be no competition," that of the evening. The audience, composed of both sexes, was more numerous, than has hitherto been seen, which we state, to shew the public, that an increasing interest is gradually felt in our proceedings.

Several persons were enrolled members of the institution, and several children registered for education in the school.

COST OF KINGS.—The *Courier Francais* gives the annual cost of maintaining nine sovereigns in Europe—the Grand Turk not included—at 189 1-2 millions of francs, or about thirty-eight millions of dollars. The division of this sum is thus: for Russia, 89,000,000; France, 48,500,000; Austria, 87,500,000; Spain, 82,700,000; Prussia, 82,250,000; Netherlands, 81,300,000; England, 85,000,000; Naples, 81,050,000; Portugal, 8,600,000.

A SNUFF-TAKER WITHOUT HIS BOX.

A SKETCH.

LAST night my friend Tom, who is a great snuff-taker, discovered to his deep chagrin, in the midst of a large circle of company, that he had not got his snuff-box. I thought from his manner that there was a screw loose somewhere. The eye which sparkled at beauty, and the ear which tingled at wit, were not themselves. In the company, there was, however, every thing to draw a man out. There were viands for the epicure, and beauty for the amorous—intellect for the intellectual, and wit for the witty—wine for the drinker, and music for the musical—politics for the politician, and gaming for the gambler; yet amidst all, I could perceive that my friend was not at home. This was also perceived by others, and the cause of it, which he seemed really ashamed to make known, was at length dragged from him—he had not got his snuff-box. For the fun of the thing, I instantly dispatched a servant for snuff. In the mean time several boxes were handed to him, while those who were not snuff-takers indulged in much laughter at his expense. The incident struck me, as full of instruction, and as the fruit was not forbidden, I plucked this apple from the tree of knowledge. I said to myself, here is a man of intellect, imagination, information, and wit, surrounded by the beautiful, the brave, the gay, and the witty, within the immediate reach of all those varied gratifications, which the garland of society can afford him; and yet he is not himself, because he has not got, what appears to me an insignificant, dirty trifle,—a snuff-box! What a great, dignified, independent personage, must a man be, who is nothing without his snuff-box! How dependent does he appear upon the most trivial circumstance! It having been long a leading article in my creed, that man is entirely the creature of circumstances, that they act upon him, and that he acts back again upon them, and that this is the immutable law of his nature, and forms him every where, and accounts for what all men are at this moment; and knowing that my friend had high notions of the free-will of man, and of his independence, and correspondent dignity, as lord of the creation, and I know not what besides, I thought to myself, now I have you; here is a pin loose in the machine of circumstances by which you are now wrought upon—the machine does not work as it would, if that pin were there; and you are therefore not wrought upon as you would be if the machinery were all right; I will prick you with this pin, depend upon it. So I rallied him. How was it, said I, to my friend, that last night, you did not rise in all the dignity of your nature and rank, as Lord of creation, above the circumstances in which you were placed? Why did not you shew us your independence, and power over yourself as you talk about, and make yourself happy as you say a man may do, without shewing us, that for the lack of such a little thing as a snuff-box, you were unbinged, though surrounded by all which a man of your way of thinking, would say ought to have made you happy? There is no *ought* in the case; happiness is not a duty to be discharged, but a pleasure to be enjoyed; and a man cannot be happy or miserable as he chooses. Both these states are formed *for* him, and not *by* him. My friend was pricked indeed by this pin; and I thought I saw his error writhing in pain from the puncture, and at length shewing one of the symptoms of death, *viz. silence*, for he said nothing; and that for the best reason in the world, because he had nothing

to say. There is nothing speaks like a *fact*; its eloquence is far superior to that of either Brougham or Plunkett. I relieved my friend from his situation, by shewing him that every man had a snuff-box of some kind or other; and that if he were without it he was not himself, being as unable to rise above the circumstances in which he is placed, as he is unable to rise above the atmosphere in which he lives. A smoker without tobacco, how miserable! Here, great and dignified man is dependent for happiness on a weed! A book-worm without a book—a vain man without praise—a beauty without admiration—a Roman Catholic without a crucifix, and so on of many others, who are only so many versions of a man without his snuff-box. You were laughed at by others, said I to my friend; and you in your turn may laugh at others; and whenever you see a man wanting that little appropriate thing, which sets him up, be it whatever it may, and there is as great a variety of these trifles, as there is of tastes, you may say, "He has not got his snuff-box."

Institution, Gray's-Inn Road,
May 1, 1832.

T. M.

THE SOCIAL FESTIVALS.

THE Social Festival of the Association for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, in its regular order should be held on Monday next, but in consequence of the Congress Festival having taken place on Friday last, the Monthly Festival will be postponed from the First to the Second Monday of this month. They will, however, in future be held regularly on the First Monday in every month. These Festivals are intended to accustom those who attend them to the *practice* of the principles of the social system, that is—real charity and kindness to all without exception. [For the next Festival see Advertisement.]

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRD CONGRESS OF DELEGATES

Of Great Britain and Ireland.

Last week we gave the public proceedings of this Congress; we now proceed to detail the most interesting part of its more private business.

On Monday morning, April 23rd, the Delegates assembled at nine o'clock, at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's-inn-road, and, after some preliminary business, Mr. ROBERT OWEN was called to the Chair. The first business was the appointment of Secretaries, to which office the Rev. Thomas Macconnell, and Messrs. Pare and Styles, were elected.

Mr. LOVETT next reported, that the London Committee that had been appointed to make arrangements for the business of the Congress had discharged the duties devolving upon them in the most efficient manner they could. Mr. Owen having kindly offered the use of that building for the meetings of the Congress, the Committee, with a view of making the proceedings as interesting and effective as possible, had arranged for holding two public meetings—one on that day, and the other on Wednesday; and also a social festival, on the evening of Friday. They had also drawn up a series of resolutions, which, with the approbation of the Delegates, would be submitted for adoption at the public meetings; with such other measures as they deemed likely to facilitate the business of the Congress. The Report of the Committee was then received by a unanimous vote of the Congress.

Mr. Pare then read the minutes of the last Congress, held at Birmingham; but in consequence of some verbal inaccuracies, their adoption was postponed.

Letters were read from different Societies; we have made the following extracts:—

FROM THE ROCHEDALE SOCIETY.

Our Society wishes to urge the utility of bringing the following subjects before the Congress:—First, the establishment of a co-operative woollen manufactory. As the Huddersfield cloth, Halifax and Bradford stuffs, Leicester and Loughborough stockings, Rochdale Flannels, &c., require, in several respects, similar machinery and processes of manufactures, might not these societies be brought to work together on co-operative principles, and procure mutual advantages not obtainable by separate establishments? Secondly, the establishment of a *practicable and permanent* missionary system.

GLASGOW.

Much is doing here to remove ignorance and poverty, by the formation of Trades Unions, and we trust they will soon be induced to act upon our system. In fact, the leaders are imbued with the new views of society, and are doing all they can to convince others. As one great step towards a more extensive union here, the operatives have procured a printing press, &c. of their own, the first fruits of which has been the publication of the "*Trades' Advocate*" newspaper. Co-operative articles appear in many of its numbers, and, we trust, the co-operatives will encourage it.

We are fully convinced of the utility of labour exchanges, and recommend to the consideration of Congress the propriety of addressing a labour note, to circulate among the societies, as one great step to the emancipation of the working classes from the iron grasp of capital and competition. We think a national note should be issued by Congress, which might charge them to the various societies, as bankers now charge their country branches, and require half-yearly or annual returns.

HUDDERSFIELD.

The Huddersfield Co-operative Society are desirous of laying before Congress the following subjects for consideration, *viz.*:—Would it not be desirable that some one Manufacture upon a large scale should be as soon as possible got into operation, that each society might have the produce thereof at prime cost; and in order that this might be carried into execution it would only require a certain sum of money from each society according to their numbers. Respecting the Liverpool Wholesale Establishment, this society has not realized much benefit from it as yet, notwithstanding which, if proper encouragement be given to it, we feel satisfied it must eventually prove of immense utility to the co-operative world. We would therefore recommend that each society should give it their utmost support, and that all money sent to the aforesaid establishment, to go through the hands of the Bank, as agreed upon by Congress at Manchester. This, however, has not been strictly acted upon, and without it is we conceive we have no security. We also recommend that no person be appointed to any office or situation by Congress, without the sanction and recommendation of the society to which he belongs.

FROM THE OWENIAN SOCIETY AT MANCHESTER.

We have discussed the principles of Labour Exchanges, and made out the general principles much to our satisfaction. In fact, as far as circumstances would permit us, we have always acted upon the principle of exchange of our labour for the labour of other co-operative societies. But the moment that we associated in our discussion the Banking System in exchanges of labour for labour among societies generally all over the kingdom, we got lost in the details, and finally the discussion was adjourned until we could gain further information. Would you impart the required knowledge the first opportunity? We would urge on all societies to have their libraries and reading rooms—to acquire as much knowledge—to communicate as much thought—to disseminate as much truth—to make known as many facts as possible.

We would direct the attention of Congress to a system of organization. The time has arrived when a regulating system has become necessary. Let us no longer suffer for want of some organization. When

this is effected the results must be much more rapid and much more striking.

FROM THE THIRD LEICESTER SOCIETY.

It is with feelings of pleasure we embrace this opportunity of addressing the Congress. It is through the medium of the collective wisdom of these assemblies, and a united exertion on the part of the societies, that we expect the downfall of oppression, and a termination of those sufferings to which so many of our industrious Countrymen are subject. We are more than ever convinced that the co-operative cause stands first on the list of remedies proposed for bettering the condition of mankind. Since the last Congress we have had living proofs—several of our members are making stockings for their brother co-operators, and in return we receive cloth from Huddersfield—linen &c. from Barnsley—flannel from Rochdale—bombazines and gingham from Manchester &c. &c. It is to our brethren in the North that we stand indebted for trade, had it not been for their co-operative zeal, several of our members would have been compelled to accept a scanty pittance from the hands of a parish-officer, whose frowns and cruel indignity are calculated to drive an industrious man to desperation. As poor men, we have no other means of bettering our condition than by industry and frugality, consequently it is to all the societies we look for support. As brethren we are bound in one common bond, and we must not suffer that bond to be broke; but by our united exertions strengthen it in every possible way. We are confident that much can be accomplished, by an exchange of each others labour, nay, much good has been effected, but there is still room for improvement, if all societies were determined like our brethren—Yorkshire and Lancashire—to support co-operative industry, not one poor stocking-maker would want work.

BARNSELY.

The West End Co-operative Society is perhaps the last one established (March 21, 1832), yet before another meeting of Congress we hope to be able to come up with some of our elder brethren. We have had several meetings since our commencement, and there appears to exist but one feeling among us, which is goodwill towards each other; every thing approaching to a wrangling spirit appears to be crushed, and there is a mutual giving way to each other in opinion. We have in our society, linen manufacturers, bleachers, weavers, shoemakers, tailors, joiners, masons, dyers, mechanics, &c.; and we can boast that we have not a drunkard, a profane, or even a disorderly man amongst us, and *herein lies our chief strength.*

FROM MR. JOHN GRAY, EDINBURGH.*

14, Brandon St. Edinburgh;
11th April, 1832.

Sir, I was yesterday favoured with your letter of 6th inst, and regret that it will not be in my power to have the pleasure of witnessing your proceedings in London on the 23rd inst.

I observe, with feelings of the highest gratification, that there is a spirit of inquiry abroad, which cannot fail, eventually, to bring about a vast change for the better in the order of society; and it is no small evidence of the advance of rationality, that large concourses of people—yourselves to wit—are now accustomed to assemble for the purpose of discussing measures, rather than men, and their own affairs, instead of the government.

My opinions upon commercial subjects are sufficiently well known to some of the members of your committee; and are, besides, so registered for or against me, that it is needless to revert to them here; but I cast shades of difference out of the question, and offer you my most cordial approbation of your general object, and of the means you are using to attain it.

In national affairs—and yours are national—individuals who have to fight their own way through life can do but little; but the universe is composed of particles, and encouraged by this reflection, I have no doubt of being able, from time to time, at least not to diminish the aggregate stock of means, mental and material, which—at present accumulating—will

sooner or later be applied to the purposes of social improvement.

One object mentioned in your circular I highly approve; I mean that which relates to the formation of numerous societies, having for their object, at least as a preliminary, the communicating with each other upon all subjects of importance relating to practical measures for the improvement of the condition of man. The more numerous are such societies the more easily may useful ideas be circulated amongst mankind, and simultaneous action will one day be the result of them.

For myself, I am unconnected with any society, being a sort of stray sheep belonging to no flock, but friendly disposed towards all. However, I have given a reason for the faith that is in me, which is but fair; and life and health being spared, I may, perhaps, ere long, take a step further in the same path.

Assuring you that I shall be most happy to hear a favourable report of your meeting, and of your proceedings at all times. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN GRAY.

The Congress then adjourned its private sitting until seven o'clock in the evening—

At seven o'clock the Delegates again met, and, after letters from Lord Boston and Leigh Hunt, Esq., generally approving of the objects of the Congress, were read, it was unanimously resolved to adjourn till seven o'clock on Tuesday morning.

TUESDAY.

The Delegates met at seven. Mr. OWEN was called to the Chair. After some preliminary business, such as disposing of the minutes of last Congress, Mr. Owen introduced the subject of—

THE EXCHANGE LABOUR BANKS.

Mr. OWEN said, that in order to render their operations effectual, money, which provided the sinews of war, was requisite. He then submitted a report, containing a proposed mode for facilitating and securing the exchange of labour for equal labour. The matter it contained was of the greatest importance, and would therefore require the most earnest attention of the Delegates.

Mr. PARE then read the report prepared by Mr. Owen, for developing the manner in which the Exchange Labour Bank Establishment was to be carried into effect, with all the practical arrangements necessary thereto, as intended to be adopted by him at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's-Inn Road, so soon as funds were secured, and an understanding of the principles sufficiently diffused among the co-operators.

Mr. Owen then read some extracts from the report of the county of New Lanark, bearing upon the same subject.

Mr. PARE proceeded to read the following extracts from the "New York Free Enquirer," for the purpose of showing the operations and results of the system of exchanging labour for labour in some parts of America.

Spring Hill, Dec. 19, 1830.

About five years since, Mrs. Charity Rotch, of the Society of Friends, at her decease, gave the interest of 22,000 dollars, to be appropriated to the establishment of a school for the benefit of poor children.

In January, 1828, Hezekiah Camp, of New York, William G. Macy, of Nantucket, James Bayliss, of New York, and Edward Dunn, of Philadelphia, some of whom had experienced the failure of three communities to which they had belonged, on the dissolution of the Kendal Community, not discouraged by failures which they perceived were caused by the want of knowledge, applied to and contracted with the trustees of said fund to take under their care twenty-five children; to feed and clothe them, to teach them the common rudiments of education, and to give to the females a knowledge of housewifery generally, and to the boys a knowledge of practical agriculture. They were to spend three hours per day in school in warm weather, and four in the cold season; they might be required to work eight hours per day, the proceeds of which the company were to receive, together with the school-fund, amounting to one thousand dollars per year.

The company began their operations with a capital of one thousand dollars, with which they stocked the farm, purchased farming utensils, furniture, bedding, &c.

I have been particular in stating these details, because it is a common impression that these arrangements require a large capital; and while this impression remains, the independence of the mass will depend on capitalists, whose interest (as most of them view it) is to keep the mass in servitude.

At the expiration of the first year, on balancing accounts with the company, perceived that these children who were between ten and sixteen years of age, aided by these four adults, had supported themselves within 200 dollars, leaving a surplus of 800 dollars, of the fund so generously intended for their benefit. Let it be observed, that this was done by agriculture alone, a business which is by far more depressed than trades or manufactures; this shows that when legislators in this republic begin to learn the rights of citizens, and secure to each the possession of the soil, that even children destitute of almost every thing else, may render themselves independent by their labor; but while the soil of the country is monopolised and controlled by those who make no use of it, poor children, destitute of friends and of interest, will continue to be the victims of this legal barbarism.

It was in the fifth month of the second year that I visited the establishment, and beheld a demonstration of the influence of surrounding circumstances upon the characters of children, which, although I had reflected and observed much on the subject, both surprised and delighted me. I saw children who, a little more than a year before, were destitute orphans, and who, had they been differently circumstanced, might have been forced from every endearing object, and shut up in a house of correction, a bridewell, a house of refuge, or some other monument of human ignorance, now living as happy as they could well be; directed by intelligent friends, who acted as benevolent guides, rather than as mercenary masters, and who consulted the present and future happiness of these children equally with their own.

I saw young females who, had they been in the cities, would have been compelled to waste away the bloom of life in unremitting toil at their needles for 12 1-2 cents per day, or perhaps to be miserable dependents on the "societies for the encouragement of domestics," and to drag out a monotonous life of enervating servitude in the kitchens of the rich, or a scanty pittance just sufficient to keep up the working power—I saw them here comparatively independent, and daily acquiring an education which would place them beyond the vain ambition of expensive show, which would enable them to supply their own wants and conduct their own affairs, and consequently place them beyond the humiliation and distress endured by poor but respectable females in our cities. As a proof of this, it has been a matter of complaint in the neighbourhood, that "since this school commenced no girls could be obtained to do kitchen work."

Although about 17 months ago they were (with few exceptions) destitute of artificial learning, I now saw them go through their exercises in reading, writing, arithmetic and grammar, with accuracy and ease; their language in common conversation was more critically correct than that of adults in general, and their common remarks bespoke the exercise of their reason. The utmost confidence and good feeling between pupils and teachers was strikingly evident, although the latter assured me that they had laboured as intensely to annihilate the feeling of fear in their pupils as the teachers of the old school generally do to excite it. The boys had acquired a practical knowledge of agriculture generally, and the girls of housewifery and domestic economy, and each went to his ploughing, planting, or reaping, and to her cooking, spinning, &c., with a cheerful promptness and efficient energy which demonstrated what may be done when the heart and the hand work together. These results (to my mind) speak sufficiently for the great truths developed by Robert Owen, and for the intelligence, perseverance, and benevo-

[For the Remainder see SUPPLEMENT.]

* Author of several valuable and well-known works.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR & MISERY,



[Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's-Inn Road.]

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I.—No. 6.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

[Continued from p. 20.]

lence of the individuals who have, in honest adherence to those truths, thus devoted themselves to this experiment for human good.

Mr. OWEN remarked, in reference to something said about the state of society in America, that it was difficult for females in Philadelphia, labouring twelve hours together, to obtain sixpence a day; and, to show the facilities of learning a trade when taught by scientific principles, he remarked that Josiah Warren, the person mentioned in the "Free Enquirer,"—and who was a bricklayer and musician, applied to a person who worked at the trade of shoemaking upon the principles of science, and in two days he was able to cut out a pair of shoes, and make every part of them himself.

Mr. THOMPSON wished to know whether the persons conducting these schools or establishments were paid; and if so, whether out of the labour of the children, or out of the fund of 20,000, dollars? That was a very important thing to ascertain; because the result would shew whether such establishments could support themselves out of the labour of children, between the ages of 7 and 15, years. That problem was about being solved, and he believed in the affirmative; but still it was of importance to know how the fact stood.—

Mr. OWEN said, that he knew nothing more of this case, than the other persons who had heard the letter read, but they had not yet to learn that children of the age referred to, could support themselves by their labour.

In the course of some further consideration on this subject, in which land was mentioned as an essential in the establishment of labor exchange.—

Mr. OWEN said, that one of their best friends had offered them 421, acres of capital land in a good situation, at twenty two shillings and six-pence per acre, tithe free, and it immediately adjoined a property of 11,00, acres belonging to a friend of his (Mr. O's), whom he was sure would do any thing in his power to promote their object.

This discussion terminated in the appointment of a Committee, to whom the document on "Labor Bank Exchange" was referred for revision.

REPORTS OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

The next business, was the report of the Committee of "The North West of England United Co-operative Company." From this report we make the following extract.—

Thirty societies have commenced dealing at the store; 21, Societies have joined the company, by sending them subscriptions, or part of them amounting to 152*l.* 7*s.*, amount of sales 1,830*l.*, commission received 24*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*; current expenses 51*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*

Mr. CARSON, delegate from Haigh in Lancashire,

said, that practical men had expressed their conviction that this co-operative establishment at Liverpool, would become one of the most extensive kind in the Kingdom.

Mr. GASKILL (of Kendal) said, that when their co-operative Society commenced, it had many difficulties to struggle with, but now it was able to cope with any tradesman in the town.

Mr. SKEVINGTON of Louthborough, spoke to the prosperous state of co-operative-society in that part of the country from which he came.

Mr. TAYLOR a delegate from Birkacre, Lancashire, representing a society of upwards of 3,000 individuals, stated some annoyances to which they had been subjected from the jealousies of capitalists and masters; and the manner in which they had overcome these obstacles. An attempt had been made to get them turned out of the premises, for the use of which they paid 600*l.* per annum; and upon which they had 3,000*l.* worth of machinery, for the purpose of manufactures.

The attempt failed, and they were now in peaceful and prosperous possession.

Mr. BISHOP, delegate from Birmingham, detailed the difficulties which his society had laboured under; but said that they now had good prospects.

Mr. HIRST, delegate from Yorkshire, stated how the minds of the Yorkshire people had been directed to co-operation. They had seen the world groaning under the weight of her productions, and were led to ask, how it was, that notwithstanding this circumstance, they were steeped in poverty and wretchedness? They then proceeded to ask, what they should do after all applications to the legislature had proved useless? and they resolved to co-operate, or in the words of Mr. Peel, to take their own affairs into their own hands. In Yorkshire there were now many co-operative societies, carrying on to a considerable extent and great advantage the business of labour exchange. We understood him, that he with the Rev. C. B. Dunn, of Cumberforth, represented seven.

ADDRESS

TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

Mr. OWEN rose to submit to the Congress, an Address to the Governments of Europe and America. After the address had been read, several delegates delivered their opinions upon it. None objected to the propriety of addressing these governments, as such addresses would give publicity to co-operation. Some parts of it did not, however, meet their views, and the result of the whole was, that after Mr. Owen, the author of the address, had been heard in reply, the document was referred to committee of delegates for their revision, and finally passed in the form we reported last week.

JOSEPH HUME, Esq., M.P., who had entered the room during this discussion, and had been very cordially received, then rose, and said, that although only a visitor, perhaps he might be permitted to address a few words to the meeting. He had himself been a co-operator perhaps longer than most then present, although his co-operation differed from that of his friend in the chair. He was surprised to have heard what had been said in reference to the character of governments. It was inferred, that the English was a democratic government; but this he must deny; for while it was democratic in name, it was certainly despotic in practice. The only difference between the despotism of Austria and Constantinople and that of England was, that while in each of the former it was exercised by one man, to whom every thing was immediately attributed; in England it was inflicted by many, and clothed with the specious name of liberty. Mr. Hume expressed his surprise, that popular instruction was not urged in the proposed address, as it was only from knowledge that the people could be freed from the trammels of bad laws and state religion. He then insisted that taxation was a great evil, both by its direct pressure on industry, and the various abuses to which it acted as the medium of support. There had, however, been an enormous reduction of those who existed on this species of exaction from industry; and the very men who once hunted others down for attempting this reduction, had now become radical reformers. As to the oppressive effect of taxation, he was surprised that it could be doubted. It made some difference whether a man out of five shillings a-day had to pay taxes amounting to one penny or half-a-crown. In one case, industry retained what labour had produced, in the other, half the products were swept away without any return. Labourer's wages would never bear any proportion to their increased expenses while the laws were made to favour a few, and create a monopoly of food in favour of the rich. Those who fed on taxes certainly did say to the complaining multitude, what are taxes in their amount to individuals? They had hitherto still enough to gull the people, and make them believe that taxes were a good. Mr. Owen appeared to have been a little bitten in this manner, (a laugh.) By depressing the condition of the industrious classes, taxation also had produced a monopoly of knowledge, which he (Mr. H.) had always opposed. The church had always opposed every institution which proposed the diffusion of that intelligence which did not happen to favour her own views. When the Lancastrian plan of education was first introduced, he had supported it, but met with the monopolizing opposition of the church; though that opposition had ultimately led to an extension of schools. In reference to extraneous

aid, Mr. Hume recommended the Congress to trust to themselves. He advised them to address no king, and no government; but strive to diffuse knowledge; for ignorance and subserviency, as long as they should remain would always make to the milch cow for plunder and aggression. Mr. Hume then alluded to the standard of education in the United States as an example for emulation. In the state of New York, the average number of children from the age of five to sixteen years, according to the census, was estimated at 497,000, while the number of those instructed in schools in different sections of the state, amounted, according to returns, to 499,000, being more than the number given by the census. With such an example of what the effects of the people could do, why need the congress apply to New York, or any other state for assistance? They should be cautious to publish nothing which would contravene the great principle of popular ability. Mr. Hume then observed, that he did not think it impossible to make all men happy alike, as Mr. Owen proposed. ["But we have got a new science" said Mr. O.] The hon. Gent. then said, he extracted from a reply which the celebrated Dr. Channing had given to some questions proposed on the subject of the proposed happiness of the co-operative system, in which the Dr. stated, that though the means of happiness were afforded to all, all would not make use of them. After some further lengthened observations, Mr. Hume concluded amidst cheers.

When Mr. Hume had retired, some discussion arose. Some thought he was not a Co-operator in the sense in which they were co-operators; and his idea of benefiting the lower classes by a reduction of taxes was thought fallacious, since their wages would be proportionally reduced.

The Missionary Committee made their report, in which they regretted that missions had not yet received that support from country societies which they had expected: they still hoped for it. They reported the establishment of societies at Greenwich and Hackney, and produced a balance of 3*l.*, after having paid their expenses of printing circulars &c.

The meeting then adjourned till seven o'clock on Wednesday morning.

WEDNESDAY.

Mr. HIRST in the absence of Mr. OWEN (occasionally by domestic affliction) was called to the chair.

Mr. LOW moved,—"That Missionaries be chosen to propagate the principles of co-operation throughout the kingdom."

This motion was seconded by Mr. PETRIE, and after some discussion was carried unanimously.

Mr. OWEN, who had by this time arrived, then descanted at length upon the necessity and efficiency of missions, and pointed out the means by which their expenses might easily be covered.

The address to the governments of Europe and America given in our paper of last week, was then brought in, read, approved and passed.

Mr. WARDEN then moved the following Resolutions relative to missions, which were seconded by Mr. FLETCHER:

"That the United Kingdom be divided into Missionary Co-operative Districts; and that a council be appointed in each to register the names of the societies in each district.

"That the following be named as the districts: 1, the Metropolis; 2, Birmingham; 3, Manchester; 4, Glasgow; 5, Belfast; 6, Dublin; 7, Cork; 8, Edinburgh; 9, Norwich." The names of the persons to form the different councils were then read. The whole will be found in the Report of Congress. This was unanimously agreed to.

Another Resolution was,—"That these councils should have power to appoint Missionaries, and to collect funds for defraying the expenses of the same." After some discussion this Resolution was ultimately carried.

The Congress now suspended its sittings in consequence of the Public Meeting, a Report of which we gave last week.

At seven o'clock the Congress resumed its sitting.

Mr. MAHONY from the county of Clare, Ireland, rose, and gave some highly interesting information relative to the co-operative societies in the south of Ireland. He said that his brother-in-law, Mr. Vandeleur became acquainted with the principles of Mr. Owen in the year 1826.—He had farmed 600 acres of land for the last seven years, but last year the *black feet* and *white feet* commenced their operations, murdered his steward, and threatened to murder himself and children. Upon this he called the people together, spoke to them of the direful effects of their system, and stated his intention to proceed on the plan laid down by Mr. Owen. He found many opposed to it; but he got twenty persons together, and they worked for three weeks, and began to understand the plan. They soon diffused the knowledge of it, and now the society was in full and flourishing operation.—Since its commencement there had not been a single case of drunkenness or quarrel, nor had there been observed any immorality (Hear, hear, and cheers. He then proceeded to say he wished to remove from the public mind the erroneous idea that co-operative societies were dangerous to the landed interest. It was quite the reverse, for while co-operation increased the happiness of the individuals included in it, it tended to strengthen the prosperity of the landholders. There was not a single member in Mr. Vandeleur's society but had a good coat, shoes, shirt, &c.—They had a committee consisting of nine persons, composed of carpenters, shoemakers, &c., and their secretary was Mr. Craig, of Manchester, to whose able and indefatigable exertions he gave the utmost praise. They had also a labour exchange bank, where the labourers exchanged labour notes for any necessities they might require—Catholic, Protestant, and dissenting clergyman had made purchases there, and had declared they found no objection to the system. There were, also, lectures given by Mr. Craig; and dances twice a week on Thursdays and Sundays. The society had also a rule regarding marriages. Any person wishing to marry a woman within the society, signified his intention to the secretary, and notice was posted up that a new cottage was required. If the woman were not in the society, she was required to labour in it for a week in order that her character and disposition might be known to the community.—Mr. Mahony thought this rather an invidious rule, and therefore proposed in its place, that the person wishing to marry, should give notice of his intention to the committee, who should instruct a sub-committee to go and inquire into the character of the woman, and, if approved of, that she should be admitted by the ballot. There was no spirituous liquors within the society, nor had there been any attempt at smuggling any in. Under their system, one man could do the work of ten. Under the old system, the explanation of which was, *that they worked at a task appointed by themselves, and for their own benefit.* They had now also added a reaping machine, and would therefore be able to apply more of their time to building. The Committee fixed every arrangement with regard to work, &c. Mr. Vandeleur managed the rent thus: he took the average of seven years' farming according to the old system, and required the members to give him so much butter, cattle, and other articles. He (Mr. Mahony) would mention an instance which would tend to illustrate the flourishing state of the society. A Scotchman named M'Kinnon came to erect a thrashing-machine for them. Mr. Vandeleur offered him a hundred acres, but the Scotchman being of very close disposition, it was with difficulty that any opinion could be extracted from him. He, however, said of the co-operators—"They quite astonish me. I never could have thought they would have got on so well. They have twenty-five or thirty Jewry attorneys among them, and since they have been in the society, they are quite altered. I wish you could prevail on Mr. Vandeleur to take thirty more of them; it would be the best way to reclaim them."—There had also been a sick fund of one halfpenny per week, but at a meeting lately held, it had been discontinued, because there was no case nor any fear of sickness. Every married man

has a cottage to himself; the single men sleep in a long dormitory. There is also an infant school, which Mr. Craig superintends. The children are taught agriculture and any of the trades they wish. The married people may cook in their own cottage or in the public kitchen. The single men dine by themselves as do also the single women. Provisions are very cheap, mutton being only four pence per pound. Mr. Vandeleur would wish a thorough good co-operator would come among them, one who well understood the woollen manufactory; but when the stuff was brought to London, he was undersold by twenty per cent. It was an excellent woollen country however; almost every woman being able to spin. But no one understood the manufacturing of the wool. Women's wages were upon the average, five pence per diem; but fourteen pounds of potatoes could be purchased for three halfpence. He wished to impress on the minds of the landed proprietors the great benefits that would result to them if they encouraged co-operation.

A delegate here inquired what religion the society professed?—Mr. Mahony answered, that the religion of the members was never inquired into; there were in the society men of all creeds, and they regularly attended their respective chapels.

Mr. Mahony concluded his very interesting detail amidst the enthusiastic applause of the meeting.

Mr. STYLES then read the following circular:—"Sir,—The Delegates from the Co-operative Societies of the United Kingdom in Congress assembled this day, have passed the following resolutions—

"1st. That the United Kingdom be divided to districts, for the purpose of inducing and facilitating a correspondence between the various co-operative bodies throughout the United Kingdom.—Carried.

"2d. That the following be the division, viz.:—
London Metropolitan district.
Norwich and Birmingham Central.
Manchester N.W. district.
Edinburgh (Scotland) 1st division.
Glasgow ——— 2d division.
Dublin (Ireland) 1st division.
Belfast ——— 2d division.
Cork ——— 3d division.

"P.S. Here insert the names of those persons forming the division to which this circular is sent. You are, therefore, earnestly requested, without delay, to call together those gentlemen named above, and to request them to form themselves by the authority of this Congress into a District Council, and to write to, and to request every co-operative society in their town or neighbourhood, to send the name of one or more of active and efficient members to form part of such Local Council, and upon the formation of the council, to immediately apprise the London District Council of the same through their society. Remember, upon extensive union depends our strength, upon the facility of communication depends the practical formation and efficacy of our union.

"Signed by order of the Congress,
"J. POWELL, Sec. pro tem."

After some other business, the Congress adjourned till seven o'clock on Thursday morning.

THURSDAY.

THE Congress met at seven. Embarrassments having arisen from some members, of Co-operative Societies drawing out their money, and thus occasioning a division of capital which would be destructive to Co-operation, a committee was appointed to draw up rules for the formation and regulation of Co-operative Societies. Mr. Pate, one of the secretaries, read letters from Mr. Portman, M.P., Mr. Hughes, M.P., Mr. Slaney, M.P., who had been applied to, to support a petition to the legislature agreed upon at last Congress. These letters said, that the parties would support the petition. The petition had, however, never been presented, nor even the receipt of it acknowledged, neither by Lord Brougham, nor Mr. O'Connell. The

secretary was directed to write to these two individuals for their answer.

The following Report was read:—

REPORT of the Committee, appointed by the Sixth Resolution of the last Meeting of Congress, "to take the necessary steps towards the immediate formation of a Community upon the Social System, in accordance with the 7th and 8th Resolutions of the Meeting of Congress held in Manchester, in May, 1831."

Your Committee Report, that they held several meetings immediately after the breaking up of Congress, at Robert Owen's Institution, Burton-street, Burton-crescent, London. F.D. Massey Dawson, Esq. was appointed Honorary Secretary, and Mr. Benjamin Warden, Sub-Secretary, *pro tempore*. Messrs. Samuel Austin, Francis Trench, and John Dempsey were appointed Trustees, and Messrs. Prescott, Grote, and Co., of Fenchurch-street, London, Bankers. In October the following circular was adopted and printed, and after some unavoidable delay, 250 copies were forwarded to as many societies in the country, and to each member of the committee not residing in London.

"Circular to the Co-operative Societies of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and to such individuals who may wish to further their views.

"At the Second Co-operative Congress held at Birmingham, October 4th and 5th, 1831, and continued by adjournment to the 6th it was resolved,

I. "That a council be now appointed to carry out the resolution of the First Congress held at Manchester, viz. 'That a Co-operative Community be formed.'

II. "That this Congress considers it highly desirable that a Community, on the principles of 'Mutual Co-operation, United Possessions, and Equality of Exertions, and of the Means of Enjoyment,' should be established in England as speedily as possible, in order to show the practicability of the Co-operative system; and, further, it is the opinion of this Congress, that such Community may be formed by the means recently suggested by the 'First Birmingham Co-operative Society,' contained in the following Resolutions in that Society, and published in 'Carpenter's Political Letter,' April 30, 1831.

"That this Society, fully sensible of the great advantages that would result from the speedy formation of an Incipient Co-operative Community, upon the plan laid down by Mr. William Thompson, will make immediate application to one hundred and ninety-nine other Co-operative Societies, in order to obtain their concurrence to the project of electing a Member of each Society, and supplying him in such manner as they shall deem best, with the sum of 30*l.*, in order that an incipient Community of two hundred persons, with a capital of 600*l.* may immediately be formed in some part of England."

III. "That Subscriptions of 3*l.* deposit, on Shares of 30*l.* each, for the purpose of forming a Community on the basis and plans contained in the foregoing Resolution, be received from the Trading Fund Associations, or from individuals wishing to join the Community; and that, as soon as 200 shares shall be engaged, the Secretary shall call a Meeting, where he may deem it most convenient to the majority of the Subscribers, to proceed in the formation of such Community.

"Co-operative Societies and individuals desirous of promoting the formation of a Community are requested to forward their deposits, as soon as possible, to the account of the Trustees, Messrs. Samuel Austin, Francis Trench, and John Dempsey, at Messrs. Prescott, Grote, and Co., bankers, Threadneedle-street, London, or to either of the members of the council residing in their neighbourhood, that it may be forwarded, without loss of time, to the bankers in London. No part of these deposits will be used by the Council, or any other persons but the future Community itself, for any purpose whatever. All deposits shall be returned, if demanded, should the

land not be purchased within one year after the 200 shares shall have been taken up. As soon as the shares are all disposed of, a meeting of the Shareholders shall be called in London, or any place more convenient to a majority of the Shareholders, when they shall (assisted by the Council) take all subsequent arrangements into their own hands.

"N.B. Societies or individuals, after making a deposit, must send an intimation of the same to the Sub-Secretary, Mr. Benjamin Warden, Robert Owen's Institution, Burton-street, Burton-crescent, London, post paid, with name and address for registry by the Secretary."

(Here follows the names and addresses of the Council.)

Your Committee regret to state that they have received replies from only two societies, namely, the "First Birmingham," who have sent to the banker's 6*l.* as deposit for two shares,—and from the Kendal Society, who expressed their desire to subscribe for a share or shares, but who have not remitted any deposit.

Your Committee conceive that one reason why so little has been done towards the foundation of the proposed community, is, that many of the societies have embarked their capitals in purchasing raw materials and machinery, for the purpose of employing their members in manufactures, whilst others have been appropriating their spare capital in the way of subscription, to assist in the formation of the "North West of England Co-operative Company," which they have considered the best calculated, for the present, to advance their interests. Your Committee trust that the steps these societies have severally taken, will enable them, at no distant period, to join the proposed community.

It was then moved, "That this Congress deeply impressed with the growing evils of the present competitive system, and anxious that arrangements should be made to place the industrious classes beyond its devastating and vitiating influence, resolve to renew and redouble their exertions to establish as speedily as possible a community upon the principles of mutual co-operation, united possessions, equality of exertions, and means of enjoyment.

Mr. PARE seconded the resolution.

Mr. OWEN then entered into a long statement of his views, and concluded by urging upon the Congress, to apply to monied men to advance capital at four per cent. on the security which he had mentioned. The resolution was then agreed to.

Mr. CARSON, delegate from Haigh, in Lancashire, stated, that many persons in Lancashire had serious intentions of forming a community. At Worsley, they were eager to form one. At Liverpool, they thought they could find means to get 1000 acres. This desire to establish a community, had arisen from reading the works of Messrs. Thompson and Owen.

Mr. THOMPSON said, that if he could get sufficient capital, and 20,000 individuals together, he did not despair, but that in a short period he should be able to show to the world an institution that even might please Mr. Owen himself (a laugh). After some very lengthened discussion between Mr. Thompson, Mr. Owen, Mr. Pare, and Mr. Lovatt, in which the merits of Mr. Vandeleur's establishment were agitated, and the experience and views of Mr. Owen stated, and urged upon the Congress, the resolution was passed unanimously.

It was then moved by Mr. Lovatt, and seconded by Mr. Smith, that Messrs. Thompson, Pare, and Wigg, be appointed to draw up a prospectus for a community. This resolution was carried, and the meeting adjourned at ten, until seven the next morning.

FRIDAY.

THE discussion on the Establishment of a Community was resumed. Mr. Thompson moved, "That every delegate and visitor to Congress, being so disposed, do sign his name for himself or his society, as a subscriber, to promote the establishment of the proposed Community, that he pay one pound deposit into the hands of the

treasurer, and that Mr. Wayland be appointed treasurer *pro tem.*"

Mr. BISHOP seconded the motion, which was carried.

Mr. THOMPSON then moved, "That as soon as one hundred names were subscribed, certain individuals be appointed to take at least four hundred acres of land, on lease for ever, or with liberty of purchase, and that they be responsible as trustees for this purpose.

Mr. SIMPSON seconded the motion, which was carried.

Messrs. Thompson, Morgan, and Hamilton, were then appointed as fit persons to determine on the choice and purchase of the land.

LABOUR BANK EXCHANGE.

Mr. LOVETT said that the committee appointed to make their report on the Labour Bank Exchange, had retained the spirit of the document drawn up by Mr. Owen, and had framed a general address on the subject to the Co-operative Society.—This important document having been mislaid, it cannot be given till next week.

Mr. OWEN considered that the time had arrived when they should bow to no other authority but that of truth. With the permission of the Congress, he would read a portion of the creed and duties of the religion of his system, and, from the items he should read, they would be correctly informed on a subject upon which there had been much misrepresentation.

ARTICLES.

I.—That all facts yet known to man indicate, that there is an external or internal cause of all existences by the fact of their existence; that this All-pervading cause of motion and change in the universe, is the Power which the nations of the world have called God, Jehovah, Lord, &c. &c.; but that the facts are yet unknown to man, which define what that power is.

II.—That all ceremonial worship by man of this cause, whose qualities are yet so little known, proceeds from ignorance of his own nature, and can be of no real utility in practice; and that it is impossible to train men to become rational in their feelings, thoughts, or actions, until all such forms shall cease.

III.—That it is man's highest duty to himself and his fellow men, to acquire an accurate knowledge of those circumstances which produce evil to the human race, and of those which produce good; to exert all his powers to remove the former from society, and to create around it the latter only.

IV.—That this invaluable practical knowledge can be acquired solely through an extensive search after truth, by an accurate, patient, and unprejudiced inquiry into facts, as developed by Nature.

V. That man can never attain to a state of superior and permanent happiness, until he shall be surrounded by those external circumstances which will train him, from birth, to feel pure charity and sincere affection towards the whole of his species; to speak the truth only on all occasions, and to regard with a merciful disposition all that has life.

VI.—That such superior principles and feelings can never be given to man under those Institutions of Society, which have been founded on the mistaken supposition, that man forms his feelings and convictions by his will, and is therefore responsible for them.

VII.—That under Institutions, formed in accordance with the rational System of Society, these superior principles and dispositions may be given to the whole of the human race, without chance of failure, except in case of organic disease.

This, said Mr. Owen, is my individual opinion only.

ON THE LIBERTY OF MIND AND CONSCIENCE.

I.—All shall have equal and full liberty to express the dictates of their conscience.

II.—No one shall have any other power than fair argument, to control the opinions or belief of another.

III.—No praise or blame, no merit or demerit, no reward or punishment, shall be awarded for any faith whatever.

IV.—All shall have equal right to express their opinion respecting a First Cause; and to worship

it under any form or in any manner agreeable to their consciences, not interfering with equal rights in others.

Mr. OWEN then made his comments on these articles, to which the Congress listened with great attention, and several members expressed their opinions on the subjects embodied in these items; some were of one way of thinking, and some of another, but all in the best spirit.

Mr. OWEN then proposed a resolution which he thought of great importance, and in opinion on which, the Congress ultimately concurred without a dissentient voice. That resolution was framed in consequence of certain parties interested in the continuation of the competitive system, having attempted to prejudice the public mind against co-operation, by representing it as identified with certain religious tenets. It ran in the following words.

"That as the co-operative world contains persons of all religious sects, and of all political parties, it is unanimously resolved,

"That co-operators as such, are not identified with any religious, irreligious, or political tenets, whatever; either those of Mr. Owen, or of any other individual."

The Rev. Dr. WADE seconded the motion, which was carried with acclamation, and ordered to be advertised in the leading Morning papers, and directed to be placed as a motto on all documents issued by the Society.

The Rev. C. B. DUNN, one of the Committee, proceeded to read the rules prepared by the Committee for the regulation of Co-operative Societies in Great Britain and Ireland.

Let it be universally understood, that the grand ultimate object of all co-operative associations, whether engaged in trading, manufacturing, or agricultural pursuits, is—community on hand.

To effect this important purpose, a weekly subscription of from a penny to any other amount agreed upon, is indispensably necessary to be continued from year to year, until a capital, sufficient to accomplish the object of the society be accumulated.

The next preliminary step to be pursued as auxiliary to the former will be for the society to purchase at wholesale prices, articles of ordinary consumption of the most genuine description, in order to be re-tailed at the market prices, for the purpose of further accumulation. The adoption of these instructions will, of course, be regulated by the circumstances and inclinations of particular societies.

That the immediate, real, and obvious benefit derivable from these societies in their successful approximation to community, are the mutual employment of members, the establishment of schools for the education of children, and of libraries and reading rooms for adults. That in order to ensure without any possibility of failure, the successful consummation of these desirable objects, it is the unanimous decision of the delegates now assembled, that the capital accumulated by such associations should be rendered indivisible, and any trading societies formed for the accumulation of profits, with the view of making a dividend thereof at some future period, cannot be recognised by this Congress as identified with the co-operative world.

It was then proposed and seconded, that the following individuals be appointed a Committee to attend with Mr. Owen on Monday next, on the various gentlemen of the money market, to ascertain how far they are prepared to render assistance in furtherance of the great co-operative cause; viz. Dr. Wade, the Rev. Mr. Marriott, Messrs. Hirst, Carson, Lovett, Styles, Wayland, Pope, Smithson, Vincent, Cooke, and Mortimer; carried unanimously.—Adjourned till 9 o'clock the next morning.

The remainder of the Proceedings next week.

A BRAZILIAN COUNTRY LADY.—Among those who ascended the Serra, were a lady and her attendant. She was dressed in a riding jacket and a petticoat of nankeen, and a large straw hat tied, not under, but across her chin. She rode in long stirrups, astride, like a man, and in her holsters she carried a pair of pistols. She was not followed, but preceded by a negro in livery on another horse, who was her avant

courier. Though not a robust or muscular person, she seemed stout and careless,—dismounted like a man before us, without the smallest embarrassment,—took a glass of caxas at the venda, to fortify her against the mountain air,—re-mounted,—examined her pistols, to see that all was right for any event she might be liable to,—and again set off her own protector.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

Several Advertisements are unavoidably postponed.

THE THIRD GREAT SOCIAL FESTIVAL

OF THE

ASSOCIATION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES,

For diffusing the most Useful Knowledge, and creating general good Feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE and POVERTY, Gray's Inn Road, near King's Cross, on Monday, May 14, 1882. ROBERT OWEN, Governor.

PROGRAMME.—PART I.

Overture, Full Band—Glee, Forster's, &c.—Song, Light as Thistle Down—Duet, Minute Gun—Song, Bloom's on the Rye—Glee, Life's a Bumper—Song, The Merry Mountain Horn—Fantasia on the Violin, by Master Cooper, pupil of Signor Spagioletti—Glee, Hall, &c.—Song, The Moment of Victory.

PART II.

Overture, Full Band—Italian Song, Rossini—Cath, Would you Know—Song, My Love—Glee, Adiborontophosphoric—Song, Bonnie Laddie—Introduction and Air, O Dolce Concerto—A Duetto on the Piano-forte, Mr. Stevens and a Young Lady, his pupil, with full band accompaniment—Glee, My Father Land—Song, The Anchor's Weigh'd—Glee, The Cough and Crow—Finale, Organ Concerto, Stevens.

Mr. Stevens will Preside at the Organ and Piano-forte. Master of the Ceremonies, Mr. T. Goddard.

A Short Address will be delivered by the Governor, explanatory of the Progress of the Co-operative Social System, as developed at the late Congress.

Tickets of Admission at 2s. each, Visitors and Members, half-price, may be had at the Institution, and of Messrs. Allsop, 280, Regent Street; Brooks, 421, Oxford Street; Cora, 40, Shoreditch; Dempsey, 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; Franka, corner of Redcross-street; Hanks, 79, Regent-street; Nicholls, 57, Regent-street; Styles, 37, Mar sham-street, Westminster; Hooper, 30, Great Ormond-street; Hopkins, Tobaccoist, opposite Gower-street, New-road; Macpherson, 9, Cirencester-place; Savage, Baker, 14, Great Titchfield-street, Marylebone; Clements, Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; Borough, 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; Savage, 213, Tottenham-court-road; Noble, Tobaccoist, 84, Bermondsey-street; Wilmer's Library, Seymour-street, Euston-square.

N.B. One Ticket will admit Two young Persons under Sixteen years of age.

Tee, Coffee, and other Refreshments will be supplied at moderate Charges, in the two principal promenade Galleries.

The Doors will be opened at half-past Five, and the Amusements terminate between Twelve and One o'clock.

EXCHANGE BAZAAR,

Late the GOTHIC HALL,

NEW ROAD, ST. MARYLEBONE.

THE COUNCIL of the NORTH WESTERN

ASSOCIATION of the USEFUL CLASSES, beg to inform their Fellow Workmen, and the Public in general, that arrangements have been made with the Proprietor of this Building, containing 3 Floors, Cellaring, & other convenient accommodations, which will enable all parties having Manufactured Goods, Raw Materials, or Labour, of every kind and description, beneficially to exchange the same, on an equitable time valuation.—Further particulars and Prospects, may be had on the premises.

M. MACPHERSON, SECRETARY.
W. KING, AGENT.

MILLINERY, DRESSES, AND CORSETS.

LADIES, desiring Novelties in good taste, are invited to visit the Establishment, 280, Regent-street, where they will find every Article at a low price, and made of the best materials.

FRANCIS and ENGLISH CORSETS, of UNRIVALED excellence, at very low prices.

Ladies who may address Mrs. Allsop, from the Country or the Colonies, may rely upon having FULL JUSTICE done to their Commissions.

To those Ladies who have not yet visited the Establishment it may not be unnecessary to state, that its reputation rests upon its character for good taste, very moderate charges, and the honourable and liberal spirit in which it is conducted.

No. 280, REGENT STREET, Three Doors from Oxford Street.

TWELVE THOUSAND POUNDS ready to be advanced, by way of Mortgage, upon eligible Freehold Security. Letters, (post paid), from Principals only, directed to Mr. Elliott, Chamber Coffee-house, Paternoster Row, will meet with attention.

BRITISH COLLEGE OF HEALTH, NEW ROAD, KING'S-CROSS, LONDON.

MR. MORISON, the President, and Mr.

MOAT, the Vice President, in conjunction with all the Honorary Members, and Country Agents of the British College of Health, being now fully borne out with the conviction, approbation, and indubitable proofs of upwards of 200,000 individuals (who have been thrown aside by the Faculty, and out of the Hospitals, as incurable) having been restored to sound health by the "Universal Medicines;" with all this incontrovertible mass of evidence in support of the Hygienic Theory and Practice, which challenges the controversy of the whole body of Medicians under the old system to subvert, they, the Heads of the College, hesitate not to declare, in the face of the Faculty, that this new light must completely change the whole course of the Materia Medica, and introduce a new era in the science of phylax: that, in fact, mankind will be taught in future, a new and certain mode of investigating the nature and cause of Diseases in general, and possess a certain and harmless mode of cure, making every individual his own efficient doctor. In confirmation of what is here asserted, the Heads of the College mean to insert, in this paper, a continued series of new cases, from individuals giving their names, residences, and dates of time of cure, all of which have been voluntarily given, and ascertainable as to the facts, by inquiry.

CURE OF A VIOLENT BILIOUS COMPLAINT.

To W. C. POOLE, P.H.S. Liverpool-road, Manchester. Sir,—With heartfelt gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of all things, and to you as an instrument in dispensing this great national blessing, the Vegetable Universal Medicines, I request you to publish my case and cure, for the benefit of the afflicted. For several months I experienced a violent bilious attack, attended with sick head-aches, pains of the loins and arms, pains in my right side, dimness of sight, palpitation of the heart, indigestion, and a constant vomiting after taking any kind of food. In this state I continued for a long time, till advised by persons who well knew of the many cures performed under your direction, (not only in Manchester but in different parts of the kingdom,) by the use of Morrison's Vegetable Universal Medicines. I had no sooner applied to you, than you gave me the cheering hope of a speedy cure; and in the short space of three days, I was perfectly cured, and have never felt the least symptoms of relapse since, (now four weeks,) for which, kind sir, I return you my grateful thanks, and assurance of never taking any other medicines; and remain your most obedient servant, MARIA KING, with full reference to Mrs. Law, 17, Kennedy-street. Manchester, June 3d, 1881.

The "Vegetable Universal Medicines" are to be had at the College, New-Road, King's-Cross, London; at the Surrey Branch, 96, Great Surrey street, Blackfriars; at Mr. Field's, 16, Air-street, Quadrant; Mr. Chappell's, Royal Exchange; Mr. Walker's, Lamb's Conduit-passage, Red-Lion square; Mr. J. Loft's, 16, Mile-end-road; Mr. Bennett's, Covent Garden-market; Mr. Haydon's, Fleet-street, Norton Folgate; Mr. Hackett's, 147, Ratcliffe Highway; Messrs. Norbury's, Brentford; Mrs. Stepping's, Clare-market; Messrs. Salmon's, Little Beil-alley; Miss Verrall's, 24, Lucas-street, Commercial-road; Mrs. Beech, 148, Sloane-street, Chelsea; Mr. Chapple, Royal Library, Pall-mall; Mrs. Clements, 12, Bridge-street, Southwark; Mr. Wallis, 3, Borough-road, near the Obelisk; Mr. Kir-dam, 4, Bollin-broke-row, Waltham; Mr. Pain, 64, Jernyn-street; Mr. Wood, Hairdresser, Richmond; Mr. Meyer, 8, May's-buildings, Blackheath; Mr. Griffiths, Wood-wharf, Greenwich; Mr. Benjamin Pitt, 1, Cornwall-road, Lambeth; Mr. J. Dobson, 35, Craven-street, Strand; Mr. Oliver, Bridge-street, Vauxhall; Mr. J. Monk, Bexley-heath; Mr. T. Stokes, 12, St. Roman's, Dartford; Mr. Cowell, 22, Terrace, Pimlico; Mr. Parfitt, 96, Edgware-road; Miss C. Atkinson, 19, Trinity Grounds, Deptford; and at our Agents, in every principal town in Great Britain, the Islands of Guernsey and Malta, and throughout the whole of the United States of America.

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William Dent, Printer, Burton Street, Burton Crescent.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR & MISERY,



[Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road.]

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I.—No. 7.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

PROGRESS OF LIBERAL OPINIONS IN BOTH HEMISPHERES.

Continued from page 6.

We shall preface our farther extracts from the Calcutta Paper, promised in a former number, by quoting a passage from the "Free Inquirer," of New York. They will serve cautiously enough as a commentary upon each other.

"OUR NEIGHBOURS RELIGION."

"No man can distinguish his own faults and follies half so clearly as he can those of his neighbours. And what is true of men is true of nations also. National prejudices are no less strong than personal. It is not easy to appreciate their strength and their number, until we visit other countries, and institute extensive comparisons.

"Of all national prejudices, those of religion are probably the most powerful. The follies which the child of three years is taught to regard as holy, often still cling to the man of thirty. Even when reason denounces them, memory pleads their cause. They are associated, perhaps, with our earliest, most joyous recollections. They are hallowed, it may be, by having dropped from the lips of a loved parent or a lost friend. Worthless, may even perceived to be worthless, in themselves, they are tolerated, if not cherished, for the sake of the incidental accompaniments, among which we first knew them.

"Hence the extreme difficulty of justly judging our own religion. Reason has to combat, not the propositions of the mind alone, but the predilections of the heart. Even when the judgment is convinced, the feelings hold out; and we retain a tenderness towards the grossest fables, because the days when we learnt them were the happy days of our youth, and those who taught them were our best and earliest friends.

"Connected with any other religion but our own, we have no such associations. Hence the millions that imbibe the religion of their country, for one that is converted, in adult age, to some foreign superstition. And here is the explanation of such admissions as that lately made by the Missionaries of Calcutta, that 'after a painful trial of six years, their proselytes do not exceed four.' Unaided by the easy credulity of infancy, and the magic power of early association, religion is comparatively impotent. Its absurdities are too clearly seen to obtain credence.

"We cannot convince ourselves more practically of this than by selecting some foreign religion as a specimen. The blindest among us can see, that it is but a convenient bandage to enable the one, or the few, to hold the millions in slavery. The dullest among us can perceive, that it has not even common sense or probability, much less infallible wisdom, to

recommend it. The examination, therefore, of a foreign religion is highly useful. It is one of the most important lessons that history can teach us."

Thus we learn, that after a painful trial of six years, made by Christian Missionaries in Calcutta, their proselytes do not exceed four. We think the reason is pretty evident. Besides, the difficulty of overcoming the early prejudices of the Hindoos, the arguments advanced by the Missionaries could not have carried with them self-evident marks of Truth. For to withdraw the mind from long established opinions, it is necessary to present to it others which shall powerfully appeal to the feelings, and the judgment, and the truth of which, is so apparent, that the mind, however it may desire it, can neither gainsay nor resist them. Had this been done, it is not likely that men expressing themselves as the writers of the Calcutta Enquirer do, would have remained long without the pale of the new religion thus offered to them. In proof of the unprejudiced state of mind of this party which would do honour to their white brethren, we select the following passage from their paper:

"We propose to let the Enquirer be devoted particularly to the propagation of truth and the subduing of error and prejudices. It may be asked what is the truth we mean to propagate? Our reply is, that we, for the present, mean to avoid positively recommending any religious doctrine to our countrymen: whatever we have satisfactorily discovered to be error we will teach them to reject; what we may hereafter feel as truth we will spare no pains to induce them to adopt. We may occasionally notify what the orthodox papers say in defence of Hindooism; if there be any thing like an argument, we will discuss it. The habits and customs of the natives must be rectified by being taken advantage of; we may, if we find occasion, devote a page of our paper to this end. We may thus be able to eradicate error and prejudice from Hindoo minds. We will also, in the mean time, be employed in an enquiry after Truth; and if, by the time the Hindoo mind will be free from prejudice and capable of appreciating truth, we make any progress in our investigation, we will, in spite of the greatest persecution, and the most difficult oppositions, be at the service of the Hindoos."

We verily believe there is not a Journal in Europe which would declare itself so impartially. If individuals would but leave the door open, as these Hindoos have done, for the entrance of Truth, she

would not be so rare a guest with mankind as we usually find her. But riches and honours rise up as an impenetrable barrier, and conceal from view the "pearl of great price" which remains neglected without. When will the bulk of mankind discover it to be their highest interest not to deceive themselves in word, deed, or thought, but fearlessly to examine, to decide, and to act? Never until journalists shall do their duty by holding faithfully up to the mirror of public opinion what society is and what it should be. Glance over the pages of the most celebrated and influential in our own country, and we find that the subject is skimmed over, but never probed. Let such writers learn of the Hindoo, and he, at all events, earnest and unprejudiced enquirers after Truth. This is surely not too much to require of them. We turn, for a moment, to the consideration of a political opinion of our Calcutta editor, which is no less indicative of his progress in true knowledge than his liberality on other subjects. He says:—

"The stability of Government depends upon the affection the people entertain for it. The moment popular feelings are against it we begin to date its ***. The stronger the attachments of the subject are to government the more firmly is the king seated on the throne."

This sentiment has been uttered a thousand times, but it must be repeated until it reach the hearts and understandings of those to whom it relates. From the pen of a subjugated Hindoo it comes with singular force, and ought to bring misgivings and conviction to every administration in Europe. The stability of government we are told depends upon the affection the people entertain for it. Now it is morally impossible that they should entertain true affection unless their wants are fully supplied, their rights as men fully recognized, and their minds fully informed. Is this the case in any part of the United Kingdom? No. The inference is obvious. To effect all this, or to "loose caste" for ever, is the alternative which the present position of affairs now offers to the British Government.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

I am a poor man, Mr. Owen, and hitherto have been a most discontented one. From the hour in which I first reflected on the comparative misery of my own fate, with that of the rich and great, I have been dissatisfied,—I have felt myself as a mere cypher amidst the more noble figures in the world's arithmetic—the one's, and two's, and three's, &c. of human society—men born in happier circumstances than myself, my masters and employers, and I have grown both sullen and untractable; envious of their comforts, unmindful of my own. I have fretted at the bit and bridle, have disdained the curb, and have

longed inwardly to throw my *rider* to the ground and trample him beneath my feet, for he has seldom or never felt for my situation, or pitied my abject state of servitude. I know not what has kept me *honest*, but I have had fearful workings in my nature to be otherwise, for I possessed no gratitude to God, no love to man. When the painted and gorgeous carriage of the higher orders has whirled by me at the corner of the street, dashing the dirt of its wheels in the face of poor weary man, *proud* even in his adversity, I will own to you, that I have *curst* its possessor in my heart, with a double *loathing* at the thought of my own wretched home, my coarse and scanty meal, my mean and stained apparel. Oh, Sir! did the great ones of the earth but know, what passes in the poor man's breast, the heart burnings he endures, the longings he is obliged to quench, surely they would not *goad* him on to *crime* and desperation by their sinful neglect, and cruel insults; for the very *display* of *Wealth* is as an *insult* to the wretch, who has not a single shilling in his pocket, and I have felt it so. This state of being that I have attempted to describe to you, one of utter *self-abasement* and the ranking of a chafed spirit, is, I verily believe, Sir, the *Parent* of every crime the poor man so easily falls into; he walks abroad degraded in his own eyes, and he sinks daily in the *scale* of human society, whilst his evil passions rise in proportion, until he falls lower than the *brutes*, for they grow not depraved and *demon like*, but keep the steady course nature has allotted them.

I come now to speak of the change my whole being has undergone since I have heard you, most respected Sir, advocate the poor man's cause, and teach him the heart-reviving lesson, to *RESPECT HIMSELF*. As I gradually rose in my own self esteem, as a member of one common community, hatred for more fortunate individuals than myself has died away, and all my angry murmurings and discontent, have given place to social feelings, and the hope of better times. As I walked from the doors of the Institution on the days of Congress there, a noble pride swelled within me, for I had heard from the mouths of some of the labourers and neglected classes, arguments and sentiments that would have done honour to both Houses of Parliament. I said within myself, "and I also am of this order of society; I am no *drome* to eat the *honey* of the *hive*, and contribute nothing to its store." I feel my own importance, and that I am equally a *man* with him who turns his head haughtily away, with contemptuous frowns, as I civilly make way for him, and who thinks himself my *superior* because he wears a finer coat than mine—chance ushered him into the world in the castle of a nobleman, whilst I, (as unconscious as himself) first drew my breath in the hovel of a labourer. I should like, Sir, to give you my unvarnished notions, one of these days, on your late Congress, but I will take up no longer portion of your "Crisis" at present, so I humbly take my leave of you, Mr. Owen, with my truest esteem, the sincerest *condolence* for your domestic loss, and my gratitude of a lightened heart.

H. D.

Islington, May 6, 1892.

PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS AT THE INSTITUTION.

On Thursday evening the 3rd instant, the discussion on "Human responsibility," resumed by particular request, was continued. The meeting was numerous, and terminated in an adjournment of the discussion, till the evening of the 10th instant. In the morning of Sunday last, Mr. Owen addressed a numerous audience, on "the Education to be given in the Institution;" and in the evening, The Rev. Thomas Macconnell, lectured "on the liberality of the principles of Mr. Owen's system of Society," as illustrated, in our large lecture room being let to the Rev. Edward Irving and his followers. The audience on this occasion, composed of both sexes, filled the large lecture room and the balconies outside.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received Mr. Judkin's letter. As a verbal communication on the subject is preferable to any other, he may easily obtain all the information he wishes, by calling at our Institution any day between ten and six o'clock.

Mr. Wilmot's letter is come to hand.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 12.

MR. IRVING, HIS DISCIPLES, AND FOLLOWERS.

This gentleman has been put out of the Scotch church, in Regent Square, because his opinion, upon speculative matters of religion gradually became different from the old orthodox notions of the Church of Scotland, and, in consequence, the smaller and weaker party were ejected by the larger and more powerful, although the latter is an insignificant body compared with Christians generally, especially in the religious world.

Mr. Irving, and those who adhered to his interpretation of religion, were compelled to preach in the streets or desist altogether. Under these circumstances, he and his friends, applied to us, to know whether we would give them the accommodation which they required. Having known Mr. Irving many years, and also some of his followers, and believing both to be truly conscientious in their opinions and proceedings, and knowing they were not more in error than their sectarian opponents, we did not hesitate at once to give them the accommodation which they required. To us it would have appeared unkind and uncharitable to have refused their request. They are as harmless religious enthusiasts as any other religious enthusiasts of which we have any knowledge. It is true we have not heard the unknown tongues in the Scotch Church, but those we have heard in many other churches and chapels appear to us unintelligible, and as impossible to interpret as any sound that could be uttered by any of Mr. Irving's flock. Besides we seek truth not in any mere name or sound, but as it exists in nature, knowing that this is the only truth which can permanently benefit the human race; and we have no fear of error overcoming truth when both are fairly placed before the human mind.

For these reasons we have willingly permitted this sect of Christians, while persecuted by other Christian sects, to find shelter within our extensive premises as long as they are willing to pay a reasonable rent for this accommodation; and we shall allow them to have as fair a chance of making converts to their opinions as the other sects have. Believing however, as we do, that the principles which we advocate are, the truth without mystery, or mixture of error; we fear no power of sect or party in opposition to this truth, expecting rather that the most intelligent among all sects and parties, will speedily perceive this truth, and perceiving will be constrained to adopt and acknowledge it.

Thus is the mystery solved—why the Rev. Edward Irving and Robert Owen are found,

at different hours of the same Sunday, proclaiming to their hearers what each believes to be true and highly important for others to believe and to act upon. Localized man is always surprised at any occurrence which happens out of the sphere of the limited ideas contained within the locality which bounds his range of thought, and thus it is, that some of the daily papers express so much wonder at an occurrence that would not surprise any one whose localities had not been clouded by early prejudices.

* * In the trust deed of the Scotch Church, Regent Square, it is provided, that the minister preach according to the Creed of the National Church of Scotland. In all cases of dispute on this point, the Presbytery of London are the judges. In the present instance they have decided against Mr. Irving, and he is therefore expelled, in reality, by the trust deed.

THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS.

We have given in our two former numbers (to conclude in the present number of the crisis) a general account of the proceedings of the delegates to this Congress—a body of men destined some day to effect more paramount benefit to the human race than all preceding associations. They are the men who will take the lead in giving an example of the practical measures to be adopted to teach man the art of uniting all their efforts to produce the greatest good to all. They will exhibit to the astonished world the easy methods by which all the evils arising from poverty, or the fear of being in want of any of the necessities and beneficial luxuries of life, may be avoided and for ever prevented. They will open a straight forward path to the attainment of real knowledge, or the acquisition of truth upon all subjects involving the will and happiness of man. They will thus overcome the bane of the human race—ignorance—and all the bad passions and injurious feelings which ignorance alone has engendered; and they will ascertain from facts, which their experience will soon confirm, that man, at his birth, possesses the germ of great and varied excellence, and that a wise culture, in accordance with the acknowledged laws of his nature, is alone required to mature all these valuable qualities, and to form the adult man into a being of superior order to the past or present race of men. It is true, that many of these delegates are plain, simple men, unsophisticated by the ways of the world, but they are honest in their desire to ameliorate the condition of their fellow-workmen, and they are ready to make any sacrifice to effect this good work, and to follow those who have had more experience, and whom they think are equally honest in their intentions of doing good. For a short time they will be puzzled to know whom to follow, or exactly what course to pursue, but a little calm reflection and steady observation, after committing a few errors, will speedily discover to them the true road, and when once they shall have fairly entered upon it, there will be no further obstacle to their progress, which may be reasonably expected to be as rapid as it will be seen to be successful.

LAWYERS.—According to the Asiatic Researches, a very curious mode of trying the title of land is practised in Hindostan:—Two holes are dug in the disputed spot, in which the plaintiff's and defendant's lawyer put one of their legs, and remain there until one of them is tired, or complains of being stung by the insects, in which case his client is defeated. In this country, it is the *client* and not the *lawyer*, who puts his foot into it.

REPORT OF THE AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY,

Established by Mr. Vandeleur, in the County of Clare, Ireland.

Mr. MOLONY, a member of this Society, made the following Report to the Co-operative Congress, on Wednesday, April 25th, which we give verbatim on account of its great interest.

He stated that Mr. Vandeleur had some years ago formed an idea of establishing a Society on Mr. Owen's plan, as soon as he should have enough land out of lease for such purpose—that he would not have begun as early as he had done if it had not been for the circumstances of last year, (during the disturbances in that part of Ireland), of the shooting his steward, and threatening the destruction of him and his family; he therefore was compelled to begin a year and a half earlier than he intended to have done. On the partial subsidising of these disturbances, Mr. Vandeleur called the labourers and mechanics together, who at that time were employed on the land, and told them it was his intention to form a co-operative society on his land (which amounts to about 600 acres English) on Mr. Owen's principles; and he gave those persons who were then in his employ the choice of coming into such society or not, as they pleased. After explaining the system to them, about twenty agreed to give it a trial, but only one or two out of the whole considering that it would permanently succeed. At first the working classes, generally speaking, were against it, from the circumstance of their not thoroughly understanding the benefit that eventually must result to them: they have however now been at work six months, and, if they wanted any new members, they would have a hundred applications for admittance. As there are, I imagine, some landed proprietors here, I should wish to remove from their minds any idea they may have formed of the non-practicability of such society, though I must confess a great deal depends on the perseverance, tact, and knowledge of the formation of character of the individuals engaged in its commencement; for, with regard to the Irish working classes, no person will succeed who does not use mild persuasive measures. They are a people, in my estimation, with whom no other remedy will accomplish any permanent good. Mr. Vandeleur does not take rent in money for his land—but the society are bound to furnish so many loads of wheat, barley, oats, fat cattle, pigs, &c., according to an average he took from farming the land seven years himself. All that they, by their ingenuity or labour, can produce over that quantity belongs to the society; the cattle, farming implements, &c., they took to at a valuation. Mr. Vandeleur has provisions, &c., supplied to his house at a fixed price. Their affairs are under the arrangement of a committee, who sit every evening after work; it is composed of nine persons, three for agriculture, three for trade and mechanics, Mr. Craig the Secretary, Mr. Vandeleur the President, and the Treasurer. They then appoint each individual to his employment for the next day; every thing being done by numbers: as soon as the state is completed, it is hung in the lecture room for the information of the members. Any new member, wishing to come in, must be proposed and seconded by a member—come into the society for a week, receiving nothing but his food, at the end of which time he is balloted for, a majority deciding—he must also be approved of by the President.

The Secretary and President deliver a lecture to them three times a week, the accounts are publicly audited once, and they have two dances. Since the formation of the society, there has been no case of drunkenness, quarrel, or even any immorality been known—the introduction of spirituous liquors is entirely forbidden—they have an infant school, and the youths are educated by the Secretary, Mr. Craig, each youth is taught a trade, besides a thorough knowledge of agriculture—there is also a sick fund, to which every member contributes one halfpenny a week—but they have as yet had but little occasion for the aid of even medicine or doctors. Every mar-

ried man has a cottage to himself—he can either have his food cooked in the public kitchen, or dressed in his own house—the bachelors and spinsters sleep in dormitories. The Society have begged me to say that they are much in want of a good co-operator who understands the woollen manufacture; there is a twenty-horse-power mill erected, now running to waste, which was formerly employed in the linen manufacture, which he might have, as also the labour of the women and children, at 6d. per day: it is a wool country, and most of the women understand the hand-spinning: the wages are paid by labour-tickets, and there is a public store where they can purchase all the necessaries, and some of the luxuries of life. Such a Society I cannot imagine will ever fail, for, by giving an interest to the labourer, you give security to the landlord. I think if any internal commotion should take place in Ireland, the Vandeleur co-operators will remain undisturbed—for who would be rash enough to face 100 armed men who are determined to fight for the protection of their own property. Every man's mind is perfectly at ease—he has not, as he had under the old system, poverty continually staring him in the face—he knows, as long as he conducts himself well, it can never occur, and that, in case of death, his wife and family are provided for—he is also aware that, as his children grow up, they are educated in sound principles of morality, without, as they had in the old system, continual examples to the contrary before them—he knows, in case of their leaving the society, that they will have been brought up with a knowledge of agriculture, as well as a trade; and I cannot imagine Society ever being in that state, that such an individual can ever be without getting employment.

PAUPERISM IN CORK.

"At a meeting of the Cork Board of Health the appalling fact was mentioned, that there were in that city, under the head of *distressed poor*, no fewer than *fifty-nine thousand*, whilst under that of *distitude* there were *over twenty-two thousand persons*."—*Morning Herald*.

Who, with the common feelings of humanity, can read the foregoing statement without an involuntary shudder of horror that *more than one-half* of the population of a commercial city should be paupers—that *one-fifth* should be in a state of *distitude*—and not ask, by what unaccountable infatuation those persons can be possessed who have the power, yet will not remove the cause of so much misery and wretchedness? If this state of society arose from any sterility of nature, or out of any uncontrollable event, we might bear the intelligence with fortitude and resignation; but, when we know that there are *five millions of uncultivated acres of land* in Ireland, which would not only give employment and food to the unemployed and hungry, but also restore happiness to millions of human beings, the heart sickens at the apathy that is shown by man to the sufferings of his fellow-man.

[This suffering from poverty in Ireland is wholly unnecessary; we will, in our future numbers, give the full detail of measures which will prove the ease with which all the Irish labourers may be immediately employed on land in Ireland most beneficially for the landlord and themselves.]—Ed.

ON SECRETS.

All secrets originate in, and are nourished by, an artificial and insincere state of society. If all persons were natural, fear and shame would have no existence, and consequently the whole species of secrets which are inseparably identified with one, or the other, or both of them, would gradually become extinct. For what has nature made in any one man, that he should be ashamed or afraid of its being known to any other man made by the same nature? Under such circumstances, for any man to be ashamed or afraid, would be to be afraid or ashamed of his nature, which is impossible. But being made *artificial* by education, which teaches him that he thinks, and chooses, and acts for him-

self, in the exercise of a controlling power, which he is taught to believe he possesses, he becomes afraid and ashamed of many things which he has thought, felt, said, and done, and of which, if he has this power, he really ought to be ashamed. Hence, there is an interior world created, in which indistinct whispers only are heard, and imperfect hints only are given, amidst the interminable darkness which perpetually broods over this secluded region, every crevice of which is carefully stopped, and the entrance to which is jealously guarded by unslumbering fear and timid shame, without whose permission there can be neither egress nor ingress, to any person or thing.

Secrets are such kind of food to many minds, as growing clover is to hungry cattle; which, after they have eaten it, ferments, distends its receptacle, swells them to that degree, that if timely aid is not procured, they burst. And well would it be if timely aid could be procured for some persons, who, after they have eagerly devoured the secrets of another, cannot contain themselves, but communicate, without consideration, what they have devoured with avidity.

Under the present artificial and now tottering state of society, confidence is almost universally invited, and almost as universally dishonored. The Confessor, who is solemnly sworn to secrecy, and whose ear is a kind of a common moral sewer, divulges the secrets of confession. Gavin, in his "Master Key to Popery" informs us, that when the Priests meet, each contributes his quota of confessional secrets to the general stock, for the information, amusement, and edification of his brethren. The Court of Rome, in her political negotiations, has made great use of secrets obtained in this manner. Medical men disclose the secrets of patients—Lawyers those of their clients—Servants those of their masters—Children those of their parents—Husbands those of their wives—and wives those of their husbands. I had recently disclosed to me, though I am no confessor, by the friend of a married lady, some secrets, which had been communicated to him by this married lady, and which I should never have supposed any wife would have communicated to any other individual whatsoever. But this was done like every thing else of the kind, in *confidence*; and marked *private*. An individual in a low tone of voice, and with a grave face tells you (*aside*.) that he has something to communicate to you, but that you must not mention it again for the world. He promised certainly not to tell any body, but he will tell you, (i.e. making you out to be *nobody*.) and you promise not to tell any body, and you go and tell *some* body else; and he tells another, and so forth. Each man thinks that another will keep the promise, which he himself has violated; and strange to tell, expects the practice of truth to grow out of the example of falsehood! Some think also, that if the prohibition against disclosure should not be regarded, it will furnish them with a defence, if they are called to give an account of themselves for making the disclosure. Thus it is that secrets get out, and then they gradually lose their original character and become publicities: they sometimes also gather as they pass from one to another, like snow balls, gather as they are rolled along. Some assume almost all the shapes of Proteus, and all the colors of the Cameleon, and become at length so completely metamorphosed as ultimately to retain few of their original features. It is said by philosophers that our bodies are entirely changed in fifteen years; so that although we retain our personal identity, it is not the *same* body; but reports change so extensively and so speedily, as sometimes to be no longer the same in fifteen days.

When I was in Lancashire I heard a shrewd man say to another "Can you keep a secret?" "yes," replied the other, "and so can I," replied the first; and made no communication to him. It immediately struck me, that as long as we have secrets to keep, and it is probable we shall have more or less, as long as the present old state of society exists, the surest way to keep them, is the same as the most certain method of keeping the bird in the cage, which is, keeping the cage door constantly closed.

I have often thought it illustrative of the benefi-

cence of nature, that we are much more disposed to disclose to others our *prosperous* circumstances than our *adverse* ones. By the communication of the former, pleasure will most probably be the result; but pain will ordinarily be the effect of the latter.

Institution, Gray's Inn Road.
May 8, 1832.

T. M.

CONTINUATION OF THE MEETING OF CONGRESS.

SATURDAY.

THE Congress met at Seven. Mr. Simpson, one of the London delegates, was called to the chair.

COMMUNITY.

The Congress of the Delegates of the Co-operative Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, assembled in London, holding their meetings in the Institution of the Industrious Classes for removing Ignorance and Poverty, have, after the most minute deliberation, resolved to commence a new state of society, founded on the following great principles:—

1st. "That the character, under Divine Providence, is formed for each individual.

2nd. "That it is the interest of society, that the physical, intellectual, and moral character of every child should be well formed.

3rd. "That it is in the power of society to well or ill-form the character of every child not possessing organic disease.

4th. "That the *Individual Competitive System* is calculated to produce in the mass of the people poverty, crime, and wretchedness; and to perpetuate ignorance and disunion among the human race, and that the experience of the world, up to the present day, demonstrates this truth.

5th. "That the *Social Co-operative System* is eminently calculated to remove the cause of all these evils, by uniting mankind in properly devised arrangements, to re-form the human character from evil to good, by producing abundance; by making well directed industry honourable; and, by uniting the exertions of all for the benefit of each.

Mr. Thompson, of Cork, Mr. Bromley, of Euston Square, and Mr. Hamilton, of Scotland, were deputed to look out for land for the purposes of a community. Mr. Hall offered for the purpose 420 acres of land at 22s. 6d. per acre, *tithe free*, on an unexpired lease of seventeen years, at Havering in Essex, adjoining eleven hundred acres eligible for the same purposes, equally free of tithe. Mr. Bromley, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Vines, were deputed to visit the land, and report thereon. It was decided that 30l. each for men and women, 3l. 15s. for children under four years, 7l. for those between four and eight, and 15l. for those between eight and fourteen years, should be paid, to entitle the parties to the advantages of community for life.

Mr. OWEN said, that children above twelve ought to be allowed to choose whether they would or would not go into community.

Mr. PARE said, that those who had not funds, might bring goods equal at least in value, into community. This proposition, after some discussion, was carried.

The Congress adjourned till 9 o'clock on Monday.

MONDAY.

The Congress met at seven. Mr. Willis, delegate from Wallingford, in Berkshire, was called to the chair.

It was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Pare, that such members of Congress as were now willing to enter into community, do pay a deposit of three pounds each into the hands of Messrs. Grote, and Co. bankers, London, to the account of Messrs. Austin, Dempsey, and French, the trustees appointed by Congress.

Mr. Bromley, of Euston Square, brought up the report of the Committee appointed to visit the land at Havering in Essex, the particulars of which we stated in our report of Saturday's proceedings; after the reading of this report, the Congress unanimously decided, that it would be inexpedient to proceed

further in the matter at present. The Committee were then instructed to look out for other parcels of land.

After some other business had been dispatched, it was unanimously resolved—"That the cordial thanks of this Congress are eminently due, and are hereby given to Robert Owen, Esq. the Governor of the Institution, William Bromley, Esq. the proprietor of the building, as well as to the members of the Council for the very liberal and handsome manner in which the Congress has been accommodated with the use of these premises during their sittings." The next Congress will be held at Liverpool, in October.

CHINESE WISDOM.

Although we are not in the habit of allowing the Chinese the exclusive wisdom they arrogate to themselves, and occasionally we smile at their (tous) ridiculous ceremonies, and mandates; yet sometimes maxims emanate from them, which it would be well for the rulers of the civilized world to take example by; and, as it is our business to collect wisdom from whatever source it may flow, as also to use our best exertions to disseminate it, we cannot do better than call upon the "powers that be," to digest well the following saying of the Emperor Kaou-Tsoo—"That the monarch depends upon the nation at large, the nation depends upon the labouring classes—to extort from the people, in order to present to the monarch, is like cutting flesh from one's body to fill the stomach: the stomach may be filled, but the body will die; the monarch may be enriched, but the country will perish; I always consider the matter thus, and dare not indulge myself."

ADVERTISEMENTS.

Several Advertisements are unavoidably postponed.

THE THIRD GREAT SOCIAL FESTIVAL

OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES,

For diffusing the most Useful Knowledge, and creating general good Feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION FOR REMOVING IGNORANCE AND POVERTY, Gray's-Inn Road, near King's Cross, on Monday, May 14, 1832. ROBERT OWEN, Governor.

PROGRAMME.—PART I.

Overture, Full Band—Glee, Foresters, &c.—Song, Light as Thistle Down—Duet, Minnie Ginn—Song, Bloom's on the Rye—Glee, Life's a Bumper—Song, The Merry Mountain Horn—Pantanza on the Violin, by Master Cooper, pupil of Signor Spagnioletti—Glee, Hall, &c.—Song, The Moment of Victory.

PART II.

Overture, Full Band—Italian Song, Rowini—Catch, Would you Know—Song, My Lute—Glee, Aldiborontiphosphorulo—Song, Bonnie Laddie—Introduction and Air, O Dolce Concerto—A Duetto on the Pinoforte, Mr. Stevens and a Young Lady, his pupil, with full Band accompaniment—Glee, My Father Land—Song, the Anchor's Weigh'd—Glee, the Chough and Crow—Finale, Organ Concerto, Stevens.

Mr. Stevens will Preside at the Organ and Pinaforte.

Master of the Ceremonies, Mr. T. Goddard.

A Short Address will be delivered by the Governor, explanatory of the Progress of the Co-operative Social System, as developed at the late Congress.

Tickets of Admission at 3s. each, Visitors and Members, half-price, may be had at the Institution, and of Messrs. Allsop, 280, Regent Street; Brooks, 421, Oxford Street; Corns, 40, Shoreditch; Dempsey, 10, Bonnerie-street, Fleet-street; Franks, corner of Redcross-street; Haskins, 79, Regent-street; Nicholls, 57, Regent-street; Styles, 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; Hooper, 30, Great Ormond-street; Hopkins, Tobaccoist, opposite Gower-street, New-road; Macpherson, 9, Cirencester-place; Savage, Baker, 14, Great Titchfield-street, Marylebone; Clements, Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; Borrough, 16, Chichester-place, Gray's-Inn-road; Savage, 213, Tottenham-court-road; Noble, Tobaccoist, 84, Bermondsey-street; Willmer's Library, Seymour-street, Euston-square.

N.B. One Ticket will admit Two young Persons under Sixteen years of age.

Tea, Coffee, and other Refreshments will be supplied at moderate Charges, in the two principal promenade Galleries. The Doors will be opened at half-past Five, and the Amusements terminate between Twelve and One o'clock.

Just published, price 3d.

AN ADDRESS to the DISCIPLES of ROBERT OWEN, on the importance and necessity of speedily establishing a Bond of Union of mutual interests, for gradually carrying into operation the new Science of Society. By W. CAMERON, an Operative. Published by J. Brooks, 421, Oxford-street; and to be had of all Booksellers and Co-operative Societies.

BRITISH COLLEGE OF HEALTH, NEW ROAD, KING'S-CROSS, LONDON.

MR. MORISON, the President, and Mr.

MOAT, the Vice President, in conjunction with all the Honorary Members, and Country Agents of the British College of Health, being now fully borne out with the conviction, approbation, and indubitable proofs of upwards of 200,000 individuals (who have been thrown aside by the Faculty, and out of the Hospitals, as incurable) having been restored to sound health by the "Universal Medicines;" with all this incontrovertible mass of evidence in support of the Hygeian Theory and Practice, which challenges the controversy of the whole body of Medicists under the old system to subvert, they, the heads of the College, hesitate not to declare, in the face of the Faculty, that this new light must completely change the whole course of the Materia Medica, and introduce a new era in the science of physic: that, in fact, mankind will be taught in future, a new and certain mode of investigating the nature and cause of Diseases in general, and possess a certain and harmless mode of cure, making every individual his own efficient doctor. In confirmation of what is here asserted, the Heads of the College mean to insert, in this paper, a continued series of new cases, from individuals giving their names, residences, and dates of time of cure, all of which have been voluntarily given, and ascertainable as to the facts, by inquiry.

"Sarah Squires, of Franks Fields, Boxbourne, Herts, takes leave to return thanks to Mr. Morrison, for the great benefit she has received from taking a course of the Universal Medicine, at the cost of 12s. 3d. which has renovated her constitution, and restored her to health, after an illness of forty-two years standing, during which time she has been afflicted with an asthmatic complaint, attended with violent spitting of blood, so as frequently to confine her to her room for five and six weeks at a time, and to completely baffle all medical aid, she having been discharged from the Ipswich Dispensary after being a patient in that Institution for the space of four months.

"May 25th, 1831."

The "Vegetable Universal Medicines" are to be had at the College, New-Road, King's-Cross, London; at the Surrey Branch, 96, Great Surrey-street, Blackfriars; at Mr. Field's, 16, Air-street, Quadrant; Mr. Chappell's, Royal Exchange; Mr. Walker's, Lamb's Conduit-passage, Red-Lion square; Mr. J. Loft's, 10, Mile-end-road; Mr. Bennett's, Covent Garden-market; Mr. Haydon's, Fleet-delicourt, Norton Falgate; Mr. Haslett's, 147, Ratcliffe Highway; Messrs. Norbury's, Brentford; Mrs. Stepping's, Clare-market; Messrs. Salmon's Little Bell-alley; Miss Varrall's, 24, Lucas-street, Commercial-road; Mrs. Beech, 148, Sloane-street, Chelsea; Mr. Chapple, Royal Library, Pall-mall; Mrs. Clements, 12, Bridge-street, Southwark; Mr. Wallis, 3, Borough-road, near the Obelisk; Mr. Kirtiam, 4, Bolinbroke-row, Walworth; Mr. Pain, 64, Jernyn-street; Mr. Wood, Haldreaser, Richmond; Mr. Meyer, 3, May's-buildings, Blackheath; Mr. Griffiths, Wood-wharf, Greenwich; Mr. Benjamin Pitt, 1, Cornwall-road, Lambeth; Mr. J. Dobson, 35, Craven-street, Strand; Mr. Oliver, Bridge-street, Vauxhall; Mr. J. Monk, Bexley-heath; Mr. T. Stokes, 12, St. Roman's, Dartford; Mr. Cowell, 22, Terrace, Pimlico; Mr. Parfitt, 96, Edgware-road; Miss C. Atkinson, 19, Trinity Grounds, Deptford; and at our Agent's, in every principal town in Great Britain, the Islands of Guernsey and Malta, and throughout the whole of the United States of America.

THE NEW PATENT BEAVER HATS.

THESE HATS, being manufactured of the most choice Materials, are more durable, light, and lasting in their colour, than any hitherto invented; they are made water-proof, by a process of stiffening with elastic gums, before they are dyed, and will be found the most elegant Beaver Hats that have ever been offered to the Public. They are sanctioned by the King's Royal Letters Patent, granted to ROBERT FRANKS & Co. Manufacturers and Patentees, and Sold at 21s. and 24s., at 140, Regent-street; 62, Redcross-street, London; 6, St. Andrew-street, Edinburgh; and 97, Rue Richelieu, Paris.

EXCHANGE BAZAAR,

Late the GOTHIC HALL,
NEW ROAD, ST. MARYLEBONE.

THE COUNCIL of the NORTH WESTERN ASSOCIATION of the USEFUL CLASSES, beg to inform their Fellow Workmen, and the Public in general, that arrangements have been made with the Proprietor of this Building, containing 3 Floors, Cellaring, & other convenient accommodations, which will enable all parties having Manufactured Goods, Raw Materials, or Labour, of every kind and description, beneficially to exchange the same, on an equitable time valuation.—Further particulars and Prospectus, may be had on the premises.

M. MACPHERSON, SECRETARY.
W. KING, AGENT.

Printed for, and published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's-Inn Road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by Strange, Paternoster-Row; Berger, Holywell Street; Richardson, Holborn; and Parkins, Wardour Street; and may be had of all Newsmen.

William Dent, Printer, Burton Street, Burton Crescent.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR & MISERY,



[Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road.]

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. 1. NO. 8.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

At a season like the present, when the people are running in all directions, exclaiming, "what must we do to be saved?"—calling public meetings—passing various resolutions, and making preparations for the future, they present an affecting spectacle to the philosopher. From the eminence of truth on which he stands, where the region is calm and the sunshine perpetual, he hears the thunder roll beneath his feet, and sees the storms in which the multitude are wrapt, sweeping along the plain. He beholds numbers smarting under evils, of which they know not the real original cause, cursing others, who are writhing under these evils also, as the authors of these calamities—speaking at public meetings without ever having thought, or without having been trained from infancy to think correctly, in our opinion, on any subject—exciting the feelings and passions of others by the fervour and copiousness of their long harangues, in the midst of which, if there were a fight, many would run to witness it—denouncing certain public individuals, and lauding others to the skies; and then, when the speeches of the orators are concluded, the proper number of cheers and groans are given, and the patience of the audience (a considerable portion of whom, though they hold up their hands in support of resolutions, cannot hear what those resolutions are) is exhausted, all retire, some to the public-house, and others to their own, perfectly satisfied with themselves, cordially detesting their rulers, and anxiously looking for a report of their speeches and resolutions in the next day's papers, in which you see that opposing sentiments have been cheered by the same people. Then comes the morning press, rising in the greatness of its strength, mighty to stimulate and prompt to cater, which seems to guide public opinion because it follows it; under whose strong and extensive sweep, the weak minds of the multitude bend like standing corn bends while a powerful wind sweeps over the field. Information is spread—contagion is communicated—and confusion is increased. The provinces follow in the train of the metropolis, and the zeal of countrymen vies with that of citizens. Business is suspended. The innocent and unconscious sleep part with their skins, that upon its dried texture the humble petition of man to his fellow man, of whom in private he speaks with contempt, yet to whom in public he presents a respectful and humble petition, may be orderly and permanently recorded; and when these petitions have been formally read by those to whom they are respectfully addressed, they are laid upon or under the table, sometimes amidst dissension and disturbance, arising out of a discussion raised upon them; at others, they are interred in peace, not in sure, and certain hope of a glorious resurrection, but with an earnest wish that they may be seen no more. The philosopher, who understands the

laws by which his own nature is regulated, sees at once the hidden source of all these evils, which neither the governors nor the governed yet know. He perceives that man is attempted to be governed in opposition to the laws of nature—that all the institutions of society are in opposition to those laws, and that this is the source of all the troubles under which humanity is now bleeding, breathless, and exhausted. He proposes "a new system of society," founded on those laws, in which the people are not to waste time in useless petitions, but to take their own affairs into their own hands; and, as the true Messiah, his system stretches forth her arms, and kindly says to suffering mortals, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

INSTITUTION, GRAY'S INN ROAD,
May 15, 1832.

GENERAL SOCIAL FESTIVAL.

Among the numerous public meetings which have been held last week, we have to notice one of a character totally different from all others; one in which the parties look to the middle and the end of their proceedings, as well as to their commencement. We allude to the public meeting held at the Institution in Gray's Inn Road, on Monday evening. These Meetings, held the first Monday in every month, are called "Festivals for the diffusion of the most useful knowledge, and the promotion of better feelings among all classes."

They are called Festivals, because they are open to all classes for the enjoyment of variety of rational pleasures, in rooms perhaps more spacious and better lit than any in the metropolis, and capable of accommodating at one time a greater number of visitors. Superadded to these advantages, a new system for relieving society from its present ignorance, and poverty, and vice, and all their unavoidable miseries, is gradually developed by the Governor of the Institution—a system which, he asserts, must very shortly supersede all the present contradictory notions and counteracting practices of society, and entirely change the views and proceedings of the population and governments of all countries. Upon the present occasion, after the company had been gratified with the vocal and instrumental music of many amateurs, and previous to the commencement of dancing, the Governor delivered an Address, which was well received by a numerous audience.

He proceeded first to explain the objects of these Festivals—he stated, it was to bring various parties together, that they might acquire some knowledge of the principles on which the new state of society is founded; and also that they may have an opportunity of trying to put the principles into practice, and of observing in what manner others succeed in making similar

attempts. He then stated the advantages of acquiring the habit of meeting our fellow men, in order to act with them on the principles of pure charity and kindness, instead of meeting to criticise or satirise each other's dress, manner, language and persons.

Thus he added, will the incalculable advantages of a state of society founded on the self-evident fact, that no man forms his own character, so palpably perceived in the new infant association, over the old supposition, on which all the past societies of the world have been founded, viz.—"that man does by some unknown means or other form himself to be what he is; and that human laws, customs and institutions should be established on such a false and sandy foundation."

The company then distributed themselves according to their inclination in the spacious apartments. The musical and vocal performances were good—the dancing seemed to be enjoyed by nearly all, till a late hour—great good humour generally prevailed—each retired perfectly satisfied with the manner in which the evening was spent. Among the company present, we noticed some members of the House of Commons, and several artists and literary characters.

MISSIONARY FAILURES.

"Sun of the morning rise! approach you here!
Come—but molest not yon defenceless urn!
Look on this spot—a nation's sepulchre!
Abode of gods, whose shrines no longer burn.
'Twas Jove's—'tis Mahomet's—and other creeds
Will rise with other years till man shall learn
Vainly his incense burns, his victim bleeds;
Poor child of Doubt and Death, whose hope is built on
reeds."—BYRON.

The following communication appears to us to be very important at the present moment, as Missionary Societies are now holding their annual meetings in the metropolis, and publishing the reports of their successes to the world.

ORANITE.—The following is an extract from a letter very recently received from Elijah Armistage, who went as a missionary from this town about ten years ago. The accuracy of the account may be fully relied on, from his perfect knowledge of the people, and his well-known fidelity. It is dated Eismeo, South Seas, Nov. 10, 1831:—"With respect to myself, and the work in which I am engaged, I know not how to give you a just description of the character of the people among whom I labour. You have heard a great deal from the Magazines, &c., which I think the individuals who wrote them should be ashamed of, unless they were quite ignorant of matters here. After it was discovered that certain plants, growing in abundance here, would produce spirits, the inhabitants eagerly made them, and drank to excess. In order to prevent serious political and other consequences, a law was made that any person making wine or spirits should be banished, and his goods

forfeited. This did not lessen the desire of spirits, but rather increased it. The evil is further increased by most vessels bringing the most poisonous liquors, and taking away the little valuable property, and leaving the people far worse than they were. I assure you, there are very few indeed, either in Church or State, but are given up to drunkenness, and make themselves beasts. Thieving is become a growing evil. The preaching of the missionaries does not seem to make impression, or awaken lively feelings, as with you. Persons are in and out of the place of worship just as frequently as they please."—*Manchester Guardian*.

We beg to add also, that we know the author of this communication, who is still a religious man and a missionary, and who has not quarrelled with the Society which sent him out; and that we can place the greatest reliance on his testimony. The South Sea Islands amongst which he labors, and from which he writes, are the scenes of the spiritual toil of the agents of "The London Missionary Society," whose income is about 40,000*l.* per annum. The conversion of the idolatrous inhabitants of these islands to Christianity, has been blazoned to the world as a trophy of the splendid and unparalleled success of this Society.

The idols formerly worshipped there were sent over to this country, and they have been carried about this kingdom to every missionary meeting, and have now found repose in the museum of the Society, where the curious inspect them with gratification, and the pious regard them with abhorrence. It seems, that instead of worshipping harmless images of wood, as they did formerly, the natives now, with probably much greater sincerity and zeal, worship *ardent spirits*. This is conversion from one error to another; from a less evil to a greater; from a state in which the mind was degraded, to one in which it is destroyed; and these South Sea Islanders are become *spiritual* men to all intents and purposes. Similar failures may be expected every where else. For if men do not know the cause of the evils which are in the world (and christian missionaries know less on this subject than perhaps any other class of men, their minds being perverted by theology), how can they administer a cure for these evils? If "a knowledge of the disease be half its cure," these men have not advanced a single step in the way of a cure, for they have no knowledge whatever of the nature of the disease. They are worse than being in mere ignorance on this point; they are in positive error. It would be a curious circumstance, if, when a missionary went to a heathen country with the religion he teaches as the cure for the evils under which that country labors, he were asked, "From whence do you bring this cure?" "From England," would be the reply. "How long has this cure been known in England?" "Fifteen hundred years," he would say. "Then of course England is a very happy, united, virtuous, and prosperous nation." To this he must reply, "I am sorry to say she is directly the contrary." The answer of common sense would be then to him, "Go back again, my friend, to your own country, and when the christian religion has cured its maladies, then we shall feel greatly obliged by your bringing it here; but not till then."

N.B. This extract from Armitage's letter, which we have now given, appeared also in the Morning Herald of Wednesday week.

UNIVERSITY REFORM.

THERE is a general movement of all secreties and mysteries into day-light. The following fact, amongst many others, illustrates this important truth:—The Saxon Minister of Worship and Public Instruction lately issued a rescription to the University of Leipzig, admonishing the professors to arrange their lectures in such a manner, that the main points in them may be publicly brought forward every term or semester. It is matter of notoriety, that all points of indispensable importance were usually taught privately, and made the

subject of extra fees, so that no public and gratuitous prolections were held, excepting on subjects of minor importance. The government likewise require, that half-yearly returns of the numbers of each auditory should be made, so far as the Professors of the University are concerned, with a view to estimate the qualifications of its several lecturers, by the average number of individuals, who have attended their respective courses. The rescript closes by curtailing the number of holidays. Is there no other seat of learning in Europe which cries aloud for a similar hint from the higher powers?

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received an interesting little work, entitled "Monadelphia," explanatory of communities, in connexion with a system of religion, which may be called Christianity. It shall be noticed in one of our early numbers.

Many letters and communications have been received, which shall have our attention.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 19.

THE old civilised world is entirely out of joint. It is rickety, and crazy and cumbersome in every part, and no human power can now prevent it crumbling and falling to pieces by its own weight.

None possessing general experience relative to the practical affairs of human life, and intellectual powers sufficient to comprehend them in detail, and to be enabled to unite them in their due proportions, will longer occupy themselves in the vain attempt to make this old worn out system serve the purposes of the new order of things, which have been created by the developement of the valuable truths which are now daily brought before the public.

It is useless for Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, or his Grace of Wellington, to suppose that they can bolster up and support, either by force or fraud, institutions founded on self-evident principles of error, principles which cannot now, in any manner, be warped by any talents to produce benefit to the people. The evils necessarily resulting from the continuance of these erroneous notions, must go on perpetually increasing the incongruities and anomalies of human life, and make civilised society, even in Great Britain, as well as over the extensive domains of the British Empire, the laughing-stock or pity of every intelligent, reflecting, practical man.

What, in the name of common sense, can any individuals, placed in the circumstances in which the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, and Earl Grey have been from their infancy, effect for the population of this country? Without the aid of practical men who can analyse society into all its component parts; who can separate that which is pernicious, from that which may be made permanently beneficial, and who can recombine these parts in due order, uniting them in their just proportions to work together in perfect harmony; all discussions in both houses of parliament will continue to be as heretofore, an entire waste of great talents and acquirements, to effect no one real beneficial practical result.

The circumstances of an hereditary Earl, of one trained in the profession of law, and especially of English law, and now a lord, and of a successful soldier of fortune, now a Duke, are the most un-

likely to form human beings competent to understand the *real cause* of the errors and evils of society, and still less to enable them to possess knowledge to devise practical arrangements of sufficient effect and permanence to remove ignorance, destroy the causes of disunion, create a superfluity of wealth, unite the operations of an extensive and powerful empire, to promote in the most efficient manner the real well doing and happiness of all.

No! whenever any great good, any exalted improvement, any magnificent amelioration for mankind is to be accomplished, be assured it cannot originate with men trained in such theories, and occupied in such practices, as of necessity have been made familiar to those noble and talented individuals.

It is utterly impossible that any one of them can know, or of themselves do, any thing to relieve society from the confusion in which it is now involved. By their measures, whether of the Grey or Wellington administration, they will, unavoidably, under existing circumstances, daily increase the confusion, and add to the miseries of the British people of every rank, whether now nominally rich or poor; and will still farther confound and perplex the proceedings of all foreign countries connected with our most injurious, and at no distant period impracticable policy both at home and abroad.

These men cannot, owing to the unfavourable circumstances in which they have been, and are now placed, understand the necessity which exists for an entire change of the whole system of the civilized world; they cannot imagine the possibility of such a change being effected now or at any future period.

And yet experienced, calm, reflecting, practical men, know that such a change is not only practicable, but is much more easy of execution than it will be in future, to prop up and support the existing order of things by any administration that can now be formed of men selected from any parties in the state.

In fact, men not involved in party politics, not influenced by private interest, or goaded to action by what the old world miscalls laudable ambition, know that no change of men can now effect any beneficial change in the British empire, except they will honestly and boldly come forward and announce their determination to adopt decisive measures to root out ignorance, and poverty, and bad feelings from the land, and secure to the population a government that not only knows *how* to make all the people intelligent, independent in their pecuniary circumstances, and united among themselves, but who will also derive its highest pleasure and gratification in applying these god-like principles to immediate practice.

These leading characters of the corrupted system of the old world, may very likely say and think, that the British population, or men in any country, cannot be governed so as to make them all intelligent, independent in their worldly circumstances, and united in harmony together.

To this error on their parts we reply that the Lord, the Earl, and the Duke are not practical men; they know, by *seeing* the effects, what *has* been done—what is doing; but they are as unknowing as infants respecting what *can be done* by other men who have been differently trained and differently circumstanced—by men who have never been turned aside by party politics, by a desire to support any particular order; by individual interest, or by personal ambition; but who have calmly, quietly and perseveringly, in despite and in defiance of all the oldest prejudices of the world, considered what the principles and the practices are, by which man, not in one petty district, but in all the nations of the world, can be trained, occupied and governed; to make him a rational creature, and consequently to be always engaged in decisive measures to promote his own permanent happiness, and the permanent happiness of all within the most extended circle of his influence, direct or indirect.

These illustrious individuals are illustrious only in and for the proceedings of the old world—they belong to a system of ignorance, of poverty, and of dissension, for the mass; a system which men who have acquired real wisdom and practical knowledge from facts, will no longer acknowledge to be deserving of support, except as a means quietly and peaceably of introducing another and a better system;—one in which all human beings will be well trained, beneficially occupied and wisely conducted and governed.

Such being the real state of facts, the most experienced and intelligent, and the best disposed of all classes sects and parties in all countries are called upon and solicited to reflect calmly upon these momentous subjects, and as far as they can without prejudice, to take into their most serious consideration the present lamentable condition of the human race, arising solely from the want of sound rational instruction from infancy, and productive national occupation through life; arising from wants, which, when the power of society shall be known and duly appreciated, all must be convinced may be amply provided for without any real inconvenience to any parties. No country ever before possessed such unheard of means to accomplish the most extensive benefits and good to all; indeed, with such means no system but one of the grosserest ignorance could produce the miserable results which are at this day experienced by the far greater part of the population of every country in every division of the earth.

The consideration now, whether the existing wretched condition of human society shall be longer supported by fraud and violence—for it is only by fraud and violence it can, in future, be supported—is no longer a subject to be decided upon by a few individuals, or by any particular nation. It must now be a subject for the solemn decision of the civilized world, or rather for the most experienced, intelligent, and best disposed of all parties—the most advanced in knowledge in all civilized nations. It is these individuals who now ought, because they are the most competent, to decide whether the present accursed system of ignorance, bad passions, poverty, and universal disunion shall be longer suffered to torment the human race, or whether with all means requisite in abundance, by one grand effort, a change of principle and practice shall be at once effected, competent to regenerate man, and form the earth into a paradise, devoid of all forbidden fruit.

The call is made, and an individual of some practical knowledge announces to the world, on the experience of a long life, that the introduction of the latter is now less hazardous, and will be far more beneficial for all than longer to attempt to enforce error and evil upon the population of the world. It must now be evident to all who possess extensive powers of reflection and of generalizing their ideas, that all such attempts must fail, and probably bring premature death and destruction upon those who shall endeavor to restrain nature in her uncontrollable course, when events have decisively determined what that course shall be.

SLAVERY IN JAMAICA.

In the present existing state of West Indian slavery, we have another manifestation of the workings of the present system.

The loss to Jamaica by the late insurrection is estimated at eighty sugar and rum works, 240,000*l*; two crops, 480,000*l*; eighty sets of buildings, stock, and utensils, 1,000,000*l*; 100 smaller settlements, 250,000*l*; loss of slaves and expense of martial law, 270,000; to be raised by a poll-tax on slaves at 8*l*. per head.

The Jamaica House of Assembly was opened on the 4th of March. The following passage occurs in the address, moved in reply to the governor's speech:—"We observe your excellency has received his Majesty's command to submit further propositions to us respecting the future regulation

and government of our slaves. We should, however, be wanting in candour to your excellency did we not state that all measures for the further amelioration of the slave population must emanate from ourselves."

Thus are our fellow-creatures arrayed against each other by conflicting interests and excited passions, ignorant of the root from whence all these evils shoot; and, at present, not sufficiently punished by their errors, to listen to the voice of truth.

ORIGINAL ANECDOTE OF THE LATE REV. ROBT. HALL, M.A.

ONE Saturday evening, as this distinguished individual was preparing himself to discharge the professional duties of the approaching Sunday, a young man, a member of his congregation, who was eloquence-struck (like too many in our own day, who have never learnt to think before they speak), called at his house, and wished to speak with Mr. Hall. Upon being told that Mr. Hall was in his study deeply engaged, he said that "his business was urgent, and that he must see him." He was admitted into the study, where he stated to Mr. H., "that he thought he had a talent for public speaking; that he did not wish to hide his talent in a napkin; and that he wished to devote it wholly to the Christian ministry." After Mr. Hall had briefly examined him as to his thinking powers and information, he said, "Go home young man, your talent will not need a napkin; the smallest pocket-handkerchief in the house will be sufficiently large for it."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—It is a favourite practice with the advocates of artificial institutions, to enlarge upon the evils of the savage state, and to contrast them in glowing colours with the advantages flowing from civilization. "Behold," they exclaim, "what a feeble being is man in a state of nature; a prey to hunger, and thirst, and nakedness; a slave to appetite, and the creature of circumstances to which he knows not how to rise superior: see him, when Art has bettered Nature in him—when civilization has enabled him to unfold his wondrous powers, how glorious a being does he become; with what a godlike supremacy does he compel all the visible creation to minister physical and intellectual gratification!" Yes, civilization does confer many benefits upon her favourites; and, apart from the influence of early prejudices, there are few men I think, who would prefer the condition of the North American Indian of the sixteenth century, the perfection of savage life, to that of the wealthy and educated classes of modern Europe. But on the other hand would you know what proportion the blessings of civilization bear to its evils, go reckon the ranks of the affluent and the educated on the one side, and on the other those of the men whom the arrangements of society condemn to an endless round of drudgery for others, to darkened minds and unhealthy bodies, men whose most constant thought is the soul-killing fear of want, for whom the present is without joy, as the future is without hope. Make the enumeration, and you will turn away appalled to see what numbers of the human race seem now destined only as so much manure to force a comparatively few others into a rank and unwholesome luxuriance. For one man of easy fortune and intellectual habits, how many thousand wretches are there—peasants in Ireland, mechanics in Manchester, working men every where, from whose souls the grinding oppression of society has almost effaced the semblance of humanity. Infinitely better would it be for each of these, were he the wildest savage that ever trod the desert, in his naked strength exacting from beast and bird a tribute to his simple wants, and never dreaming of that refinement of civilization, by which one man can tie up the hands and feet of another, and then taunt him with the helplessness himself has occasioned!

"But civilization," it is said, "carries some men forward to the highest attainable pitch of excellence, and ensnares to a very great number a far happier life than that of the most favoured savages; it is not therefore to be rejected because it cannot extend its advantages to all." Be it so: my object is not to recommend a return to savagism, and therefore I shall not dispute this assertion of those who profit by the present system of society. I shall only hint that they, who make the profit for others, but share it not themselves, might pronounce a different judgment on the matter. "Had the lion been the painter, the man would not have been drawn uppermost." I would now only combat the notion that because civilization is better than savagism, an artificial condition is therefore more eligible for man than a state of nature. Were this true, the fact would stand out, a solitary and deplorable anomaly, disfiguring the fair order of creation. That man alone of all beings should find happiness incompatible with a life spent in accordance with his nature, is a supposition that singles him out as the only being in the world ordained to necessary wretchedness; a supposition (it is with reluctance I bring myself to write it) that impiously taxes the creator with the unspeakable cruelty of forming man under conditions rendering happiness a thing to him utterly and for ever impossible. The truth is, the Savage is no more entitled than the English nobleman to represent man in a state of nature. Both are operated upon by local circumstances, that prevent the full and free development of their natures, and that give an artificial bent to the growth of their moral and physical powers. Other animals are said to be in a state of Nature, when the circumstances by which they are surrounded are such as are best fitted to develop and support all the faculties with which they are endowed, without peculiarly encumbering any at the expense of the rest. Man has never within the annals of history been in such a state; but he, the great denaturalizer of other animals, has exerted his deforming powers most remarkably, and most mischievously too, upon himself. We are eminently social creatures: it is not therefore in solitude we shall look for the aids of human perfection; but what form of society has ever been devised capable of satisfying all the natural wants, physical, moral, and intellectual of all its members. Such a state of society would be truly a state of Nature. It is yet a desideratum;—Is it an impossibility? I think not.

I am Sir, your's respectfully,
W. K.

P. S.—I shall trouble you with a further communication on the subject.

NEW YORK FREE ENQUIRER.

From this paper we make the following extract relative to a subject discussed in the late Co-operative Congress held at our Institution.

EQUAL EXCHANGE OF LABOUR.

From a letter lately received from a gentleman in Ohio, and one who has sacrificed a considerable portion of his own property in the cause of reform, I extract the following paragraph, which will not be devoid of interest to many of our readers.

"I have become acquainted, at Kendal, with Josiah Warren and have seen the school there. I can bear personal testimony to the truth of a great part of what he writes, and believe it all to be true. I am a convert to his system of reform, comprehending as it does a gradual departure from the old system of speculation and counteraction. Had I capital, or were even my farm (which was mortgaged to supply funds for my former experiment) freed from incumbrance, I think I would try the experiment of a practical school based on the principle of an equal exchange of labor, on a small scale. I admire the character of Josiah Warren and those with whom he is now associating, with whom I have had an intimate acquaintance. They will continue to prosper."

VISIONS REALIZED.

It is but twenty-three years since Fulton made his first successful experiment, and convinced the sceptics of 1807 that a vessel could be propelled without the oar, against wind and tide. We met, the other day, with a letter which he wrote to an intimate friend on the occasion, and we copy it as a curiosity which ought to be preserved.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—My steam-boat voyage to Albany has turned out rather more favourably than I had at first calculated. The distance from New York to Albany, is 150 miles; I ran it up in 32 hours, and down in 30 hours. The latter to just five miles an hour. I had a light breeze against me the whole way going up and coming down, so that no use was made of my sails; and the voyage has been performed wholly by the power of the steam-engine. I overtook many sloops and schooners beating to windward, and passed them as if they had been at anchor.

The power of propelling boats by steam is now fully proved.—The morning I left New York, there were not perhaps, thirty persons in the city who believed that the boat would move one mile an hour or be of the least utility. And while we were putting off from the wharf, which was crowded with spectators, I heard a number of sarcastic remarks. This is the way, you know, in which ignorant men compliment what they call philosophers and projectors.

Having employed much time and money and zeal, in accomplishing this work, it gives me, as it will you, great pleasure to see it so fully answer my expectations. It will give a quick and cheap conveyance to merchandise on the Mississippi, Missouri and other great rivers which are now laying open their treasure to the enterprise of our countrymen. And although the prospect of personal emolument has been some inducement to me, yet I feel infinitely more pleasure in reflecting with you on the immense advantage that my country will derive from the invention."

We recommend the perusal of this letter to all those who, like the ridiculers of Fulton, must needs show their wit and their ignorance by sarcastic remarks upon all plans and proposals that do not happen to suit the taste of the hour, and which are often dogmatically pronounced to be impracticable, merely on account of their novelty.

Yet would we not be understood to advocate the opposite extreme. Every age has produced its empty theorists, its scheming visionaries, and its fantastical dreamers, whose plans are as beautiful, and about as substantial as a soap-bubble. Did we, without examination, admit every new scheme to that confidence to which actual experiment only ought to entitle it, we might believe every absurdity; even the practicability of the wise man's proposals, who forgetting that the earth carries its atmosphere along with it, imagined, as a convenient way of travelling, the plan of mounting in a balloon and waiting aloft until the country he desired to reach should be passing under him.

We do not advocate any extremes. We only say that much improvement is retarded, and much reform prevented, because men are not willing to suspend judgment regarding novel propositions, until they have had time and opportunity carefully to examine them; but too often think it a mark of wisdom and decision boldly to set down every thing as visionary and Utopian which is not formally introduced by some precedent or vouched for by some great name.

METAPHYSICS.

A metaphysician is a man who will raise an argument of an hour's length about a straw; which argument, when finished, is not worth a straw for any useful purpose.

LAW.

The Edinburgh Review once said, that "English law was like a hedge-hog, all points." A man who has been in law knows that it nearer resembles a much more formidable animal than a hedge-hog.

It is like the crocodile, whose bite is terrible; but from that bite it is easy to escape by turning; so with the law, when it lays hold of a man it makes him cry out, but there are a great many turns by which it may be easily evaded.

RECOLLECTIONS OF PART OF THE LECTURE DELIVERED ON SUNDAY EVENING LAST, AT OUR INSTITUTION,

ON NATURAL EQUALITY,

IN OPPOSITION TO ARTIFICIAL RANK AND DISTINCTION.

THE Lecturer observed, that rank forms a harbour for ignorance, and a barrier to knowledge. What can men of high rank know of the real circumstances of those in the lower ranks of life? And how can they legislate for them as they ought without such knowledge? Must they not necessarily commit egregious blunders? Rank is destructive of sympathy. What sympathy, what real sympathy, can the higher classes have with the lower? Rank consumes without producing, and by it the energies of nature are sacrificed at the shrines of art. It is identified ordinarily with indolence, and usually begets pauperism; it corrupts the church and oppresses the state; makes its possessor haughty, and his dependents cringing; keeps the army up, and the people down. Its bad example has been injurious to morals; it begets imitation. Men in the lower ranks, without sufficient means, ape the manners, morals, and magnificence of the higher. While this imitation lasts, it is ridiculous and expensive; and when the bubble bursts in bankruptcy, it is contemptible and ruinous.

(Our space obliges us to defer the rest till our next).

ADVERTISEMENTS.

BRITISH COLLEGE OF HEALTH, NEW ROAD, KING'S-CROSS, LONDON.

MR. MORISON, the President, and Mr. MOAT, the Vice President, in conjunction with all the Honorary Members, and Country Agents of the British College of Health, being now fully borne out with the convictions, approbation, and undoubted proofs of upwards of 200,000 individuals (who have been thrown aside by the Faculty, and out of the Hospitals, as incurable) having been restored to sound health by the "Universal Medicines;" with all this incontrovertible mass of evidence in support of the Hygienic Theory and Practice, which challenges the controversy of the whole body of Medicists under the old system to subvert, they, the Heads of the College, hesitate not to declare, in the face of the Faculty, that this new light must completely change the whole course of the Materia Medica, and introduce a new era in the science of physic; that, in fact, mankind will be taught in future, a new and certain mode of investigating the nature and cause of Diseases in general, and possess a certain and harmless mode of cure, making every individual his own efficient doctor. In confirmation of what is here asserted, the Heads of the College mean to insert, in this paper, a continued series of new cases, from individuals giving their names, residences, and dates of time of cure; all of which have been voluntarily given, and ascertainable as to the facts, by inquiry.

"In gratitude to yourself, and for the benefit of parents, I am glad to inform you of the good effects of your Universal Medicine, upon my children. One of my children, a boy four years old had been in a consumption for two years, during which time I resorted to different physicians, and other medical gentlemen, but without effect. One Saturday, my wife took him to a physician, who told her that every thing had been done for him that could be done; therefore the child was left without the most distant hope of recovery. That evening I called on your Agent Mr. Haydon, in Fleur-de-lis Court, Wheeler Street, Spitalfields, who gave me great hope, telling me if I would give him a few Vegetable Pills, he would soon be restored. We accordingly, gave him two pills that night, and the next day (Sunday) gave him larger doses; and on the Tuesday following, by giving him the pills as directed, he was able to play with the other children. Some weeks after this the same boy was taken ill, and we sent again to Mr. Haydon, who said as soon as he saw him that the child was sickening for the Meazles. Mr. Haydon gave him some pills, and in two hours he was covered with Meazles; we continued to apply the medicine, and in a few days he was perfectly recovered. At this time another of my children was attacked with the Meazles, and by following the same course we did with the elder, it was soon restored. On Saturday, the 30th of November, the eldest child was taken ill with the Scarlet Fever; we gave him six pills, in the morning he grew worse, and was quite light-

headed; my wife was very much alarmed and went for Mr. Haydon, who kindly came to see him; he bruised six more pills and gave to him, and in less than three days after this he was quite well again. I should have mentioned, that with the same dose of your pills, he discharged an astonishing quantity of worms. Seeing the effect so far, we tried them with another child, seven years old, and I think it caused a greater discharge of worms than in the former case. Such then is the great good that my children have received. My wife had been afflicted with an abscess in her ear from a child, and never expected to be freed from it—it would frequently gather with great pain, and then discharge for a long time: but by the use of your pills, she has been perfectly cured.

I remain, Sir, your's with great respect,

GEORGE KENTON.

No. 11, Fleur-de-lis Court, Wheeler Street, Spitalfields, 6th Jan. 1832.

The "Vegetable Universal Medicines" are to be had at the College, New-Road, King's-Cross, London; at the Surrey Branch, 96, Great Surrey street, Blackfriars; at Mr. Field's, 16, Abchurch-lane, Quadrant; Mr. Chappell's, Royal Exchange; Mr. Walker, Lamb's Conduit-passage, Red-Lion square; Mr. J. Loft's, 10, Mile-end-road; Mr. Bennett's, Covent Garden-market; Mr. Haydon's, Fleur-de-lis-court, Norton-Falgate; Mr. Hulet's, 147, Ratcliffe Highway; Messrs. Norbury's, Brentford; Mr. Stepping's, Clarendon-square; Messrs. Salmon's, Little Bell alley; Messrs. Verrall's, 24, Lucas-street, Commercial-road; Mrs. Beech, 148, Sloane-street; Messrs. Chelsea, Mr. Chapple, Royal Library, Pall-mall; Mrs. Clements, 12, Bridge-street, Southwark; Mr. Wallis, 3, Borough-road, near the Obelisk; Mr. Kirriam, 4, Brompton-row, Walworth; Mr. Pain, 64, Jerny-street; Mr. Wood, Hairdresser, Richmond; Mr. Meyer, 3, May's-buildings, Blackheath; Mr. Griffiths, Wool-wharf, Greenwich; Mr. Benjamin Pitt, 1, Cornwall-road, Lambeth; Mr. J. Dobson, 35, Craven-street, Strand; Mr. Oliver, Bridge-street, Vauxhall; Mr. J. Monk, Bexley-heath; Mr. T. Stokes, 12, St. Ronan's, Dartford; Mr. Cowell, 22, Terrace, Plumco, Mr. Parfit, 98, Edgware-road; Miss C. Atkinson, 10, Trinity Grounds, Deptford; and at our Agents, in every principal town in Great Britain, the Islands of Guernsey and Malta, and throughout the whole of the United States of America.

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FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. 1. NO. 9.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

FORMATION OF HUMAN CHARACTER.

DID not profound study of the nature of men furnish us with a sufficient clue to their unbelief, we should feel surprised that so many withhold their assent from principles which are developed and confirmed by every-day observation and experience. The strangest thing is, that people are continually acknowledging by words and deeds "that the character of man is formed for him," and yet when placed before them as an abstract principle, they deny it. We have taken much pains to ascertain their objections to the theory, and find them to be these.—1st. That it would appear to reduce men to the character of mere machines. 2ndly. That, if acted upon unreservedly, there could be no appeal made to the individual on account of his conduct, and, that consequently, society would have no security for the propriety of his actions.

These are serious objections and ought to be examined and refuted.

We have heard it often contended, that if man is a mere machine, there can be no harm in considering him as such. This is an axiom no one will feel inclined to dispute, but the question is, how far the supposition on which it rests is true. We conceive, that so long as man, a *sentient* being, is acted upon by the opinions and influence of other sentient beings, he cannot be considered as coming under the laws of dead matter. In the intercourse of human beings there is that continual action and re-action of one upon the other, which we look for in vain in the parts of the inanimate machine, except in the production of a continued series of uniform effects. We know this is not the case with human beings. There is not a day or an hour in the life of any individual, in which his feelings and intentions are not modified through the agency of his fellow-men, and thus is he rescued from the imputation of being a mere piece of mechanism. If we say that man is a being who never acts but under influences, and so far is a living machine, we say

truly, but this is a conclusion to which all must come, under any theory whatever.

The principle we have laid down, viz. "that man forms not his own character," and upon which we propose that a new system of society should be built, does not by any means deny the influence of this infinite variety and modification; on the contrary, it acknowledges its effects in a peculiar manner, and directly teaches us, that in proportion as these influences are extensive and powerful, means should be taken to direct and regulate them.

To believe that the character is formed for the individual, does not by any means prevent us from estimating the quality of his actions; it only gives us a clue to their origin, and directs us to the means by which to render them such as we desire they should be. Again, even though impressed with the idea that a child has had no share in creating his thoughts and feelings, we should be perfectly justified in expressing to him our opinion of his actions, that we might thereby give him a motive either to repeat or to alter them according as they were good or bad. There is no inconsistency with our first principle in this mode of acting, because the feeling of approval or disapproval, is equally excited within us, whether the child or individual has, or has not originated his own thoughts and feelings. If he, through a complication of influences has been forced to act in such and such a manner, we in the same way are compelled to form a good or bad opinion of his conduct. To know that he could not have avoided acting as he did, cannot alter this opinion one way or other, but it will render the feelings arising from this opinion more just and charitable.

On the other hand, no individual could excuse his evil conduct either to himself or others, on the score that it was an act of necessity, because, however this may be, he must by another act of necessity, suffer the effects of it in his own person. Supposing that an opportunity were placed before him of gratifying his immediate feelings at the expense of his future welfare, and he yielded to the gratification, it would in no degree diminish the evil effects of his conduct thus entailed upon him, were he to plead that he could not resist it; and knowing this, a motive would be formed within him to direct his judgment and influence his decisions. As it is strictly true that an individual never acts but from conviction or impulse, both which doubtless are independent of his will, what we have to do in order that he should choose aright is, first, to furnish him with accurate ideas of right and wrong, and then to strengthen the power of resistance which the exercise of his judgment gives to him, by leading him while he is yet

a child, to acquire the *habit* (for we are more under the dominion of this power than is usually imagined) of calculating consequences, and preferring a future permanent benefit to a temporary gratification. With some individuals this would be more difficult than others, but with all it would have considerable weight, because the love of happiness, which is the prime instigator of our actions, would be equally consulted and appealed to, in the one case as the other; it would not be thwarted or overlooked, as it too often is in our present system of moral discipline. We derive our highest degree of happiness from two sources, viz., an inward satisfaction arising from the consciousness of having acted rightly, and, the approbation of others. Now, as neither of these can be obtained frequently but through the exercise of self-denial, or, in other words, resisting primary impulses, the conviction of this, combined with just ideas of right and wrong, would be motives holding good under any system or principles, to guide the conduct of an individual, and preserve him from error and crime. We are far from denying the influence of these motives, but contend, that as the power of resistance is derived from the exercise of the judgment, the strength and correctness of which depend upon the original conformation of the mind and its subsequent cultivation, both which are independent of the will of the individual, we cannot justly *blame* him, (using that word in its genuine signification) for a wrong decision, however we are compelled to disapprove of it. The expression of this disapprobation to which we are prompted both by interest and natural impulse, as well as to demonstrate our approval of a good action, constitutes the tribunal of public and private opinion, the power of which we in no degree call in question or invalidate. No, we say, let it exist as free and powerful as ever; but under the influence of our first principle, its decrees would be given with more justice, moderation, and discretion. Instead of uselessly blaming an individual who had been guilty of a crime, or dereliction of his interest, mild measures would be taken to convince him of the injury he thereby inflicted upon himself and others, or, if necessary, sufficient coercion would be used to prevent him repeating it; but when this method of restraint and future prevention was put in practice solely with a view to the benefit of the individual, which would of necessity be the case under the principle which we advocate, he could feel only but momentary displeasure, and all bitterness whatever would be extracted from the minds of those imposing the restraint upon him.

Thus it would appear that as the existing relations between man and man would be preserved the same as they are, and ever have been, not a single motive for action would be withdrawn, nor a particle of the security of society for the good conduct of its members. The principle that man

forms not his own character, would simply rectify our judgments, modify our feelings, and in this way banish discord and malevolence from among us. Society, it is true, would be disarmed of offensive weapons, but there would be preserved to it violate the right of acting on the defensive.

For the reason that this principle extracts from the human mind all anger and bitterness, we argued in a former paper, that it was the only sedative which now could be administered powerful enough to calm the turbulent spirits of the age, and direct their powers, not to the pulling down of old institutions, but to the building up of new, upon the improved plan which our increased knowledge and necessities suggest. We stated, also, that it is "apathy on the one hand, and violence on the other, which now stand in the way of the general amelioration and improvement of society."

It is worth while to enquire why this apathy exists, and what means are calculated to remove it? While many of the upper classes regard with indifference the sufferings and degraded condition of the poor because they do not share them, and because they consider that inequality of rank is a necessary part of the more enlightened and better disposed; there are many of the more enlightened and better disposed who are apathetic in the cause of humanity, because they consider the case as hopeless, and despair of ever rendering man a better being than in the aggregate he is found to be.

Let us not be accused of recommending political or other nostrums when we revert again to our first principle and say, that a knowledge of it is necessary to rouse man to better hopes, and urge him forward in a more energetic course of conduct. If we desire that an individual should possess a good character, and become convinced that his disposition, ideas, and habits are wholly formed for him, what would be our first impulse? Instantly to adopt active measures, to render all the influences surrounding him favorable to our object.

Clearly perceiving then, that this fundamental knowledge is wanting, both to soothe the violent arouse the apathetic, we urge it upon the public with that earnestness, which its importance demands. Further: an examination of this first principle imperceptibly leads to such a comprehensive view of human affairs, as to exhibit in their true colors the relative parts of society; shewing that such gross injustice is practised towards all parties, as to excite in individuals the strongest desire to rectify the false position of the rich and the poor.

To both classes, therefore, we strenuously recommend the consideration of the principle, because, while it serves as a key to the present character which each possesses, its consequences will teach them how to enhance equally their dignity, virtue, and happiness.

THE NATIONAL DEBT.

The results of the working of the present system, looms, large in the amount of the debt of the Nation. Every thing national, except the debt, is spoken of as belonging to the King. It is computed that the sum of this debt considerably exceeds one dollar per minute, ever since the creation of the world, reckoning the date as given in the bible, and the dollar at 5s. sterling. We may well "stagger" under the load! Fifteen pounds an hour, day and night, since Adam and Eve were in Paradise.

TO OUR READERS.

A great press of matter, very important this moment, compels us to publish a Supplementary Number this week. Our regular Number is complete, however, in itself; and therefore no possible inconvenience can arise to any of our numerous subscribers.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. T.'s communication on "Truth" is received, and will be taken into immediate consideration.

"Invocation to Fame" is come to hand.

"Robinson Crusoe, junr." is informed, that we shall be very happy to hear from him in his solitude.

Mr. Hickson's Letter is our next.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 26.

Now when a republican form of government, and the subversion and downfall of the established church are loudly called for by many, as the only measures to effect a beneficial change in the circumstances and moral character of the people of all nations in the world, we lay before them the condition of the people of NEW YORK—the first city of the first republic in the world; a republic which has had all the advantages of the experience of all past ages in its formation, which has no State religion, and which is now uniformly pointed to, as the perfection of human wisdom, and the seat of human happiness. We add, that no modification of the existing system can make man either moral, intelligent, or happy.

NEW YORK.

MORALS OF A CHRISTIAN CITY.

"The number of wretched women who make a living in our city, by public and promiscuous prostitution, is (the Report of the New York Magdalen Society tells us,) 'satisfactorily ascertained to be not less than TEN THOUSAND.'"

The number of private prostitutes is estimated at about ten thousand also. Probable total of those who subsist by selling their embraces for gold in this single city, TWENTY THOUSAND.*

But strike off one half, and let us, as the Report does in its subsequent calculations, speak only of the known public prostitutes. It is estimated that the sum annually expended for board, lodging, dress, liquors, coach hire, theatre tickets, &c., by these 10,000 prostitutes themselves, exceeds six millions of dollars annually. It is further assumed, that each female of this class is visited by three men or boys daily, making an aggregate of more than ten million visits a year; and that on an average these so visiting them, expend for liquors, &c., besides the sum paid to the women themselves as above estimated, fifty cents during each visit, making five million dollars to be added to the actual wages of prostitution; thus giving us ELEVEN MILLION of dollars† as the aggregate sum expended for this vice annually in the city of New York, without estimating what may be laid by in banks and elsewhere by the women themselves.

But even this enormous estimate is less sickening to the moral feelings, than the almost incredible assertion adduced in support of that estimate, that each of these miserable martyrs to the vices of a polluted age, "frequently, from Saturday night

* I need not repeat that for the accuracy of this and all the subsequent details, Arthur Tappan and his fellow members are alone responsible. I take the data, or assumed data, as furnished by them. (This Arthur Tappan is the Wilberforce of America, and his coadjutors are men of high character and moral worth. (Ed. of the Crisis.)

† A sum equal, if I recollect right, to the total annual expenditure of our general government.

to Monday morning, receives fifteen to twenty-five men; obtaining as her reward, from thirty to fifty dollars."

I hesitate even to transcribe so hideous an evidence of the utter abasement and slavish degradation of this unhappy portion of our species; but it seems a necessary, (and alas! a far too satisfactory) explanation of the estimate, that the life of those who early commence this miserable career, does not, on the average endure more than from three to five years, from the date of such commencement.

Let us pause for a moment, and reflect what it is, we have just read. The population of New York, by the census lately completed, is 203,000 persons; say 100,000 males, and 100,000 females. The number of adult males between the ages of 15 and 55 who alone can be supposed to be regular frequenters of brothels, must be estimated at less than two thirds of the whole, say 60,000: and the number of marriageable females at about the same. Hence (according to the Report) we have the following startling conclusions.

One out of every three of the marriageable females of New York at this moment receives the wages of prostitution. One out of every six is an abandoned, promiscuous prostitute. For them is expended by those who visit them thirty thousand dollars daily.

But the condition of morals among the men is even more incredible than this. Ten millions of visits are estimated to be paid to prostitutes yearly, by the sixty thousand male adults, as above estimated.† Supposing, then, every one of these adults married or single, to be in the regular habit of visiting brothels, each would make yearly upwards of one hundred and sixty such visits; that is, more than three per week. If only one half are supposed thus to degrade themselves, these, to make up the estimated total, must be imagined to seek the company of a public prostitute every night of their lives! If, as is alone even supposable, the truth lie between these two, then more than one half our adult male population, married and unmarried, must be believed to visit, more than three times a week, these haunts of vice, disease, and brutal sensuality.‡

I profess myself utterly unable to believe in so vile and overwhelming a degree of mercenary licentiousness! Could I conceive it real, I would instinctively shrink from the company of my fellow-citizens, and seek some other less polluted spot, where I could imagine the majority, at least, of those who surrounded me, less of sordid and sensual animals than they are here portrayed. If there be one sullying vice, one defiling abomination, that curses the body with the vilest diseases, and steepens the very soul in the dregs of abject loathsomeness, that vice is before us here. If there be aught that can erase from the human mind every vestige of its better nature; that can murder its self-respect; and teach it to look upon itself, even as it looks upon others, as a thing, miserable, selfish, brutal and desperately wicked; it is, when that which, unbought, were above the price of rubies, is sold, like the meanest huckster's ware in the common market to every passing bidder. But what say I? That which is above the price of rubies—the free human affections—can become no article of commerce. The most degraded wretch upon earth cannot sell, the richest sensualist cannot purchase it. Love has no price; and that which is sold for love, is a foul counterfeit, far too dearly paid for, even at the basest price that the lowest of the low ever set upon it.

Would we estimate the hydra evils that spring from this poison source? let us call to mind

† Some allowance must be made, say for 10,000 to 20,000 strangers visiting our city, but this will not materially affect the calculation.

‡ This estimate has reference to public prostitution alone. The Society affirm that we ought to take into the estimate 10,000 more private prostitutes.

how much of that tranquil, unobtrusive, endearing happiness that makes the earth worth living on, is found (and found alone) in the endearing ties, in the gentle yet dignified blandishments of domestic affection: and then let us remember how mercenary indulgence dries up, even at its very source, these springs of genuine enjoyment: exhausting our bodily powers; blunting our moral sense; nay, searing our very perceptions of virtue and loveliness, until every native grace and simple pleasure palls on our diseased nerves, and disgusts our worn-out sensibilities.

And this is the slough of listless misery, into which, if Arthur Tappan and his associates speak truth, more than one half of our adult population are habitually, are daily, almost hourly, plunging! Shall we suppose the gloomy picture faithful? What a satire on modern Christianity does it contain! She rules throughout the land; at every street corner are her churches; on every first day of the week she shears the ears of our fellow citizens; her precepts are urged by all the authority of wealth, worldly honour, and reverence, and her commands enforced, even as direct emanations from heaven; every house is open to her ministers, and almost every school subjected to her control. "We have given," as JEFFERSON expressed it "to the hierophants of our particular superstition stated and privileged days to collect and catechise us, opportunities of delivering their oracles to the people *en masse*, and moulding their minds as wax in the hollow of their hands."

And to what have they moulded them, in our city? Let the leader of Presbyterian Christianity himself, and his co-members of the Magdalen committee, reply!

Let me not be accused of unfairness. I ascribe to these views to the precepts of Christianity. The New Testament does not recommend prostitution. But that is not enough, its influence ought to prevent it. What I do hold to be undeniably proved, is, that religion is not sufficient to produce virtue; nay, even to save from the extreme of vice. Christianity has had a fair trial, for eighteen hundred years past; she has had every earthly advantage on her side; opportunity, wealth, popularity, power, veneration, all in aid of her ghostly decrees. Has she reformed the world?

I shall be told that those who indulge in these excesses are not genuine Christians. I say not that they are; but I say that a God-sent religion ought to have made them so. *That it has not, is the very proof of its inefficiency.* They have lived in a Christian country, under Christian influence; have been catechized; have been prayed for; have been threatened with hell, and coaxed with heaven: and yet (as the very Magdalen reporters themselves express it) "amidst the blaze of gospel light with which our city is favoured, it presents but a portrait of moral death."

That which leaves in darkness is not light; and that which suffers to remain in vice is not virtue. As said Eliphaz to Job, so say I to the orthodox framer of the Magdalen Report: "Out of thine own mouth do I condemn thee."—*New York Free Enquirer.*

We leave these facts and these observations, to find their own weight on the minds of our readers. (Ed. of CRISIS.)

We desire in an especial manner to call the attention of the most intelligent part of the population to the first of a series of letters, all now in our possession, addressed to Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, and Viscount Melbourne. It will be soon perceived by our readers, that the writer has taken a fair, full, and enlarged view of the subjects which he has undertaken to place before the public; and we wish that the parties to whom the letters

are addressed, for they are from one of their own order in society, would give them the attention which they so well deserve.

NEWS.

"ANY NEWS?" is the first question which is now generally put by one man to another. When this question is put to us, we always say "NONE." There is nothing new except "OUR SYSTEM OF SOCIETY," and it is absolutely in vain that you search the numerous public prints of the day for any thing new. No, not amidst the great and abundant changes which have taken place in such quick succession, as to abate surprise, and cool expectation; and which changes might sometimes induce us to believe that we did not occupy the same region as our forefathers, if the stability of the material world did not form a striking contrast with the fluctuations of those of the political and moral world. But what is there amongst all these changes which is new? Is the resignation of ministers a thing never heard of before? Is the triumph of one political faction over another a new thing? Is the downfall of individual popularity, gained without merit, and lost without crime, a novel circumstance? Are the intrigues and influence of *women*, often the main-spring in the state machine concealed by the wheels which they put in motion, new things? Are the degradation and hatred of Bishops, things unprecedented? Or, has a wish for a republic never been expressed before? In Cromwell's time much more was accomplished than is even proposed to be done in the present crisis. There was then a republic, or something very much like it, enthroned on the ruins of monarchy, aristocracy, and episcopacy. The answer then to the question "Any News?" must be "NONE." Human nature is yet going round and round in the same circles, the ground has become hard and painful under her feet, her head is sick and her heart is faint, and like animals which toil continually in the same circle, she has become blind; and while she continues to traverse the same course her blindness will not be found an impediment to her—as the mill horse which works continually in a circle, can labour with equal efficiency when he has lost his sight as when he possessed it. But who that has eyes to see, a head to think, and a heart to feel, but must pity her? The public press rather resembles the driver of the horse in the mill, and is employed in lashing her round the same old miserable beaten track with an increasingly heavy load upon her shoulders. And what else can the public press do? In all the plenitude of its resources, and the splendour of its talents it has nothing fresh; and its leading articles somewhat resemble the sermons of some of the clergy of the established church, who, when they have finished the batch, turn it upside down, and go through them again! Accurate statement of facts in the papers is valuable, because it is by facts that the system of society in which the press works, and on the decomposition of which it fattens, is shown to be fundamentally bad—while it is by facts that our system is demonstrated to be true, and sound, and good. But it is not by the facts they state, which are the symptoms of the disorders of society, that society is to be cured; but by some new original arrangements which will be searched for in vain in their pages, though edited with great ability, unwearied industry, and immense expense. Those new and original arrangements at present, we are sorry to say, are only to be found in our pages, and, like other original measures, they may be matters of surprise till they become matters of admiration—men that began with banter may end with

worship. The outlines of these sound, new, and original arrangements, we have given at the earnest request of many friends, in a Supplementary Number. X. Y. Z.

*Institution, Gray's Inn Road,
May 22, 1832.*

PRAYING TO MAN TO BE ALLOWED TO PRAY TO GOD!—What a palpable contradiction to common sense—and only one amongst a number, to be found in the present system of society, is the following fact:—"Not very long since, at Exeter-hall, a number of members of the church of England met, and agreed to a petition, praying that gentlemen and others, in country or town, at a distance from their church, or in other circumstances, be allowed to convene their tenants and servants, and the wayfarer, to religious worship in their houses, and that church prayers might be read in houses where there was no evening lecture in the churches. Sir G. Noel had paid a fine of £20 for thus collecting his servants and others to prayer."

FREE WILL, AND NECESSITY—SMART REPLY.—Not a very long time ago, there was a debate amongst the students in Divinity, at a dissenting college in London, "Whether necessity or free will controuled and directed human actions?" One of the students who had been amongst the Wesleyan's, who are the advocates of free will, and who was not quite purged of this old leaven, in reply to one of the advocates of necessity, amongst other things said "that such was the flimsiness of the web, which the last speaker had wove, that if a fly were to get into it, he would rend it to pieces." The other immediately retorted "that if the gaudy fly of free will, which the last speaker had just painted and set on its wings, should get into this web of necessity, it would find the spider of truth in it, which would sally out, suck its blood, devour its flesh, and pick its bones." This reply was received with three distinct rounds of approbation. The majority of the students being thinking men, were all on the side of necessity. Let all the advocates of free-will beware of this spider.

LETTER—No. I.

TO EARL GREY, LORD BROUGHAM, AND
VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.

MY LORDS,

I wish to direct your attention to an association which has been lately established in the metropolis, the object of which is of the most benevolent nature, and, if its principles be correct, of the utmost importance to society at large. It professes to be "AN ASSOCIATION FOR REMOVING THE CAUSES OF IGNORANCE AND POVERTY BY EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT."

How far the means are calculated to produce an end so desirable, may possibly admit of doubt. But if we reflect upon the wonderful results that have lately proceeded from the ingenuity of man, the extent to which scientific knowledge has advanced, the discovery of gas, and the application of steam, we shall in some degree be prepared for a similar progress in the science of morals. "It would be dishonourable to mankind, if the regions of the material globe, the earth, and stars should be so prodigiously developed and illustrated in our age, and yet the boundaries of the intellectual globe should be confined to the narrow discoveries of the ancients." These reflections ought at all events to render us diffident, and will, I am sure, induce your lordships to investigate a system before you reject it as visionary.

* Aph. 84, 2nd part of Novum Organum, as translated by Wood, and published in the 14th vol. of Mr. Montague's collection of Lord Bacon's Works.

It were needless to remind your lordships that until the introduction of the inductive system, the philosophical world, was a world of ignorance, sophistry, and error. Still less need I remind you of the rapid progress of human discoveries since that time. But the immediate effect of this new mode of reasoning is eloquently described in a popular work, adapted to all capacities, by a man of original talent and profound research, that I cannot resist the temptation of quoting it. "An immense impulse was now given to science, and it seemed as if the genius of mankind, long pent up, had at length rushed eagerly upon nature, and commenced with one accord the great work of turning up her hitherto unbroken soil, and exposing the treasures so long concealed." This author has also described the state of philosophy among the ancients. The fatal error of their system was, that they preferred theory to practice, or, as Mr. Herschel very justly describes their conduct, "they renounced the modest character of learners, and erected themselves into teachers." Having assumed certain arbitrary principles, which had no other foundation than in their own imaginations, they invented a code of laws to which they thought all nature subjected. "Thus, for instance, having settled in their own minds, that a circle is the most perfect of figures, they concluded, of course, that the movements of the heavenly bodies must be performed in complete circles; and when the plainest observation demonstrated the contrary, instead of doubting the principle, they saw no better way of getting out of the difficulty, than by having recourse to endless combinations of circular motions to preserve their ideal perfection." At length a mighty genius arose, who, observing that the "subtlety of nature is far beyond that of sense; or of the understanding," laid down the following rule by which to direct all future investigations:—"Man as the minister and interpreter of nature, does and understands as much, as his observations on the order of nature, either with regard to things, or the mind, permit him, and neither knows nor is capable of more." No sooner was the *Novum Organum* perused and comprehended, than the learned availed themselves of the new light it threw upon science, and had politicians followed their example, had they also investigated facts and rejected theory, their exertions would have been crowned with equal success.

The leading principle upon which all governments have hitherto been conducted is, that man is a free agent, that he forms his own character; and that he is, therefore, deserving of praise or blame, reward or punishment, in proportion as his actions are good or bad. On the other hand, the promoters of the Association to which I have taken the liberty of directing your lordships' attention, maintain that this position is a merely arbitrary assumption, similar to that of the ancients respecting a circle being the most perfect of figures, that it is founded in ignorance, inconsistent with the laws of nature, and productive of the greatest mischief. It will be satisfactory to know that if their system be erroneous, its refutation will not be difficult. For facts are stubborn things, and yet upon facts alone do they rest the defence of their doctrines. I have the honour to be my Lords,

Your Lordships' most obedient,
Humble Servant,
PHILANTHROPOS.

London, 24th May, 1832.

(Letter—No. II. in our next.)

† See a Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy, by Herschel. (106.)

‡ Discourse on National Phil. (97.)

§ Second part of *Novum Organum*. Aph. 10.

|| Second part of *Novum Organum*. Aph. 1.

PARENTAL AFFECTION.

Parental affection, resembles the river Derwent, which rises in the Peak of Derbyshire; which river being full of warm springs, is frozen last of any stream in England, and thawed first. Such is parental affection; the last to be checked by the misconduct of a child: the first to be moved by its penitence.

FILIAL AFFECTION.

The affection of a child to its parent "is sweeter than the incense of Persia offered to the sun; yea sweeter than odours, wafted over a field of Arabian spices by the western gales."

CHEAP LIVING.—The following communication will shew, with what comparative little expense human nature may be sustained:—"A gentleman who has just arrived from France, states that, near Brest, a good cottage, for a small family, consisting of several rooms, and a garden, can be rented for 100 livres, or 4l. 3s. 4d. British, per annum; a couple of fowls and ducks may be bought at 6d.; good beef, 2½d.; veal 1½d.; and bread, 1½d. per lb.; eggs, 1½d. per dozen; common wine, white and red, 25s. per hogshead; and every other article at proportionate low prices.

WHOLESALE CONTINENTAL INCENDIARISM.—In what an alarming and precarious state does the following statement shew some of the leading states in civilized and Christian Europe, to be at this truly critical period:—"A dreadful system of incendiarism has lately commenced in France, Belgium, and Germany. In various provinces of France, many woods of several hundred acres each, numerous farm buildings, and several entire villages, and considerable parts of country towns have been entirely consumed. In the Belgian province of Namur, several large farms and extensive woods, and a whole village and church have been burnt. The diabolical incendiaries, who are all considered to be actuated by political motives, or to be the tools of some revolutionary party, are also ravaging the country in the Duchy of Hesse Darmstadt." Here are men in the present unnatural state of things, destroying property; while there are others pining and perishing for lack of it.

A WORD TO ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN PARENTS, ON NATURAL DEPRAVITY.

MY FRIENDS,

Natural depravity, is a leading fundamental article in the professed creed of all orthodox christians. That "children are born in sin, and brought forth in iniquity," is the avowed belief of all orthodox Christian parents. Depravity according to them, is not what children acquire; but what they inherit, it is not an evil into which they fall; but one in which they are born. It is mixed up with the very first elements of their existence. It is somewhat surprising, that persons sincerely holding such an article of faith, should ever become parents at all; for what is entering into such a relationship, but to become propagators of evil, and doers of mischief? And yet we see that orthodox persons, become fathers and mothers as early, in as great numbers, and with the same thoughtlessness as the heterodox. Yea, judging charitably, which we always wish to do, we must suppose that, by far the greater part of the parents of this country are orthodox parents; that is, sincere believers in the innate depravity of their offspring. But how can this be? Their creed and conduct are in diametrical opposition to each other. The solution is easy; their conduct is, in this particular, perfectly natural, necessary, and good; their creed, in this case, is perfectly artificial, erroneous, and evil; and nature and truth triumph over art and falsehood. To be consistent, and consistency is the only test of sincerity, they must either renounce their creed,

or change their conduct; their conduct is natural and necessary, for the preservation of the species; their creed is inconsistent with nature and truth, and must, therefore, be given up. If it should be said, that their children thus radically depraved, may radically be regenerated, this statement leaving their radical depravity acknowledged as matter of fact, and their regeneration *hypothetical*, makes all orthodox Christian parents *speculators*; and, as according to their own creed, eternal consequences *hereafter* are inseparably connected with moral character *here*, they are the most tremendous speculators we have ever heard of; for their speculations do not terminate with time, but extend through eternity! In what mazes, perplexities, and labyrinths, mankind get involved, when they depart from the truth; their errors multiply at every step, and at last, in some happy instances, work their own antidote. From such a false and melancholy view of the nature we wear, as an erroneous, sour, and severe orthodoxy presents, we gladly turn to the truth, the pleasing refreshing truth—that human nature is inherently good; and that all the evils which it develops, are only the necessary results of the vicious circumstances by which that nature, radically good, is surrounded from birth. We are toiling to effect this change of circumstances, which we are confident will produce a change of character; and we earnestly and respectfully solicit all the friends of humanity to rally around our standard, to lend us their united help, that we may try the experiment, and realize what no kind of religion has yet been able to realize, the making men virtuous, prosperous, and happy.

Your's truly,
A PARENT.

Richmond Hill,
20th May, 1832.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE FOURTH SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the ASSOCIATION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE and POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on MONDAY, 4th June, 1832.

ROBT. OWEN, Governor.

Tickets of Admission, Visitors 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner to Red Cross-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Cirencester-place, Gray's-inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 39, Burton-street; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street; 79, Regent-street.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

PUBLIC LECTURE.—On MONDAY EVENING NEXT, the 28th Instant, at Eight o'Clock in the Evening, a PUBLIC LECTURE will be DELIVERED in the AMPHIONIC CONCERT ROOMS, on the Fulham-road, near the Toll-bar, "ON AN ENTIRE NEW SYSTEM OF SOCIETY." Mr. Owen's, of Lanark, far deeper reformed than Society can be by the "Reform Bill."

The Rev. THOMAS MACCONNELL, Lecturer.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BERGER, Holywell-street; RICHARDSON, Holborn; and PURKISS, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen. WILLIAM DENT, Printer, 39, Burton-street.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. No. 10.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

WE have been much solicited to give a general outline of the New System of Society, as it is intended to be applied in practice, and such a document seems now necessary for the readers of the Crisis. To satisfy these wishes, we place before the public the fundamental facts, and the self-evident deductions from them, on which we propose to erect an entire new fabric of society, one differing in all its parts from the existing wretched irrational system, which affects the mass of the population of the world with continued ignorance, poverty, disunion, vice, and increasing misery. We submit that the present system is a compound of incongruities and folly—that the one now proposed to supersede it, is consistent in all its parts and rational as a whole. Is truth consistent or inconsistent?

OUTLINE

OF THE

RATIONAL SYSTEM OF SOCIETY,

Founded on demonstrable facts, developing the Constitution and Laws of Human Nature;

BEING THE ONLY EFFECTUAL REMEDY

FOR THE EVILS EXPERIENCED

BY THE

POPULATION OF THE WORLD:

The immediate adoption of which would tranquillize the present agitated state of Society, and relieve it from moral and physical evil by

REMOVING THE CAUSES WHICH PRODUCE THEM.

A RATIONAL GOVERNMENT WILL ATTEND SOLELY TO THE HAPPINESS OF THE GOVERNED.

It will ascertain what human nature is; what are the laws of its organization, and of its existence, from birth to death; what is necessary for the happiness of a being so formed and matured; what are the best means by which to attain those requisites, and to secure them permanently for all the governed.

It will devise and execute the arrangement, by which the conditions essential to human happiness shall be fully and permanently obtained for all the

governed; and its laws will be few, easily to be understood by all the governed, and perfectly in unison with the laws of human nature.

WHAT HUMAN NATURE IS,
AND THE FACTS FROM WHICH THE
RATIONAL SYSTEM OF SOCIETY IS DERIVED.

1st.—That man is a *compound being*, whose character is formed of his constitution or organization at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances upon it, from birth to death; such original organization and external influences continually acting and re-acting each upon the other.

2nd.—That man is compelled by his original constitution to receive his *feelings* and his *convictions* independent of his *will*.

3rd.—That his *feelings*, or his *convictions*, or both of them united, create the motive to action called the *will*, which stimulates him to act, and decides his actions.

4th.—That the organization of no two human beings is ever precisely similar at birth; nor can art subsequently form any two individuals, from infancy to maturity, to be the same.

5th.—That nevertheless the constitution of every infant, except in case of organic disease, is capable of being formed or matured, either into a *very inferior*, or a *very superior* being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth.

THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS
OF
HUMAN NATURE,
OR
MORAL SCIENCE OF MAN.

I.

HUMAN NATURE is a compound of animal propensities, intellectual faculties, and moral qualities, or the germs of them.

II.

These propensities, faculties, and qualities, are united in different proportions in each individual.

III.

This diversity constitutes the original difference between one individual and another.

IV.

These elements of his nature, and their proportions, are made by a power unknown to the individual, and consequently without his consent.

V.

Each individual comes into existence within certain external circumstances, which act upon his peculiar original organization, during the early period of his life, and by impressing their general character upon him, form his local and national character.

VI.

The influence of these general external circumstances is modified in a particular manner, by the peculiar organization of each individual; and thus the distinctive character of each is formed and maintained through life.

VII.

No infant has the power of deciding at what period of time, or in what part of the world he shall come into existence; of what parents he shall be born; in what religion he shall be trained; what manners, customs, or habits shall be given to him; or by what other external circumstances he shall be surrounded from birth to death.

VIII.

Each individual is so organized, that, when young, he may be made to receive either true ideas, derived from a knowledge of facts, or false notions, derived from the imagination, and in opposition to facts.

IX.

Each individual is so organized, that he must necessarily become irrational, when he is made from infancy to receive as truths false notions; and can only become rational, when he

shall be made from infancy to receive true ideas, without any admixture of error.

X.

Each individual is so organized, that when young, he may be trained to acquire injurious habits only, or beneficial habits only; or a mixture of both.

XI.

Each individual is so organized, that he must believe according to the strongest conviction that is made upon his mind; which conviction cannot be given to him by his will, nor be withheld by it.

XII.

Each individual is so organized, that he must like that which is pleasant to him, or which, in other words, produces agreeable sensations in him; and dislike that which is unpleasant to him, or which, in other words, produces in him disagreeable sensations; and he cannot know, previous to experience, what particular sensations new objects will produce on any one of his senses.

XIII.

Each individual is so organized, that his feelings and his convictions are formed for him by the impressions which circumstances produce upon his individual organization.

XIV.

Each individual is so organized, that his will is formed for him by his feelings or convictions, or both; and thus his whole character, physical, mental, and moral, is formed independently of himself.

XV.

Each individual is so organized, that impressions, which at their commencement, and for a limited time, produce agreeable sensations, will, if continued without intermission beyond a certain period, become indifferent, disagreeable, and ultimately painful.

XVI.

Each individual is so organized, that when, beyond a certain degree of rapidity, impressions succeed each other, they dissipate, weaken, and otherwise injure his physical, mental, or moral powers, and diminish his enjoyment.

XVII.

Each individual is so organized, that his highest health, his greatest progressive improvement, and his permanent happiness, depend upon the due cultivation of all his physical, intellectual, and moral faculties, or elements of his nature; upon their being called into action at a proper period of life; and being afterwards temperately exercised, according to his strength and capacity.

XVIII.

Each individual is so organized, that he is made to receive what is commonly called a bad character, when he has been created with an unfavourable proportion of the elements of his

nature; and has been placed from birth amidst the most unfavourable circumstances.

XIX.

Each individual is so organized, that he is made to receive a medium character, when he has been created with a favourable proportion of the elements of his nature, and has been placed from birth amidst unfavourable circumstances.

Or, when he has been created with an unfavourable proportion of these elements, and when the external circumstances in which he is placed are of a character to impress him with favourable sensations only.

Or, when he has been created with a favourable proportion of some of these elements, and an unfavourable proportion of others; and has been placed through life in varied external circumstances, producing some good and some evil sensations. This compound has hitherto been the general lot of mankind.

X.

Each individual is so organized, that he is made to receive a superior character, when his original constitution contains the best proportion of the elements of human nature, and when the circumstances which surround him from birth, and through life, are of a character to produce superior sensations only; or, in other words, when the laws, institutions, and customs, under which he lives, are all in unison with the laws of his nature.

THE CONDITIONS REQUISITE FOR HUMAN HAPPINESS.

I.

The possession of a good organization, physical, mental, and moral.

II.

The power of procuring, at pleasure, whatever is necessary to preserve the organization in the best state of health.

III.

The best education from infancy to maturity, of the physical, intellectual, and moral power of all the population.

IV.

The inclination and means of promoting, continually, the happiness of our fellow beings.

V.

The inclination and means of increasing, continually, our stock of knowledge.

VI.

The power of enjoying the best society; and more particularly of associating, at pleasure, with those for whom we feel the most regard and the greatest affection.

VII.

The means of travelling at pleasure.

VIII.

The absence of superstition, supernatural fears, and the fear of death.

IX.

The full liberty of expressing our thoughts upon all subjects.

X.

The utmost individual freedom of action compatible with the permanent good of society.

XI.

To have the character formed for us to express the truth only upon all occasions, and to have pure charity for the feelings, thoughts, and conduct of all mankind, and to have a sincere good will to every individual of the human race.

XII.

To reside in a society whose laws, institutions, and arrangements, well organized and well governed, shall all be in unison with the laws of human nature.

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY, OR SOCIAL STATE OF MAN.

I.

A knowledge of the laws of human nature derived from demonstrable facts, and which prove man to be a social being.

II.

A practical knowledge of the best mode of producing in abundance, the most beneficial necessities and comforts, for the support and enjoyment of human life.

III.

A practical knowledge of the best mode of distributing these productions, most advantageously for all.

IV.

A knowledge of the principles and practice, by which to form the new combination of circumstances, for training the infant to become the best natured human being.

V.

A knowledge of the principles and practice by which to govern man under these new arrangements, in the best manner, as a member of the great family of mankind.

VI.

A knowledge of the principles and practice for uniting in one general system, in their due proportions, the five preceding branches of the SCIENCE OF SOCIETY; to effect and secure, in the best manner for all, the greatest amount of permanent benefits and enjoyments with the fewest disadvantages.

DUTIES OF THE SYSTEM.

ARTICLES.

I.

That it is man's highest duty to himself and his fellow-men, to acquire an accurate knowledge of those circumstances which produce EVIL to the human race, and of those which produce GOOD; to exert all his powers to remove the former from society, and to create around it the latter only.

II.

That this invaluable practical knowledge can be acquired solely through an extensive search after truth, by an accurate, patient, and unprejudiced enquiry into facts, as developed by Nature.

III.

That man can never attain to a state of superior and permanent happiness, until he shall be surrounded by those external circumstances which will train him, from birth, to feel pure charity and sincere affection towards the whole of of his species; to speak the truth only on all occasions, and to regard with a merciful disposition all that has life.

IV.

That such superior principles and feelings can never be given to man under those Institutions of Society, which have been founded on the mistaken supposition, that man forms his *feelings* and *convictions* by his *will*, and is therefore responsible for them.

V.

That under Institutions, formed in accordance with the Rational System of Society, these superior principles and dispositions may be given to the whole of the human race, without chance of failure, except in case of organic disease, and influenced only by the natural consequences of our actions.

A GENERAL CONSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT,
AND

UNIVERSAL CODE OF LAWS,

Derived from the Constitution and Laws of Human Nature.

ON THE LIBERTY OF MIND OR CONSCIENCE.

I.

All shall have equal and full liberty to express the dictates of their conscience.

II.

No one shall have any other power than fair argument, to control the opinions or belief of another.

III.

No praise or blame, no merit or demerit, no reward or punishment, shall be awarded for any faith whatever.

IV.

All shall have equal right to express their opinion respecting a FIRST CAUSE; and to worship it under any form or in any manner agreeable to their consciences, not interfering with equal rights in others.

ON THE IRRESPONSIBILITY OF MAN.

V.

No one shall be responsible for his physical, intellectual, or moral organization.

VI.

No one shall be responsible for the sensations made on his organization by external circumstances.

VII.

No one shall be responsible for the feelings and convictions within him, and which are to him the truth, while they continue.

ON PROVIDING FOR, AND EDUCATING THE
POPULATION.

VIII.

Every one shall be equally provided through life, with the best of every thing for human nature, by public arrangements; which arrangements shall give the best known direction to the industry and talents of every individual.

IX.

All shall be educated from infancy to maturity, in the best manner known at the time.

X.

All shall pass through the same general routine of education, domestic teaching, and employment.

XI.

All Children; from their birth, shall be under the especial care of the community in which they are born; but their parents shall have free access to them at all times.

XII.

All the Children shall be trained and educated together as children of the same family; and shall be early taught a knowledge of the laws of their Nature.

XIII.

Every individual shall be encouraged to express his feelings and convictions only,—or, in other words, to speak the truth solely upon all occasions.

XIV.

Both sexes shall have equal education, rights, privileges, and personal liberty; their associations will arise from the general sympathies of their nature, uninfluenced by artificial distinctions.

ON THE GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE
POPULATION.

KV.

Under the Rational System of Society, after the children shall have been trained to acquire new habits and new feelings, derived from the laws of human nature, there shall be no useless private property.

XVI.

As soon as the members of these communities shall have been educated from infancy in a knowledge of the laws of their nature; trained to act in obedience to them; and surrounded by circumstances all in unison with them; there shall be no individual punishment or reward.

XVII.

Society shall not be composed, as at present, of single families, but of communities or associations of men, women, and children, in the usual proportions, from three hundred to two thousand, as local circumstances determine.

XVIII.

As these new communities increase in number, a union of them shall be formed for local and general purposes, in tens, hundreds, thousands, &c., according to the less or more extended objects and interests which shall require their consideration and direction.

XIX.

Each of these communities shall possess around it land sufficient for the support, for ever, of all its members, even when it shall contain the maximum in number.

XX.

These communities shall be so arranged, as to give to all the members in each of them, as nearly as possible, the same advantages, and to afford the most easy communication with each other.

ON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POPULATION:
AND DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL.

XXI.

Each community shall be governed by a general council, composed of all its members between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five; and each department shall be under the immediate direction of a committee, formed of members of the general council; chosen by the latter, in the order to be determined upon.

XXII.

After all the members of the community shall be rendered capable of taking their full share of the duties in the general council of government, there shall be no selection or election of any individuals to office.

XXIII.

All the members at thirty-five years of age, who shall have been trained from infancy in the communities, shall be officially called upon

to undertake their full share of the duties of management; and at forty-five, they shall be excused from officially performing them.

XXIV.

The duties of the general council shall be, to govern all the circumstances within the boundaries of its community; to organize the various departments of production, distribution, and formation of character; to remove all those circumstances which are least favourable to happiness, and to replace them with the best that can be devised among themselves, or of which they can obtain a knowledge from other communities; to regulate and assist in the establishment of new associations; composed of the surplus population of the community; and to send delegates to the circles of communities to which they shall be attached.

XXV.

The general council shall have full power of government in all things appertaining to the community under its direction, as long as it shall act in unison with the laws of human nature, which shall be its sole guidance upon all occasions.

XXVI.

All individuals trained, educated, and placed in conformity to the laws of their nature, must, of necessity, at all times, think and act rationally, except they shall become physically, intellectually, or morally diseased; in which case, the council shall remove them into the Hospital for bodily, mental, or moral invalids, where they shall remain until they shall be recovered by the mildest treatment that can effect their cure.

XXVII.

The council, whenever it shall be necessary, shall call to its aid the practical abilities and advice of any of the members not in the council.

ON THE ADJUSTMENT OF DIFFERENCES.

XXVIII.

If the general council shall ever attempt to contravene the laws of human nature, which is scarcely possible, the elders of the community, who have passed the council, shall call a general meeting of the members of the association, above sixteen years of age, who have been trained from infancy within it. This meeting shall calmly and patiently investigate the conduct of the general council; and if a majority shall determine that it has acted, or attempted to act, in opposition to these laws, the general government shall devolve upon the members of the community who have passed the council, and who are under fifty years of age, united with those who have not entered the council, and are above thirty years of age.

XXIX.

All other differences, of every description, if indeed it be possible for any to exist in

these communities, shall be immediately determined, and amicably adjusted between the parties, by the decision of a majority of the three senior members of the council; except when the difference shall exist between members of the council,—when it shall be, in like manner, decided by the three members who have passed the council.

CONCLUSIONS DEDUCED FROM THE FACTS, CREEDS, DUTIES, AND PRINCIPLES; CONSIDERED IN REFERENCE TO THE PRESENT EXCITED AND UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

I.

That the period for introducing the rational system for remodelling the character of man, and for governing the population of the earth in unity, peace, and progressive improvement, and happiness, is near at hand; and that no human power can resist the change.

II.

That the governments of the world will soon be compelled, in their own defence, to adopt this superior system; to prevent their being involved in factions, anarchy, war, and ruin.

III.

That this change will root up and utterly destroy the old vicious and miserable system of ignorance and poverty; individual competition and contest; and of national wars throughout the world; and introduce, in place thereof, the rational System of Society; in which competition, strife and wars will cease for ever, and all will be trained, from infancy, solely to promote each other's happiness.

IV.

That this system can be best commenced, by convincing governments of the truth of the principles on which it is founded. There must be also a sufficient number of individuals imbued with its spirit of genuine charity, affection, and philanthropy, and instructed in the best mode of applying it to practice; they must likewise possess patience and perseverance to overcome all the obstacles which prejudice will oppose to their progress; and, above all, they must be united, have full confidence in each other, and be directed by one heart and one mind.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Under the past and present irrational system of the world, devised in opposition to Nature, 19 out of 20, or perhaps more truly 99 out of 100, of the external circumstances formed by man around society, are of an inferior and vicious character;

but under the Rational System of Society now proposed to be formed in accordance with Nature, all the circumstances under human control will be of a superior and virtuous character.

Under the existing religious, political, commercial, and domestic arrangements of Great Britain, 250 individuals cannot be supported in comfort on a square mile of land; while under the proposed System, with much less labour and capital than are now employed, 500 may be immediately supported in abundance, and in a few years after the new arrangements shall have been matured, 1000, 1500, and probably, without any additional new discoveries, 2000 individuals may be so supported upon every square mile of an average quality of soil.

Such is the difference between a Rational System formed in accordance with Nature, and one founded in opposition to it.

* * A Work developing the whole Science of the Rational System of Society, of which this Article is a Synopsis is in preparation, due notice will be given of its publication. The CRISIS, a new Penny Paper, published by the Association to remove Ignorance and Poverty, also explains parts of the System.

Explanatory Lectures are delivered by ROBERT OWEN and his Disciples on Sunday Mornings at Eleven, and Evenings at Seven o'Clock; and on Thursday Evening at Seven o'Clock, at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE FOURTH SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the ASSOCIATION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE and POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on MONDAY, 4th June, 1832.

ROBT. OWEN, Governor.

Tickets of Admission, Visitors 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner of Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 39, Burton-street; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BAKER, Holywell-street; RICHARDSON, Holborn; and PUKISS, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen. WILLIAM DENT, Printer, 39, Burton-street.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 11.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

HOW FAR IS ANY HUMAN BEING FREE TO ACT?

(A Dialogue between Mr. Belcour and Charlotte.)

MR. B. My dear Charlotte, your mamma and I have accepted Mrs. Berkley's invitation for to-morrow evening.

C. I am so delighted, my dear papa, for I own I was a little afraid we should not go; and do you know, papa, Madame le Mode has just sent home my new dress—so very fortunate—well, I am so happy, nothing in the world would give me more pleasure than an evening at that charming Mrs. Berkley's.

MR. B. Charlotte, my love, it is the farthest from my wish to interfere with any of your little pleasures—Mrs. B. certainly expects you—

C. Papa!

MR. B. Why, my dear, I have some little doubts whether it would be proper for you to accompany us.

C. Indeed, papa! I am very sorry to hear you say so.

MR. B. My love, though I cannot positively say it would be improper, yet, perhaps, you had better not go; I recollect you were speaking to-day of your old pensioner, my dear, and did not you say your purse was rather low?

C. Yes, papa, I did, but I don't mind about the purse, I am thinking of dear Mrs. Berkley's party.

MR. B. I don't doubt it, my dear, but I know you would wish to help your poor old man—see, Charlotte, here are five new sovereigns, now take your choice—either Mrs. Berkley's party, or the five sovereigns, which would enable you to do so much for your old pensioner.

C. Ah, so it would indeed, papa—it would be delightful to go to Mrs. Berkley's, but—but—well, papa, I believe as you have some little doubt, I must give up dear Mrs. Berkley's party; oh, how I shall rejoice the heart of my poor old man, he shall have a new coat—thank you, my dear papa, I accept the sovereigns.

MR. B. Now, Charlotte, if I had offered you your choice between Mrs. B's party and half a crown—

C. Oh, papa, I should have declined the half crown without a moment's hesitation.

MR. B. Ah! Charlotte, so it is, philosophers tell us, throughout the world *every one always acts from the strongest motive, and never from the weaker.*

C. Papa, as you gave me my choice, what does choice mean, if I have not *full power or free will*? I could have done just as I pleased, I could either have gone to Mrs. B's, or have accepted the half crown.

MR. B. Then you think, my dear, you can act from the *weaker* motive.

C. Certainly, if I am determined, papa—indeed I begin to feel inclined to accept the half crown,

which you must acknowledge to be the weaker motive, and, in order to convince you that I could act, if I pleased, from the weaker motive—now would not that be a *positive* proof, papa.

MR. B. No, my love—if you determined to accept the half crown, think what motive would sway your mind to that determination—not the benefit to your poor old man, from so very small a sum, but *another* motive, that of shewing your own power, the strong desire of victory in the argument, and, if that desire proved strongest in your mind it would be the motive that compelled you to receive even so small a sum in preference to the pleasure at our friend Mrs. Berkley's.

C. I see now, papa, that would become the *strongest* motive—yes, I suppose I should still be acting from the strongest motive, though this really appears very strange. Is this, papa, what the foreign gentleman, the other day called philosophical necessity?

MR. B. The same, my dear.

C. But what is the use, papa, of this doctrine, which seems to take away all our freedom of action? in short, to shew that we have no free will; now, the foreign gentleman, I think, said, as we are *responsible*, therefore we must be free agents.

MR. B. Perhaps, my dear, he ought first to have proved that we are what he called free agents, and then have drawn his consequence from the fact.

C. Well, but papa, we must be responsible you know, or any body might commit any wickedness, even murder itself.

MR. B. Do you think, Charlotte, that you should feel a desire to commit murder if you thought you were not responsible?

C. My dear papa, don't imagine such a thing for a moment, I hope I have been so instructed that such a thought would not enter my mind.

MR. B. Or steal, Charlotte?

C. Why, papa, you so well supply all my wants, I have no motive for taking what belongs to another.

MR. B. Then, Charlotte, you see, persons might be so surrounded by the necessities and conveniences of life, and their tempers so regulated by education, that they would neither rob nor murder, however much they might be convinced that man is not a responsible being.

C. But if men were not deemed accountable to any human tribunal, or the just punishment of Almighty God, what dependence could you have upon their conduct?

MR. B. Man's great desire is happiness—he is so formed—such are the uncontrollable laws of his nature—that unless he be virtuous, by which I mean, disposed to obey the laws of his nature, he cannot be happy. The individual whom society, by its bad training, has made vicious, receives punishment enough from every act of vice, and, as society has made him what he is, it were most unjust to inflict stripes, fetter and imprison his

body, still more deprive him of that life, which, under other circumstances, might have rivalled that of Socrates, and may still, with good culture, repay more to society than it has yet received from it, and become a useful, if not an exalted character; nothing is more true, than that vice carries with it its own punishment, and virtue her own reward.

C. And do you think, papa, that men are in a better situation *without free will*?

MR. B. Certainly—the doctrine of free will supposes that every man forms his own character, and therefore ought to be punished if he do not form it well. But, if it should prove to be true, that men do not form their own characters, but that they are formed for them by the circumstances of birth, country, religion, class, and party, in which they may happen to be born, or placed in after-birth till maturity—then, I would ask, where is the justice of punishing individuals for obeying the laws of their nature?—they had no choice, and could not avoid the control of all the circumstances by which they were surrounded; and, as to their being placed in these circumstances, you will observe, they were never consulted, yet what else (allowing for the difference of original organization) has formed the character virtuous or vicious, now before you?

C. Still, papa, I should wish to learn the great benefit this doctrine is to mankind.

MR. B. It shows and proves the overwhelming power of circumstances to produce any character—whether Hindoo, Cannibal, Mahometan, Pagan, Christian, Catholic, or Protestant—brave, pusillanimous, rash, cautious, revengeful, forbearing, chaste, debauched, the misanthrope, the philanthropist; it therefore teaches, that none but favourable circumstances should be placed around every child that is born, which favourable circumstances producing only good motives, all would be trained to be wise, virtuous, and happy; with such benign circumstances surrounding all, there would be no necessity for bridewells, houses of correction, penitentiaries, jails, fetters, halters, and the scaffold; and if the governments of the world were wise enough to listen to that mild philanthropist Owen, they might make this world a paradise—it would, indeed, become an earthly heaven. That amiable philosopher is still devoting himself to improve his fellow men, and glad am I to see his new Institution, near to King's Cross, overflowing with the zealous and enlightened, and that so many, Charlotte, of your sex, are admirers of the system developed in his Temple of Truth.

Islington, 31st May, 1832.

AGRICOLA.

VISIONS REALIZED.

ALTHOUGH it is perfectly immaterial to us, with whom the steam boat originated, our object in introducing the success of the invention into our

paper being merely to shew that what was once thought to be *visionary*, has become *fact*, and thereby to guard our readers and others against too harshly pronouncing any new project to be *visionary*; yet, as we are anxious to propagate truth only, we unhesitatingly insert the following letter, which, but for want of space, would have appeared last week.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I have observed in your paper of Saturday last, an extract from a letter of Mr. Fulton, stating his first successful voyage with a steam boat in America, in 1807.—I am one who wishes to give merit to whom it is due, and as your paper bears the motto of truth, I hope you will insert the following statement, which proves that this Vision was realized in Scotland, in March, 1803, by Mr. Symington, Engineer, then living, near Carron, in Stirlingshire, who may be justly called the father of steam boats. The truth is, that Mr. Symington commenced his experiments on steam-carriages and steam-boats, in 1786, and actually propelled a boat by steam, in 1788.—After this few experiments were made until 1800, when Thomas Lord Dundas, employed Mr. Symington, to construct a steam-boat, upon a large scale, which was chiefly intended for towing other vessels in the Clyde and Forth Canal, and which was accomplished in March, 1803.—How this invention found its way to America, is as follows:—Mr. Fulton was in Scotland while Mr. Symington was constructing the above steam-boat, and was actually on board, and conveyed about eight miles in two hours by it. During several interviews Mr. Fulton wished Mr. Symington to go to America, but his other engagements would not then permit him; Mr. Fulton, under various promises, was then allowed to take notes and plans of the said steam boat and machinery, but Mr. Symington never heard from him again. I have incontrovertible evidence as to the truth of this statement.

Your's respectfully,
J. HICKSON, Engineer.

60, Holland Street, Southwark,
21st May, 1832.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We think it very probable, that we may insert, that part of "The Invocation to Time," (the whole of which is highly poetical) that refers more immediately to our System, in an early number.

J. T. is recommended to write another essay on "Truth," stating first, what is truth? secondly, the means by which it can be discovered, and thirdly, the benefits which flow from a knowledge of it. His present paper, though clever, is too unmethodical, and diffuse for our purpose. It now awaits his call in an envelope. We wish our correspondents to know, that compression and point are what we require on all philosophical subjects.

Miss Macauley's address on "Responsibility," delivered in our Lecture Room, on the 17th of last month, will appear in our next.

The communications of "A Disciple," "A Subscriber," "W. A. C." and Robinson Crusoe, jun., shall have our earliest attention.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 2.

WHETHER man is or is not a responsible agent—a subject stated by a correspondent in one of our numbers—has alarmed some of our timid readers, who have never yet been taught, or permitted to

think, upon matters so nearly affecting their most important interests.

This subject, however, lays in a small compass; all men, for their own sake, ought to be made familiar with the *facts* on which all that can be said respecting it is founded, and the *consequences* which follow from either the one or the other theory being taught to the rising generation.—They are shortly these:

The child does not form any one, or the smallest proportion of any one of his physical propensities, intellectual faculties, or moral feelings, as they exist at birth.

These are all formed by nature, to be increased with their growth, and to be expanded in one direction or another, to produce virtue or vice, misery or happiness, according to the kind and quality of the external circumstances in which the infant, child, and man, is placed from birth to death, but especially from infancy to manhood.

The infant, child, and youth, whose propensities, faculties, and feelings, are to be cultivated, has no more knowledge of these external circumstances than he had of the formation of his original constitution, nor, previous to experience, of the effects which they would produce upon his particular propensities, faculties, and feelings.

The original constitution of the child, and the effects of external circumstances acting upon it, produce the peculiar feelings, sentiments, and conduct of the adult being.

The whole character of each individual is thus formed for him in part by nature at his birth, and in part by the influence of external objects or circumstances acting upon the organization from birth.

The question then is, whether the character can be formed to be better or more virtuous by the adoption of means to force man to believe that he is responsible for his convictions, and feelings, and conduct, and placing him under circumstances in opposition to the laws of his nature—or, by making him from his birth an intelligent being, and placing him through his life within circumstances in accordance with those laws. The former is the past and present system of the world—the latter, is the mode proposed to be adopted in the new world, which we are about to form, and for an entrance into which the "Crisis" is preparing the population.

We contend, that the former scheme *cannot make a superior man*, and that an *inferior one cannot be formed* under the latter system. We are doubtful whether it be practicable for men to live under a more vicious, degraded, and wretched system than the present, although there were no other laws to govern them than the public opinion which the present state of the human mind would form.

Under this point of view then, we are well convinced, that it is now the highest interest of the human race to bring the existing system of ignorance, poverty, and vice, to a conclusion at the earliest practical period.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—If at a time when the subject of emigration so much engages public attention, the following is thought worthy of insertion in your columns it is at your service. Though unable to do much in the great and good cause of bettering the condition of my fellow men, let me not on that account

refrain from doing *any thing*. I, thousands, circumstanced as I am, may say, what can our puny efforts avail? if the world is in error it must even continue so—we cannot change public opinion; we must leave the work to be done by giant grappling with giant; for the comfort and encouragement of such, I would just hint, that the needle arrows of the Lilliputians flew in such volleys; that the great man-mountain trembled for his life; union—wisely concentrated force—what will it not effect?

With best wishes for the great and glorious cause in which you are embarked, permit me to subscribe myself,

Your sincere admirer,

AGRICOLA.

Islington, May 23, 1832.

EMIGRATION.

(A Dialogue between Charles and William.)

Ch. Why are all those fine able-bodied men leaving England?

Will. Because we don't want their labour, we have artificial fingers and hands in abundance—we now find we have too many people.

Ch. Indeed! then all the land, no doubt, is fully cultivated.

Will. Why, no!—some millions of acres lie waste, because the capitalist says it will not pay him to expend his money upon its cultivation.

Ch. So it must remain a desert, and the inhabitants who are not capitalists, be transported from their native land?—something very pleasant in all this!

Will. The capitalist, you must recollect, by his machinery, has enabled the poor man to have all articles of dress, such as shirts, stockings—indeed all linen and cotton goods—for a mere trifle, and silks and ribbons are so very cheap!

Ch. But as machinery, by its competition with the living labourer has reduced his wages to the lowest possible point, in vain you tell him of cheap silks, ribbons, or cottons—for, as himself, wife, and children, require daily food—these must be paid for—habitation, rent must be paid; taxes, they do not require, but these must be paid also—and, when the imperious demands of food, house-rent, and taxes, are even scantily provided for, what ability remains for the wretched man to purchase your so vaunted cheap articles—alas! you but mock his sufferings.

Will. Well, my friend, every man, you know, has a right to do what he pleases with his own, and, if it does unfortunately so happen, that thousands cannot live here, competing with the beautiful and cheap productions of the capitalist's machinery, I really see no remedy; they are not wanted in a country that can so well do without them, and they must certainly emigrate to distant regions, where land, being very plentiful, is cheap. The market is overstocked, they have been too productive—they should not have brought so many labourers into the market—production, that is, the production of labourers, they ought to know, should be kept down to meet the demand—indeed, rather below it; then, and not till then, they will obtain remunerating prices.

Ch. I understand you, my friend, but these extraordinary incongruous ideas have all arisen from the mistaken notions of Mr. Malthus and the political economists, who, with the best intentions, have been the cause, through their advocacy of erroneous theories, of more misery to millions, than any warrior who has ever yet carried fire and sword among his fellow creatures. To those errors, and the sufferings which they inflict upon humanity, I hope to see a speedy termination, by the introduction of a wiser and a better system.

MEN AND ANIMALS IN INDIA.

Our system folds in its ample embrace, the whole of the species. We are, therefore, alive to the circumstances and character of mankind universally; and though our first attention is directed to those more immediately around us, yet it is not confined to them exclusively. The following extract from a work of Captain Munday, detailing the particulars of "wild beast fights in India," will give some idea of the intellectual and moral degradation of the men who could institute such fights, and witness with gratification such bloody combats.

"In a visit to the king of Oude, his Majesty informed Lord Combermere, the commander-in-chief, that he had given orders for the wild-beast fights to be prepared for his edification to-morrow; and as these sports are celebrated for the grand scale on which they are conducted at Lucknow, we were all very anxious to witness them. Early in the morning, therefore, the whole party, including ladies, eager for the novel spectacle, mounted elephants, and repaired to the private gate of the royal place, where the king met the commander-in-chief, and conducted him and his company to a palace in the park, in one of the courts of which the arena for the combats was prepared. In the centre was erected a gigantic cage of strong bamboos, about fifty feet high, and of like diameter, and roofed with rope network. Sundry smaller cells, communicating by sliding doors with the main theatre, were tenanted by every species of the savagest inhabitants of the forest. In the large cage, crowded together, and presenting a formidable front of broad shaggy foreheads well armed with horns, stood a group of buffaloes sternly awaiting the conflict, with their rear scientifically *oppose* against the bamboos. The trap-doors being lifted, two tigers, and the same number of bears and leopards, rushed into the centre. The buffaloes instantly commenced hostilities, and made complete shuttlecocks of the bears, who, however, finally escaped by climbing up the bamboos beyond the reach of their horned antagonists. The tigers, one of which was a beautiful animal, fared scarcely better; indeed, the odds were much against them, there being five buffaloes. They appeared, however, to be no match for these powerful creatures: even single-headed, and showed little disposition to be the assailants. The larger tiger was much gored in the head, and in return took a mouthful of his enemy's dewlap, but was finally (as the fancy would describe it) 'bored to the ropes and floor.' The leopards seemed throughout the conflict sedulously to avoid a breach of the peace. A rhinoceros was next let loose in the open court-yard, and the attendants attempted to induce him to pick a quarrel with a tiger who was chained to a ring. The rhinoceros appeared, however, to consider a fettered foe as quite beneath his enmity; and having once approached the tiger, and quietly surveyed him, as he writhed and growled, expecting the attack, turned suddenly round and trotted awkwardly off to the yard gate, where he capsize a palankeen, which was carrying away a lady fatigued with the sight of these unfeminine sports. A buffalo and a tiger were the next combatants; they attacked furiously, the tiger springing at the first onset on the other's head, and tearing his neck severely; but he was quickly dismounted, and thrown with such violence as nearly to break his back, and quite to disable him from renewing the combat. A small elephant was next impelled to attack a leopard. The battle was short and decisive, the former falling on his knees, and thrusting his blunted tusks nearly through his antagonist. On our return from the beast fight, a breakfast awaited us at the royal palace; and

the white table-cloth being removed, quails, trained for the purpose, were placed upon the green cloth, and fought most gamely, after the manner of the English cockpit. This is an amusement much in fashion among the natives of rank, and they bet large sums on their birds, as they lounge luxuriously round smoking their hookahs. Elephant fights were announced as the concluding scene this day of strife."

Men proud of the exclusive possession of reason, designate whatever approaches to it in animals, by the name of *instinct*. It is policy for them to make a distinction in words; but, judging from actions, which speak louder than words, to us it appears, that men shew themselves more irrational, than the animals themselves:

LETTER—No. II.

TO EARL GREY, LORD BROUGHAM, AND
VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.

MY LORDS,

The notion of man being a free agent, may be traced to the fact, that every individual is conscious of possessing within himself a power of acting or not acting, according to the determinations of his will. That is, as Mr. Hume has justly observed—if we choose to remain at rest we may; if we choose to move we also may.* But if we do not extend our investigation, we shall only resemble the celebrated Indian philosopher.† The difficulty is not, whether we can act according to the determinations of our will, but, whether we can avoid willing.

The question concerning liberty and necessity has, indeed, been so often discussed, and with so much ingenuity, that the subject is almost exhausted. Instead, therefore, of pretending to originality of thought, I shall content myself with the more humble office of translating the arguments of perhaps the greatest mathematician the world has yet produced. "All events," says Laplace, "those even which from their minuteness appear not to belong to the great laws of nature, are consequences of them, as necessary as the revolutions of the sun. In our ignorance of the tie by which they are connected with the whole system of the universe, we have made them depend upon final causes, or upon hazard, according as they occur and are seconded with regularity, or appear without order. But these imaginary causes have successively retired with the limits of our knowledge, and have altogether vanished in the presence of sound philosophy, which can only perceive in them the expressions of ignorance of which we ourselves are the real causes."

"The present events have, with those which preceded them, a connection founded upon the self-evident principle, that nothing can commence existence without a cause to produce it. This axiom, known by the name of *sufficient reason*, is applicable even to those actions which we imagine to be indifferent. The most free will, without a determining motive, cannot give itself effect;

* Hume's Essay on Liberty and Necessity.

† An Indian philosopher was asked what the world was supported by. His answer was, by an elephant: he was then asked what the elephant stood upon, to which he replied, upon a tortoise. But being again pressed to know what gave support to the broad-backed tortoise, replied—something, he knew not what. This story is told by Mr. Locke in his famous Essay concerning Human Understanding, book ii. ch. 23, and is applicable to those reasoners, who, instead of frankly confessing their ignorance, imagine a question to have been satisfactorily answered, when in truth they have only removed the difficulty to a greater distance.

for, if of two positions, all the circumstances being exactly similar, it prefer the one and abstain from the other, its choice would be an effect without a cause; it would then be, said Leibnitz, 'the blind hazard of the Epicureans.' The contrary opinion is an illusion of the mind; which, losing sight of the fugitive reasons which influence the will in the choice of indifferent things, persuades itself that it acts of its own accord, and without motive.

"We ought to consider the present state of the universe as the effect of its former state, and as the cause of that which will succeed. Suppose for an instant, an intelligence to be given which might comprehend all the powers by which nature is animated; and the respective situation of the beings of which it is composed; if, moreover, it were sufficiently vast to analyze these forces, it would comprehend in the same formula, the movements of the greatest bodies in the universe, and those of the lightest atoms. With respect to it nothing would be uncertain, and the future as the past would be present to its view."‡

If the above argument be correct, it is clear that even those actions which appear to be the most voluntary, are, in truth, results as necessary from the motives which produce them, as any physical effect is the necessary result of its cause. That the circumstances to which our motives are attributable are independent of ourselves, is a fact that can admit of no dispute. But the deduction from these premises is a matter of the last importance, because it follows, as a necessary consequence, that in as much as we are instigated by an overruling necessity, we cannot be morally culpable for our conduct.

To the extent to which it has been understood, the principle here developed is admitted by the laws of England—as in the case of madmen and lunatics—an infant under the age of seven, whatever mischievous discretion it may evince, is not answerable even for murder. The law is similar with respect to a married woman, who is supposed to be so under the controul of her husband, that if she commit a larceny in his presence, and by his direction, she is not liable to punishment.

I have the honour to be,

My Lords,

Your Lordships' most obedient,
Humble Servant,
PHILANTHROPOS.

London; 24th May, 1832.

‡ Essay Philosophique sur les Probabilités, par Laplace, p. 2.

[Letter III. in our next.]

SHEFFIELD
CO-OPERATIVE MEETING.

YESTERDAY week, agreeable to public notice, a meeting of the Sheffield Co-operators took place in the Music Hall in this town. A very numerous company of both sexes attended. Tea and refreshments were served up in the anti-chamber, and an excellent co-operative band playing at intervals throughout the evening, enhanced the social pleasures of the party. Altogether, the scene which presented itself was of a peculiarly novel and interesting nature. One predominating feeling of love and amity seemed to be the sympathetic chain which bound all hearts together. The Rev. C. B. Dunn, from Cumberworth, Mr. Hirst, from Huddersfield, and Mr. Carson, from London, severally addressed the meeting. The Rev. Mr. Nash, the chairman, after a few highly appropriate and preliminary observations, introduced Mr. Dunn, who was received with flattering testimonies of approbation. Mr. Dunn then addressed the meeting as follows:—My Friends, and brother Co-operators, I feel that I am an advocate in a cause which would make even the timid bold, and other.

wise I should have shrunk most sensitively from that conspicuous situation in which I now stand; and from the duties which now devolve upon me. My circumstances in life are highly favourable to happiness. I live in a state of comparative affluence and independence, in the peaceful seclusion of a country Parsonage, where I am surrounded by all the comforts and necessities, and likewise many of the elegant embellishments of life. Troubles of my own never ruffle the equanimity of my temper, neither are there any circumstances of a private nature which operate to affect either the peace of my mind, or the physical energies of my body. And yet with all these advantages of a worldly and domestic character, I am not happy—strange to say, I am not happy. To many of you this declaration will, doubtless, appear somewhat extraordinary, and indicative of a thankless and discontented disposition; but to me the marvel is that I can possibly contrive by any means to be even as happy as I am, while my natural sympathies are agonized every moment of my existence, by the distressing haunting thought, that the majority of my countrymen are daily suffering from the effects of increasing toil and increasing poverty, and are rapidly descending into that state of degradation and wretchedness into which the millions of Ireland are now fallen and falling. What has the world at large gained by civilization, if the luxury and refinement of the few are thus permitted to entail upon the many all the suffering, without any of the freedom, which belongs to savage life? Situated as we are, it would seem even preferable to return at once to a state of nature,—like the descendants of Ishmael removing with our flocks and herds from one green oasis to another, than thus to continue, with the punctuality of measured time, to rise up early, late take rest, and eat the bread of carefulness, and still remain poor and abject, toil-worn and care-worn—dispirited and despised. Never, however, let us forget, my Co-operative Brethren, that God helps them who help themselves, and if any of you are so weak as to imagine that Providence will effect for the bettering of your condition what, (as I trust we shall be able to show,) you are equally competent to effect for yourselves, then will you find in the continuation of your Poverty that merited punishment which is due to those who entertain such contracted sentiments of the divine interposition in the affairs of men. Now Co-operation purposes remedying all the moral, political, and commercial abuses and disorders which are at present preying upon the vitals of the country, distorting the naturally placid aspect of society into such hideous contortions, and causing the world, in some points of view, to appear more like the asylum of madmen, than the abode of rational creatures. It is true we do not expect to effect this object with the rapidity and promptitude of miraculous agency; and therefore some are disposed to think, that because we cannot create a new and better state of social existence, without patiently awaiting the slow but certain lapse of time, we never shall do; and so these “waiters upon Providence” stand passively by, expecting, I suppose, the end of the world, which will set all things to right; or, what is just as likely, anticipating the approaching period when our liberal landed aristocracy shall parcel out their estates impartially amongst the very individuals whom they are now treating with the utmost insult, derision, and contempt. If any thing would really shake my confidence in the ultimate triumph and success of the good cause I advocate, it would be the conduct of those industrious, but imbecile and timid characters, who, with the means of their worldly salvation in their power, with every possible encouragement they could desire of being able, in the course of time, to release themselves and their families from their present state of degradation and dependence, yet still most unaccountably stand aloof; and while they behold their more resolute and persevering fellows struggling with the accumulated obstacles which surround them, fighting in

the field of competition and opposition, like men determined either to conquer or perish, content themselves with remaining heartless spectators of the unequal contest, ready, by the by, to take every advantage in the event of victory, but indisposed in the mean time to co-operate in the efforts necessary to ensure it. Men of Sheffield, let it not be said in after times of you, that you were either too blind and ignorant to perceive your own interest, or too irresolute and spiritless to pursue it; let it not be the lamentation of your dying day, that you neglected, at the appointed time, taking advantage of the favourable opportunity of removing from yourselves and your children the fear of poverty, and succeeding in establishing them in those circumstances of social and moral independence, which will at once exalt them to an equality with the wisest and wealthiest of mankind. Allow me to ask you, what have you hitherto been doing in the way of accomplishing those desirable objects? I will tell you what: you have been creating an unnatural monster of monopoly and power, which is now ready to sacrifice you to the demands of its insatiable rapacity. With suicidal infatuation you have been forging weapons to be employed as instruments for your own destruction; for you cannot but observe, that in proportion as the wealth created by the industrious classes has year after year progressively augmented, their share has become gradually less and less, until at length, between machinery on the one hand, and competition on the other, they have, during a protracted period, in which they have struggled with their difficulties, been compelled to relinquish, one by one, all the little comforts of life, and remain contented with the commonest necessities to support existence. Such is and has been their situation as operatives; but, permit me to ask, what will that situation be, in the capacity of co-operatives, when the complicated apparatus of moral, physical, and social machinery in their possession is permanently set in motion? But I will not indulge in visionary anticipations, although to an ardent imagination the subject is peculiarly tempting and seductive. On the contrary, I will merely contemplate Co-operation as it regards the beneficial effects which it has already produced. And, in the first place, we shall find that it has united in the bonds of brotherly love thousands of industrious fellow citizens, who, without it, would have remained for ever ignorant of each other's existence. It has raised the laborious and useful classes in their own estimation, as well as in the estimation of others; it has laid the foundation of a political power, the numerical strength of which is already respectable, and what it ultimately may be no man can tell. In fact, I know no institution which, in its nature, is so essentially religious, being a practical development of the whole system of pure and primitive Christianity. It anticipates the establishment of a condition of social equality, in which there will exist a community of interests, a community of happiness, and a community of wealth. Under these circumstances alone, I conceive, can that popular position of the Poet—that true self-love and social are the same—be possibly verified. For, how in the nature of things can an enlarged and enlightened benevolence be made to co-exist with a spirit of competition, an opposition of interests, such as at present almost universally prevails. My brother Co-operators, we have no reason to be ashamed of the morality of our doctrines. There is nothing in co-operation which is at all disgraceful, demoralizing, or illegal. On the contrary, is it not rather the most upright, honourable, and commendable means which the sagacity of man has hitherto been able to devise in order to extricate his fellow-creatures out of the complicated embarrassments in which the misconduct of others had involved them.” After some further observations in a similar strain, the Rev. speaker concluded his address in the following impressive manner:—“There is again a voice crying in the wilderness of the world, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. I hear that voice

in still small whispers at my heart—I obey the call. I thank my God that I live in these days in which there is such an ample field of usefulness before me. I thank my God that he has called me out of a proud and selfish world, to become the messenger of universal peace, philanthropy, and love. In this God-like cause I am willing to spend and to be spent; and having done my duty as far as my abilities and circumstances will permit, in endeavouring to banish vice and misery from the habitations of my beloved countrymen, I will then buckle on my armour and contend with the boldest and the bravest for the rights of man and the cause of heaven, in every quarter of the habitable globe.” *Sheffield Courant and Advertiser, May 18, 1832.*

LECTURE AT THE AMPHIONIC CONCERT ROOMS, FULHAM ROAD.—On Monday evening last, the Rev. Thomas Macconnell delivered a lecture in these Concert Rooms, “On the Outlines of the New System of Society.” The room was filled by a respectable audience of both sexes, who appeared gratified with the lecture. Very eligible arrangements were then suggested for the early delivery of a second lecture on the same subject, in the same place.

THURSDAY EVENING'S DISCUSSION AT OUR INSTITUTION.

OUR first discussion on the new plan, took place on Thursday evening last. The discussion had nothing, and never will have any thing, in common with “DEBATING SOCIETIES.” The subject was, “What Practical Measures ought now to be adopted by a Rational Government?” Questions of equal importance will succeed the first. We invite the attention of the intelligent and well informed to the investigation of these subjects.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE FOURTH SOCIAL FESTIVAL OF the ASSOCIATION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE AND POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on MONDAY, 4th June, 1832.

ROBT. OWEN, Governor.

Tickets of Admission, Visitors 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner to Red Cross-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Cirencester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 39, Burton-street; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street; 79, Regent-street.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

THE NEW PATENT BEAVER HATS.

THESE HATS, being manufactured of the most choice Materials are more durable, light, and lasting in their colour, than any hitherto invented; they are made water-proof, by a process of stiffening with elastic gums, before they are dyed, and will be found the most elegant Beaver Hats that have ever been offered to the Public. They are sanctioned by the King's Royal Letters Patent, granted to ROBERT FRANKS and Co., Manufacturers and Patentees, and Sold at 21s. and 24s., at 140, Regent-street, 62, Redcross-street, London; 6, St. Andrew-street, Edinburgh; and 97, Rue Richelieu, Paris.

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WILLIAM DENT, Printer, 39, Burton-street.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 12.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

LETTER—No. III.

TO EARL GREY, LORD BROUGHAM, AND
VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.

MY LORDS,

To the doctrine of necessity two objections have been usually alleged. The one directed to our fears, the other to our vanity. First, that it militates against revealed religion; and, secondly, that it degrades human nature, that it assimilates a man to the instrument he uses, and reduces us to mere machines.

The first of these objections is not peculiar to the present subject. It has been urged with equal success and equal rancour against the general diffusion of knowledge, which, according to the sentiments of some, tends to augment our pride, and to induce a confidence in the efficacy of reason; but I am anxious to avoid so delicate a question. The following extract from "A Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy," will, probably, satisfy your lordships' mind: "But while we thus vindicate the study of natural philosophy from a charge, at one time formidable from the pertinacity and acrimony with which it was urged, and still occasionally brought forward to the distress and disgust of every well constituted mind, we must take care that the testimony afforded by science to religion, be its extent and value what it may, shall be at least independent, unbiassed, and spontaneous. We do not here allude to such reasoners as would make all nature bend to their narrow interpretations of obscure and difficult passages in the sacred writings: such a course might well become the persecutors of Galileo, and the other bigots of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but can only be adopted by dreamers in the present age. But, without going these lengths, it is no uncommon thing to find persons, earnestly attached to science, and anxious for its promotion, who yet manifest a morbid sensibility on points of this kind,—who exult and applaud when any fact starts up explanatory (as they suppose) of some scriptural allusion, and who feel pained and disappointed when the general course of discovery in any department of science runs wide of the notions with which particular passages in the Bible may have impressed them. To persons of such a frame of mind, it ought to suffice to remark, on the one hand, than truth can never be opposed to truth, and on the other, that error is only to be effectually confounded by searching deep, and tracing it to its source. Nevertheless, it were much to be wished that such persons, estimable and excellent as they for the most part are, before they throw the weight of their applause or discredit into the scale

of scientific opinion on such grounds, would reflect, first, that the credit and respectability of *any* evidence may be destroyed by tampering with its *honesty*; and, secondly, that this very disposition of mind implies a lurking mistrust in its own principles, since the grand, and indeed only character of truth, is its capability of enduring the test of universal experience, and coming unchanged out of every possible form of *fair* discussion.*

The other difficulty admits of an easy, if not satisfactory solution. For, my lords, however we may indulge our imagination, whatever rank we may assume, we cannot alter the nature of things, and, in despite of our aspirations, must continue liable to all the frailties of humanity. Nor can I participate in their refined and exalted ideas who think it derogates from the dignity of man, and affords us matter of condolence, that our thoughts and actions should be subject to the laws by which the universe is governed. Notwithstanding this, I am willing to admire the versatility of talent evinced by certain gentlemen, when, upon some occasions they dwell with apparent satisfaction upon our importance to the creation, and at other times exert their eloquence in exposing the utter insignificance of their fellow creatures.

In the days of ignorance an opinion prevailed to the effect, that the convictions of the understanding were under the controul of the will, and that men were consequently responsible to the civil authority for the sentiments they entertained. An opinion so opposed to truth, so subversive of morality, was naturally productive of the most detrimental consequences—those who ventured to controvert the established notions of their country, were arraigned before the tribunal of justice, called upon to recant what they conscientiously believed, and, if they refused compliance, their refusal was attributed to obstinacy; the baneful effects of this error have been alternately experienced by parties of the most opposite description. To a notion of this kind is chiefly to be attributed the cruel persecutions that were endured by the original propagators of Christianity. "Whatever," says Pliny, in a well-known passage, "may be the principle of their conduct, their inflexible obstinacy appeared deserving of punishment." Nor was the mild and conciliatory language of the New Testament able to withstand so prevailing an error. The Odium Theologicum has become proverbial†—and, "if," says Gibbon, "we may submit our belief to the authority of Grotius, it must be allowed that the

number of protestants, who were executed in a single province, and a single reign, far exceeded that of the primitive martyrs in the space of three centuries, and of the Roman empire."† But, let us restrain our sympathy—the protestants have had their revenge. As opportunity offered itself, they have retaliated their sufferings upon those who have dared to dispute the propriety of their faith, and with a cruel impartiality have inflicted tortures alike upon the catholics and upon each other.

Nor has the spirit of persecution been confined to religion. If we turn to the page of history, we shall find it influencing political parties. Ascribe praise or blame to speculative doctrines, admit the decisions of the mind to be under the controul of the will, and the consequences are inevitable—even those who boast of being rational creatures, may consistently advocate the principles of intolerance; and governments may with equal propriety legislate for opinions, enforcing some and prohibiting others, as they have hitherto done with regard to our actions. The natural abilities of Henry the Eighth were by no means contemptible, but he had unfortunately imbibed this fatal error, and, with the sanction of parliament, enacted those celebrated six articles of faith, comprehended in what was justly termed the bloody bill, and with the nature of which, all who are conversant with our history must be fully acquainted.

I have the honour to be, My Lords,

Your Lordships' most obedient,

Humble Servant,

PHILANTHROPOS.

London, 24th May, 1832.

[Letter IV. in our next.]

REVENUE FROM IDOLATRY IN INDIA TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

IN the "Times" of Saturday last, there is a statement made by Mr. Poynder, one of the Hon. East India Company, to the effect, that during the last sixteen years, that company has received from four temples only in India, 920,215*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.* in the shape of a tax on idolatry. Thus the natives of India pay money to one Christian company, (for we suppose that the East India Company is not an infidel company, but strictly orthodox,) to let idolatry stand, while another Christian company, "The Church Missionary Society," are collecting thousands yearly from Christians in England, to destroy this idolatry. Religious worshippers in India are fleeced by one party, and religious worshippers in England by another. We sincerely pity them both, and cannot decide which has the greatest claims on our commiseration.

‡ Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. 16.

* Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy.

(6.)

† See Hume's Essay on National Characters. Note (7.)

LIBERAL PRINCIPLES.

WHILE our principles were sufficiently liberal to admit the Rev. Edward Irving and his followers into our most holy place, when they were deprived of their own, the principles of religion are not sufficiently expanded to admit but a small part of our system, which is co-operation, into its school room! Truth only is liberal; error is always more or less of a persecuting character. Truth alone can afford to be liberal; and a liberal system is that alone, which can possibly become universal. The following letter will illustrate these observations:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I have only time to state briefly, now, that a few of the working classes have been endeavouring to establish a Co-operative Society for the populous district of Camberwell, and every obstacle has been thrown in their way. They had engaged a large school-room of the Rev. J. Innes, of Camden Academy, Southampton-street, Camberwell, a written agreement was signed, and the meeting announced for yesterday evening, but the Rev. Gentleman had discovered, as he stated, that we were connected with Mr. Owen, (because I had distributed fifty or sixty prospectuses of the Crisis about the room at the last meeting,) and with the usual sagacity of Reverend Gentlemen generally, he thought to crush us at once, by refusing to let the meeting be held, notwithstanding the written agreement. Of course we were compelled to have the meeting in a building lately occupied as a theatre, in Mill-lane, and consequently numbers were disappointed, as we had not time to give the publicity required, but we had as many as we could expect under all the circumstances, and adopted the laws, and a general meeting of the members will be held on Monday evening next, at eight o'clock, at the Woodman, George-street, Camberwell, when we intend adopting measures to commence operations immediately. So you will perceive, Sir, that between the Reverend Gentleman and Mr. Owen, co-operation is likely to become more interesting to the working classes of that district; but as I intend sending you as early as possible an account of our proceedings, from the commencement, I shall not take up any more of your time at present, than request an early insertion of this in your widely-circulated Paper.

I remain, your's truly,
H. MOTE.

DISSATISFACTION WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE.

A DECLARATION of the "opposition deputies" in France, against the proceedings of the French government, has recently arrived in this country. It is published in an appeal to their constituents. It states that the present government has regarded the last revolution as merely a modification of the restoration; whereas they, the opposition, along with many others, regard it as a consummation of the principles and rights proclaimed by the great revolution of 1789. Amongst the signatures of these opposition deputies, is to be found that of the celebrated General Lafayette.

Under the present erroneous, tottering system of society, no government can long give any satisfaction. No form of government can meet the exigencies and demands of the times, by any of the hackneyed expedients of the old system. The reign of our own Whig ministry will soon come to a close. The Tories may then try their hand, and all their expedients will fail. The sum and substance of all is, that the system must every where be entirely altered.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Miss Macauley's address, promised in our last, is unavoidably deferred till next week.

Communications have been received from A. B., W. M. C., and Rowland Hunter, Junr.

Agricola is come to hand; we have recently inserted so much in our paper on the subject to which his Letter refers, that for the present, however important the subject, and however valuable his communication, its insertion must be postponed for a while.

We do not recollect receiving any communication from "Concordia." We shall be happy to receive what he says he has already sent us, if he will repeat it.

Robinson Crusoe, Junr. is before us.

R. D.'s request shall have immediate attention.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 9.

GENERAL SOCIAL FESTIVAL.

ON Monday evening, we celebrated our fourth General Social Festival. Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, the attendance was both numerous and respectable. Uninterrupted order, harmony, and good will, prevailed to an extent seldom witnessed in an assembly so large and so mixed. In the enjoyment of rational amusement and social intercourse, aided by music and singing, and unfettered by any of the artificial distinctions which divide and sub-divide society, all appeared happy—many lingering in the splendid and capacious apartments, so well adapted to the purpose, till a late hour, reluctant to retire. In the course of the evening, whose hours glided along altogether unfelt, and almost unnoticed, the Governor delivered the following address; and afterwards strongly recommended his audience to aid in putting in general practice the principles of this Association—that the world might see the difference between the two systems.

ADDRESS.

"Many strangers inquire—what is the System which the friends of the New State of Society advocate? And this question is put, under the supposition that it may be satisfactorily replied to during an ordinary conversation.

Yet the answer to this question involves whatever relates to the whole business of human life, from birth to death, of the present and all future generations.

I will endeavour to induce such inquirers now to begin to think seriously upon the subject, by informing them, that the New State of Society which we advocate, is derived solely from facts; facts which, as far as we know, have always existed, which exist in full force to-day, and which may be now examined by every intelligent person, who desires to ascertain for himself whether our system be founded on truth, or, as those who are ignorant of it assert, on wild and visionary notions.

The first class of facts from which the system has been derived, consists of those which develop what human nature is, and what are the laws of its organization and existence from the commencement of life to its termination.

This class of facts, when accurately examined, will be found to be abundantly sufficient to prove this highly important and invaluable truth—THAT EVERY CHILD MAY BE TRAINED BY SOCIETY, TO BECOME AT MATURITY, GOOD OR BAD, OR TO HAVE A MIXED CHARACTER.

That it will not depend upon the will of the child, whose character is to be formed, whether it

shall become a useful or useless, a virtuous or vicious adult being—but entirely upon the wisdom of society, who has all the means at its disposal to train it in a right or wrong course, to place it under wise or foolish, superior or inferior, beneficial or injurious, circumstances.

This class of facts will thus teach us, that the character of any nation, and of all the individuals born within it, emanate, directly or indirectly from its government; and that the government alone, in strict justice, ought to take the whole responsibility upon itself of the conduct of every one of its subjects. All governments have the power, if they possessed wisdom to know how to use it, to banish ignorance and poverty and personal competition from their dominions. And these sources of error being removed, vice and misery would not, could not exist. There would be no motive to generate either the one or the other.

These are some of the practical advantages that would necessarily arise from acquiring a knowledge of the first class of facts.

The second class of facts consists of those which develop, what is necessary for the happiness of a being organized as man is by nature.

This second class, when examined with no other view than to promote the happiness of the human race, will be discovered to be plain and simple, and to be in perfect accordance with all those facts belonging to the first class.

This class of facts will open to the governments of the world their path of duty, point out to them the practical measures which they have to adopt, if they really desire to insure permanent prosperity for those over whom they rule, and if such be not the object of those who govern the nations of the world, it is now very evident, they will not be competent to maintain their positions much longer.

The scenes and actors in the great drama of life are rapidly changing. We have long enough witnessed those scenes in which the permanent good of the many, has been sacrificed to the splendour and false glare of the few. We call it splendour and false glare, for there cannot be happiness in the hearts of those who attain and maintain their pre-eminence by deceiving and oppressing those from whom they derive their daily subsistence, and all they possess, use, and enjoy.

This second class of facts will create ideas, which will make evident to those who are henceforth to direct the destinies of mankind, what measures they must now pursue in order to give satisfaction to the many—to all indeed under the influence of their proceedings.

They will also make it easy to discover that a good original organization is necessary as a groundwork for superior attainments and happiness, and that there are natural, and consequently rational means by which the organization of the human race may be very materially improved.

Also, that it is desirable each individual should enjoy the best health through life, and we know that measures may now be adopted to effect this object to an extent that those of the present system are not prepared to admit; but this second class of facts will discover the vast superiority of that system, which shall prevent disorder and disease, over one which most essentially encourages both. Under the change to which we look forward, the human race will be far more healthy without artificial medicine and medical advice, than it has ever yet been with the aid of both.

This second class of facts will also make it known, that for man to be happy he must have all his faculties trained and cultivated from infancy, not as hitherto, in opposition to those propensities, faculties, and powers which nature has given him—but in perfect accordance with all of them, and thus to form beings whose duties, feelings, and interests will be, at all times, in harmony with each other, without the possibility of any of them receiving conflicting motives to action, by which they would be, as now, perplexed, confounded, and rendered more irrational than any species of

the whole creation. For man now takes far more pains to inflict misery upon himself and his fellow-men, than any other animal of which we have knowledge.

This class of facts will likewise open to view the necessity which exists for man to be trained, not only to desire to promote continually the happiness of his fellow, but also to prove the benefit which he will derive from putting his desires into practice upon every occasion, in which his powers are called into action.

They will also make plain to him the advantages which he will derive from the adoption of efficient measures, to enable him to add day by day to his store of valuable knowledge; that this practice is necessary to his happiness, that it may be pursued with ardor through life, as there appears to be no bounds to the advantages and pleasures to be derived from the acquisition of knowledge; the only evil to be guarded against in pursuing this grand road to happiness, is to avoid neglecting due physical exercise; for these facts make it obvious to those who reflect, that no one part of the human constitution can be too exclusively exercised, without producing injury to all the other faculties.

This class of facts also enables us to discover how necessary it is, to ensure happiness, that measures should be adopted to render it practicable, that all should be made not only competent to enjoy good society, but be enabled, at their pleasure, to obtain it, and also of associating, when they like, with those for whom they feel the most regard and the greatest affection.

From the same class of facts, we also discover the necessity to form arrangements by which man may remove from place to place with the least inconvenience, that he may derive the advantages of seeing and knowing much of nature, and of enjoying the beneficial varieties which it affords.

Again, from the same source we learn how essential it is to the ordinary comfort and satisfaction of the human race, yet how much more necessary it is for their highest attainment of happiness, that they should be entirely freed from all superstition, from every vestige of supernatural fears, and especially from all weak and childish fears of death. All men now approaching to a sound state of rationality, know that there can be no health of body, or peace of mind among those who are trained to experience the slavish fears which these imaginary notions engender; that it is vain for man to expect to become superior and happy, while subjected to the moral cowardice which is created by these supernatural impressions.

From this class of facts we also acquire a knowledge, that man can never attain to a state of excellence in character, or an approach towards a superior degree of happiness, as long as he shall be compelled to be, what all men have been made to be, what all men are to-day—**MENTAL SLAVES**. Who is there among us, who, on this night, dare venture to speak those thoughts which he must receive, and receiving, must experience a desire to express.

No, you have from your birth been made, by the most careful tuition, such mental slaves, that you have been rendered wholly incompetent to be conscious of the extent of the mental oppression by which all the superior faculties and powers of your nature are kept dormant, uncultivated, unexercised, and unknown even to yourselves, except when now and then forced into action by some extraordinary convulsions in the general affairs of the population of the world. These events, when they do occur, show that there are powers dormant in man, capable of being roused into great and glorious action, but that through the ordinary affairs of men and of nations, there is not sufficient knowledge of man's original constitution, to enable any parties to adopt practical measures to give life and activity to these noble, generous, and magnanimous qualities of human nature. No! man must express what he does not believe; he must speak what he does not feel;

he must act the part of a dupe to others, and be content, if he can, while he is conscious that he himself is the dupe of all. And yet such is the assumed dignity of this degraded and fallen nature, that we style ourselves honourable and right honourable, reverend and right reverend, and I know not what, while all the animals upon the earth are far more honest and true to their nature, and therefore in truth, more excellent and honourable.

From this same class of facts we are also taught, that it is essential to the happiness of a being, formed as man is, that he should live in the midst of arrangements which would permit the greatest individual freedom of action that could exist, compatible with the permanent good of society. He is now, in what is called civilized society, compelled to submit to the most unnatural restriction of individual thoughts and actions; he may, indeed, be fitly compared to an animal, whose liberty of movement is confined within a very limited circle, out of which he dare not move without the fear of losing caste, or of being hunted to death.

This important class of facts will also make known to us the absolute necessity which exists to insure human happiness—that the character of each individual should be so formed for him by society, and that he should be so placed and surrounded by external circumstances, that he should upon all occasions express the exact truth only; that he should be trained from infancy to have no other sentiments for the thoughts, feelings, and conduct of all mankind, than those of pure charity; and to have a sincere good will to every individual of the human race—such as will incline all actively to promote the true happiness of all.

And, lastly, this class of facts will make it evident to those who can investigate them to their full extent, that man can never attain the happiness which belongs to his nature, until he shall be enabled to live in a society in which all shall be trained and educated from birth, in which all the laws, institutions, and arrangements, well organized and well governed, shall be in unison with all the laws of human nature.

To the question then, of what we mean by the New State of Society, we say, this is a part of the reply, yet a very small part of that which is requisite to enable a stranger to comprehend the decided difference that there will be throughout all the principles and practices between the system that is, and that which we have in contemplation—between the old world of error—deception, and misery; and the new world of truth—sincerity, and happiness.

We trust, therefore, that sufficient has been said, to induce those amongst us who are strangers, to think gravely and with interest upon these subjects.

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

THEOPHILUS AND AMIDA,

RELATIVE TO CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITIES, AND
A NEW STATE OF HUMAN SOCIETY.

T. WHAT is this I hear among a certain class of persons about Co-operative Communities, and another state of society?

A. Just what the individual who uses these terms understands upon these subjects; and thus the words are applied to mean many very different things, according to the knowledge or experience of those who use them.

T. But what is co-operation as now practised by those who call themselves Co-operators?

A. Nothing more than a partnership of a number of the Industrious Classes to buy the articles of common consumption wholesale, or in large quantities, and to sell them at the usual prices to themselves and others, and to apply the profit, when they make any, after paying their expenses, to establish what they call communities.

T. So far I understand your explanation—but this proceeding is little more than the common

competitive system, and I do not see how profits to any useful extent can be permanently secured, while there are individuals with large capitals, great experience in mercantile arrangements and business, who can successfully oppose these new inexperienced establishments—many of them, I fear, must fail in a short time, and all of them will be in danger, through competition from without of having their profits reduced to a very small amount.

A. All this is true—yet are they very useful as a first step to unite the Industrious Classes, and to induce them to acquire some knowledge of the means of producing the most valuable wealth in the best manner, and of distributing it the most beneficially for the producers.

T. So far there appears to be a real benefit to be obtained by these Co-operative societies—and they may continue to be useful, as long as they are managed by persons of integrity, who have a practical knowledge of the business which they undertake. But what are the communities to which these societies appear to direct their ulterior views?

A. Communities are in the minds of many, also a partnership upon a larger scale, founded upon agriculture, but under different arrangements, by which the members intend to produce and use wealth, as well as exchange it, for their own mutual advantage—and also to educate their children together upon principles of equality.

T. If this were effected, it would be indeed a great step in advance, and would open the door to a great improvement in society, but I am compelled to doubt its practicability, seeing how difficult it is for some husbands and wives, or men in common partnership to live long together in the harmony necessary for their happiness—although it is the evident interest of all these parties to live peaceably and act cordially together.

A. Under particular arrangements there are now several instances of men sooner living in such kind of communities in America, and elsewhere; but very peculiar arrangements are necessary, under the old notions of society, to enable these partnerships to continue long without dissension and ultimate separation.

T. Then you appear not to set much value upon communities established upon the old principles of society:—why do you esteem them of so little consideration?

A. Because society, as established upon existing human laws and institutions, is an association not for union, but disunion. It is founded on principles which, while they direct the affairs of mankind must inevitably prevent cordial union, or peace and good will among men.

T. You do not then expect much benefit to arise from the formation of the communities so frequently spoken of in many circles at the present time?

A. No. They are the crude conceptions only of very inexperienced men, who, catching a few unconnected notions upon the subject, suppose they can be put into practice by any number of persons who may merely desire it—but as soon as they begin to act upon their limited knowledge of human nature, they will discover the utter impracticability of men and women living in community under the existing unnatural laws by which men are now governed, and under which their present characters have been formed.

T. What am I to conclude from what you have now said—do you mean to say that a community of men and women cannot be devised, so as to be permanently successful under the existing laws and institutions of society?

A. Yes! my conviction is, that a rational state of society, and the present system of society, cannot exist together, the latter being irrational in all its principles and practice.

T. Is there then no escape from the ignorance, poverty, deception, bad passions, and disunion, which now pervade the population of the most civilized nations—or, if you know a remedy, what is it?

A. There is no escape from these evils except by one, and I fear the world is yet too ignorant and too vicious to adopt it.

T. Is it for the interest of all ranks, classes, and parties to adopt it—and is it practicable with the means now in possession of society?

A. It is most decidedly for the best and most permanent interest of society to apply this remedy, and the means now exist to the full extent required to put it into execution.

T. What then prevents its immediate adoption?

A. Nothing but the most gross ignorance upon the part of the governments and people, who, with all the means of permanent happiness in their possession, are prevented by it from knowing how to apply those means, to produce this all-desired object.

T. But, surely as man, as well as all that has life, naturally desires to be happy, if you enable him plainly to see the road to it, he will enter and pursue it without deviation.

A. Such has been the belief upon which the founders of the new system have firmly acted, for many years' experience having confirmed their first convictions, they continue to persevere in the same line of conduct. These parties are now satisfied, that as soon as the circumstances can be created to remove the old prejudices implanted in ignorance, that man will be enabled to emancipate himself from those errors which keep him in an irrational condition.

T. You say it is ignorance alone that prevents the only remedy being applied which is competent to effect a cure for the evils of society—how is the ignorance to be removed?

A. By persevering in the course which the friends of an entire change of society have so long adopted; viz. of placing one truth after another before the public, until they shall at length understand, acknowledge, and put into practice the whole science of society?

T. But what relation is there between the communities so much talked about, and the science of society?

A. None, that I am aware of—those communities are the crude notions of individuals who have imagined that they understood what the founders of the system intend, and who, by their premature attempt to explain what they do not understand, which their limited experience cannot comprehend, have given the public the most erroneous and unfortunate impressions, relative to a superior mode of human existence.

T. Then the communities described by Mr. Thompson and others who have written respecting them, are not the arrangements which the founders of the system proposed for mankind?

A. Certainly not; the difference between St. Giles' and St. James', between ignorance and intelligence, between harmony and discord, is not greater than that which exists between the communities recommended by others, and the communities which the original founders of the new system look forward to, as an universal system to supersede the present irrational condition of the human race.

T. Have the goodness to explain what these communities are?

A. Most willingly;—the communities recommended, are new scientific machines for performing, with the least labour, and the most pleasure to all parties, the whole business of human life, in a manner very superior to any of the random modes hitherto practised in this or in any other country.

T. You surprise me exceedingly—new scientific machines! why I thought the friends of the new system enemies to the use of machinery—I now find, they recommend its general adoption to supersede manual labour. Pray explain this apparent contradiction.

A. The contradiction is in the irrational reports which interested, or ill-disposed persons, have circulated; they always intended to bring into use the greatest amount of scientific power and discoveries, but to apply them directly in aid of manual power—or, in other words, to promote

human happiness. At present, machinery, and other scientific power, is applied, with little or no real wisdom, in direct competition with manual, and indirect competition with mental labour, producing thereby a continued increase of misery among the industrious classes, and of despotism among the wealthy few.

T. But you said that communities were new scientific machines for performing all the business of life in the best manner; was that your meaning?

A. Yes—I state distinctly, and wish it to be universally understood, that the new system is devised in all its parts purposely to perform the whole business of human life with the greatest economy of labor and materials, and at the same time to obtain the greatest number of advantages to all engaged in the operations, and to every individual member of society—and thus to ensure the greatest happiness to all.

T. Then these communities are indeed very wonderful and very extraordinary machines—may I request you to give me some general explanation by which I may be able to understand them myself, and explain them to others.

A. I will endeavour to satisfy your wishes in our next conversation.

MAXIMS.

Think before you speak; before whom you speak, what you speak;—hate not each other because you differ in opinion, rather love each other; for it is impossible that in such a variety of sentiments, there should not be some fixed point on which all men ought to unite.—ZOROASTER.

We should never blush at owning that we have been in fault, for it is equivalent to saying—'I am wiser to day than I was yesterday.'

TITHES IN IRELAND.

In what a state does the following extract shew that part of Ireland to be to which it refers; and the liability of the whole of the country, from the same cause every where existing in it, to be similarly circumstanced:—

(From the *Cork Southern Reporter*, May 26.)

"The whole city has been a scene of the most alarming excitation since twelve o'clock. At that hour 10 000 people, headed by a band of music, with flags and colours flying, entered the city. All the garrison, cavalry and infantry, under the command of Sir George Bingham were soon introduced—the shops of the principal streets closed—all business suspended—and tens of thousands of the populace perambulating the town. On the whole such an exhibition of terror and dismay—of alarm and excitement, our city has seldom presented. Amidst the yells of infuriated thousands, guarded by a squadron of Lancers, the fifteen unfortunate cows were driven from a field belonging to the High Constable, where they had been since Thursday night, to the Grand Parade, and there exhibited for sale. The entire of that leading street was one dense mass of human beings, who occasionally set up tremendous cheers. Surrounded by the troops, the process of auctioneering was commenced—the auctioneer, a stranger, it is said a resident of Middleton. They were set up at £3. for each—no bidder! £2.—no bidder! £1.—no bidder! in short, he descended to 5s. for each cow, but no purchaser appeared. This scene lasted for more than hour, when their being no chance of making sale of the cattle, it was proposed to adjourn the auction; but, as we are informed, the General in command of the military expressed an unwillingness to have the troops subject to a repetition of the harassing duty thus imposed on them. After a short delay, it was, at the interference and remonstrance of several gentlemen—both of town and country—agreed upon that the cattle should be given up to the people, subject to certain private arrangements."

How little has Catholic Emancipation done to tranquillize this distracted country! And yet we

were told, and that by the authors and advocates of the "Reform Bill," which we believe will prove equally inefficient, that Catholic emancipation would heal and compose. Some expected that the Catholics would then become quiet as lambs; and now they are roaring like lions. It is somewhat singular too, that TITHES, under which the Catholics are now complaining, were first introduced into the Christian church by the Catholics themselves—those who sow the seed can however with but an ill grace complain of the crop. But Catholics are complaining, Protestants are complaining, and the art of man may be defied permanently to reconcile conflicting parties, or really to benefit society on the present old system of the world—the old system *must* come down, the new *must* be set up.

SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

A CHARTER of incorporation has been granted by his Majesty, on the petition of W. Tooke, Esq., F.R.S., to this society, the objects of which are thereby designated to be to cause to be composed, compiled, and written, treatises and works and elementary tracts on or relating to arts, sciences, and letters; and also causing to be made, engraved, and constructed, prints, maps, plans, models, and instruments connected with arts, sciences, and letters; such treatises, works, tracts, prints, maps, plans, models, and instruments, to be printed, made, and published, in an economical manner, and to be sold at a reasonable price. The London general committee is by such charter recognized as the governing body of the society, and of which committee the Lord Chancellor is constituted the first chairman. Lord John Russell the first vice-chairman, and Mr. Tooke is named as treasurer of the society.

If a knowledge of truth, as it regards "The Science of Society," the most useful knowledge which this or any other society could now diffuse, were diffused by this chartered society, we should rejoice—but, as this society is ignorant of this knowledge itself, it is in vain to expect its diffusion from this quarter. Truth is the best charter for any society whose object is the diffusion of knowledge.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE NEW SYSTEM OF SOCIETY.

ON SUNDAY, JUNE 10, a Public Lecture on this System, will be delivered by ROBERT OWEN, at the SANS SOUCI THEATRE, Leicester Place, Leicester Square, at Three o'clock in the Afternoon.

N. B. Lectures on the same subject, in the same place, and at the same time, will be delivered every Sunday Afternoon. Lectures on this topic every Sunday Morning, at Eleven, and every Sunday Evening, at Seven, are delivered at the Institution, of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross, when questions are allowed to be asked after the delivery of each Lecture. Discussions every Thursday Evening at the same place at Seven, on the most important subjects; that under investigation at present is, "What Practical Measures ought now to be adopted by a Rational Government?" The attention of the intelligent and well informed, is directed to these discussions, which are very different matters from discussions in ordinary "Debating Societies."

Printed for, and published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by Strange, Paternoster-Row; Berger, Holywell Street; Richardson, Holborn; and Purkiss, Wardour Street; and may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer, 39, Burton-street

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OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 13.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

THE INSURRECTION IN PARIS.

In this recent violation of the public peace, we have another symptom of the present disordered state of society; not of SAVAGE society, but of CIVILIZED—of REFINED—of CHRISTIAN society. The late French insurrection, had its origin in *politics*, and had *politics* for its object; it differs in this respect from many other disturbances of which France has been the troubled scene. It was a *bloody* contention—the number of the killed and wounded is not yet known, and perhaps never will be. It has been unsuccessful for the present—probably the fire of rebellion is not extinguished, only smothered. There has been no glory about this strife. The successful contest of July 1830, was called glorious: the French people destroyed in *three days*, what we had been fighting *thirty years* to support and secure—viz. LEGITIMACY. Paris has been the scene of many bloody revolutions, witness that of 1780; it seems to be a spot selected for the trial of political experiments on the interests of humanity. It is worthy of remark, how England and France act and re-act upon each other in their movements. This political strife occurs in Paris, just at the time when the Reform Bill is secure of becoming English law—the Peerage bill in France, acted upon the progress of the Reform Bill here. The cause of this strife lays beneath the surface, at which the eyes of too many stop. It did not originate in the refusal of some of the aristocracy to do homage to General Lamarque's remains, nor in the protest of the deputies—nor in the unpopularity of the government—nor in the want of bread—though these are connected with it, but, in the *competitive* system, which is now, for the misinformation of mankind, every where called a "social system." Men are educated to believe, that they have a will of their own—an interest of their own—a family of their own—friends of their own—and a character of their own, to form; they became competitive, and government has the ungracious task of keeping order amidst so many clashing interests; no government can do this. The cure, and the only cure for competition, is COMMUNITY, towards which co-operation is the first step. Human nature in competition is now like the prodigal son in the parable; she has wandered from home—squandered her substance—is now in want—and just recovering her senses; Oh! that she would now arise, and retrace her steps, and confess her sins, how gladly would we run out to meet her, put the best robe on her person, rings on her fingers, and shoes on her feet—kill the fatted calf and make merry, since "she which is dead would be alive again, which is lost would be found."

MISS MACAULEY'S ESSAY ON RELIGIOUS RESPONSIBILITY.

Delivered on Thursday Evening, May 17, 1832.

It is not without a considerable feeling of timidity, that I arise to address the present assembly, and the cause of that timidity is the importance of the subject, to which our attention is now devoted, the subject of religious responsibility, a question on which the happiness of mankind may be said, in a great measure to depend.

We are now arrived at an important period of time, a period when, without reference to sex, or station, all who can think, or write, or speak, are called upon for exertion, to promote the great cause of moral improvement.

The present demoralized and disorganized state of society must be obvious to every thinking mind—painful to every benevolent mind, and should act as an incentive to every enterprising mind. According to the bold hypothesis of Mr. Owen, the future happiness or misery—the perfectibility or degradation of the human race is now at issue.

As an observer, and lover of the human race from my childhood up to this hour—as one for many years engaged in plans of moral improvement, it may be supposed that I have not been a careless observer of Mr. Owen's proceedings, though I may perchance have been a cautious one, and it is only very lately that I have fully understood his doctrine of circumstances as pertaining to the science of society. The question of responsibility as forming a groundwork to this science is one of the deepest interest. It is on this point I am now about to offer some remarks, got I fear in the way of illustration; I do not feel competent to throw illuminations on a subject already advocated so powerfully, and, as I think, so unsuccessfully refuted. It is as a matter of duty, to offer my testimony in favour of that which I consider just and reasonable, rather than to propound any new opinions.

Hitherto we have been trained in a certain routine of ideas, to which we have submitted from custom, rather than convictions. We have quietly moved onwards in the paths of our ancestors, without turning either to the right or to the left—without being at the trouble of looking back upon what has been, or forward to what might be—without reflecting whether we were right or wrong—or whether a better, safer, and more pleasing path might, or might not be found; but this period of intellectual imbecility is now passing away—we are beginning to think—we

have boldly embarked on the ocean of reflection, and we shall not return until our voyage is completed!!

The doctrine of responsibility is one of such magnitude, so dependent upon individual opinion, so identified with individual prejudice, that we may be engaged in endless discussion, without ever coming to any satisfactory conclusion, it is not therefore my wish to canvass the subject in its various ramifications, but to examine it simply in the effects which it produces.

We are told by the advocates of the doctrine, that responsibility, and the idea of future rewards and punishment, are the sole, if not indeed the only preventives to the commission of crime! To this assertion, I answer by a simple question—Can we be much farther advanced in crime than we now are? When I speak of crime, I do not allude to those atrocious crimes, which lead culprits to the scaffold; those are extreme cases, limited in number: I desire to take a more general and extended view. In the common relations of life, in our most usual actions, are we not selfish, weak, vicious, and criminal? If indeed we are to be responsible for the neglect of our duties towards each other, all which neglects are criminal—if with the mete we have measured it shall be measured to us again, we shall, I fear, fare sadly. If we are to be weighed in the balance we shall be found wanting, for which amongst us shall be enabled to render a good account of our stewardship.

For upwards of 1800 years, we have recognised this doctrine as a part and portion of our national creed—and yet, far from being advanced in perfectability, our notions have been rather retrograde—the doctrine must therefore be inefficient, since the effect it has produced during so long a period are not more decisive; but I am disposed to think it more than inefficient—I consider it as productive of absolute evil, since it leads to actions from false motives. They who act right from the hope of reward are *selfish*—they who act right from the fear of punishment, are *cowardly*. Thus then, responsibility does not teach *virtue*, but only its *semblance*. The advocates of Mr. Owen's system do not recognise shadows, they look for realities—bright, pure, celestial—indisputable realities. There can be no reality in those constrained acts of virtue, or restraints from acts of vice which are excited by the influence either of hope or of fear. That influence of hope which points out the inducement of reward, leads us to dissimulation; the operations of fear, which chills us with the dread of punishment, bends us to imbecility, nor can this imperfect, this negative kind of virtue, answer the purpose intended—responsibility surely implies judgment of motives, not of actions—how ineffectual then, will be that security obtained on a false foundation, and as far removed from the reality of virtue, as the sun is removed from the earth on which it shines.

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To be Continued.

NATURAL INEQUALITIES IN SOCIETY.

By surrounding facts, we see inequalities amongst men which many people pronounce to be natural, in contradistinction to those which are manifestly artificial. Whether these inequalities are natural, or whether they are more the result of circumstances, the new state of society alone can satisfactorily shew. We now speak as to these inequalities themselves. They shew themselves in the size of the *minds* of men. Some have great minds and great ideas; others little minds and little ideas. Some, in negligent grandeur, fold in their ample embrace the vast, and the stupendous; others with microscopic accuracy scrutinize the minute. A mountain is a suitable subject for one, an insect fluttering in a summer evening's sun-beam for the other. Some are thorough hard independent thinkers, scorning to borrow, and proud to lend; others never take up an opinion unless some one has taken it up before them. Some have hardihood to stand by themselves, though opposed by all the world; others have not strength to resist the pressure of popular opinion, run it, in whatever course it may. Some are *elastic*, like little skiffs they pass over the tops of the highest billows of trouble almost without touching them; others, like the heavy-laden vessel deeply plough through every wave. Some delight to dive deep, and bring up the pearls of sterling knowledge; others like the swallow, skim over the surface of every thing.

What an inequality there is also observed in *feeling*! How much more keenly some men seem to feel (and we can only judge by what we perceive) than others. The beggar will find that one man's feelings will respond to his appeals, when another man's will not, although both are equally ignorant of his real circumstances, and have both equally the means of relieving his apparent wants; an insult will cause one man to take fire immediately, whereas upon the feeling of another it will meet with a cold and sturdy resistance. One man feels excited by seeing lambs frisking in the field, the summer's evening insect spreading his gossamer wings to the sun, or a sear leaf of autumn rustling in his path; another man requires thunder and lightning to make an impression on him. One man feels so quick, that the storm of his wrath soon pelts with its pitiless fury, but then it quickly passes, the clouds disperse, and the sun again shines; another has feeling colder in its kind, but more lasting in its duration, and resembles small rain, which drizzles and soaks all the day long. One man feels and acts powerfully for a short time at any undertaking, another feels *less*, but perseveres *longer*. There are also great inequalities in the *knowledge* of men, arising out of inequalities in mind, feeling, and memory. Health is also unequally enjoyed, and life, which depends chiefly on health, is unequal also. We have not been speaking of *variety*, but inequality, not artificial inequality, but that which is generally supposed to be *natural*. Perhaps if men were placed from infancy in different circumstances to those with which from birth they are surrounded in the old system of society, these apparently natural inequalities might be somewhat removed without variety being destroyed, or even injured.

A. B. C.

Institution, Gray's Inn Road,
May 21, 1832.

MAXIM.

A kindly feeling, a rapid inquiry, a momentary token of good will, an expression of cordiality, will excite an emotion in a feeling heart, much more precious than the transfer of gold and silver.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We do not know the Co-operative Society in Threadneedle Street to which L. alludes.

Communications have been received from "W. M. C.," and a "Friend to Truth."

Mr. Gale's Letter is under consideration.

We must request Robinson Crusoe, Jun., to write a more legible hand.

It appears by an Advertisement in this paper that ROBERT DALE OWEN, who has just arrived from America, is to lecture to-morrow evening at the Institution, Gray's Inn Road, and that Mr. MACCONNELL will deliver a Lecture at the Sans Souci Theatre, in the Afternoon, at Three o'clock.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 16.

EQUITABLE BANKS OF EXCHANGE.

THE industry of society has been paralysed since the introduction of modern machinery, upon the scale in which it is now in use; and the value of human labor has fallen so low in money price that it cannot now purchase the comforts, and, in many cases, not even the necessities of life. As machinery increases, and nothing now can or ought to prevent its increase, the fall in the marketable value of human labour must increase, and in the same proportion, poverty, vice, and misery must also increase, until at length, and at no distant period, society, on the principles by which it has hitherto been sustained, will be thrown into utter confusion; and it will be totally disorganised unless some great conservative measure can be introduced to give a new direction to the physical and mental energies of the human race.

It is fortunate for the world that these evils have been produced, because they have become motives sufficiently powerful to stimulate the human mind in search of a cure, and in searching for it, to find the great causes of ignorance and poverty, and also the means by which those causes may be for ever removed, and, of course, all the numberless evils which emanate, directly or indirectly, therefrom.

One of the means by which the cause of ignorance and poverty is, to a great extent, capable of immediate removal, will be the introduction of a perfect medium of exchange of wealth, to supersede the present imperfect and unjust standard of value in the form of gold and silver coin, or in bank-notes representing such coin.

This new standard of wealth, and circulating medium, embraces the three grand requisites that a circulating medium ought to possess: that is—

- 1st. *That it can easily and most conveniently be increased, precisely as real wealth increases.*
- 2d. *That it may in the same manner be diminished, precisely as real wealth is diminished.*
- 3d. *That it be unchangeable in its value.*

Gold, silver, and bank-notes representing these coins, or bills of exchange representing credit, do not possess any one of these essential requisites for an equitable medium of exchange of real wealth.

It is chiefly owing to the defects in the present circulating medium for the exchange of wealth that there is now any poverty in human society, or one moment's anxiety, or misery on account of pecuniary affairs.

There are powers of production now sufficient to secure any amount of wealth, but there is not a circulating medium to put the manual and scientific powers of production into beneficial action, neither is there knowledge sufficient among the rulers of the world to give these powers a wise direction.

To remove one of the more immediate causes of poverty, and to prepare the way to give a wise direction to the manual and scientific powers of this country, we propose the establishment of "EQUITABLE BANKS OF EXCHANGE" in every part of the British empire. We recommend it as a measure calculated to effect in a short time more good to all parties in this country (and, by its example, to the population of all other countries) than any single measure yet proposed for the adoption of mankind. The defective money of the world has heretofore been the cause of much vice and wretchedness, but henceforth this new PERFECT CIRCULATING MEDIUM will be the cause of producing much virtue and happiness among all portions of the human race.

The principle and outline of this highly interesting subject was first given to the public in an official report to the county of Lanark, when great distress prevailed among the industrious classes. It was published, with permission of the county, by the editor of this paper.

To put the subject in a connected form, fit for the immediate application to business, we shall next week publish a supplementary number, or numbers, in order that those whose minds are equal to the task may examine the whole subject, scrutinise it throughout, and judge for themselves.

We desire to take no parties by surprise, and therefore now declare that our object is to effect, in the shortest possible time, an entire change in the foundation and superstructure of society. The cup of human wretchedness is filled to the brim—it can contain no more—and, in consequence, we may predict that a great ameliorating change is at hand; that "old things are about to pass away, and that all shall become new"; and the first great step of this change will be—the general establishment of the new Equitable Banks of Exchange.

AN IRISH TITHE AUCTION.

WHAT an unequivocal "sign of the times" in Ireland is the following astounding fact, which we leave to speak for itself.

"At Kilsneague, in Ireland, on the 4th instant, a sale by auction for arrears of tithe, due to the Rector of the place, the Rev. Arthur Presten, took place, when the following prices were obtained for the live stock, put up and sold amidst an immense multitude:—

Lot 1	A fat cow, value £4	10	0	sold for 3s.
2	One ox.....	3	10	0 2s.
3	A fat cow.....	5	0	0 3s.
4	One ox.....	4	10	0 3s.
5	A heifer.....	3	0	0 3s.
6	A cow.....	5	0	0 4s.
7	Four heifers....	16	3	0 6s.!!
8	Ten fat sheep ..	10	3	3 12s.!
9	Ten ditto, ditto	15	0	0 13s.
10	Sixteen beautiful fat sheep	16	0	0 13s.!!

All the animals were branded with the word "Tithes." If the animals can think, what must they think! and if they could speak, what would they say!

LETTER—No. IV.

TO EARL GREY, LORD BROUGHAM, AND
VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.

MY LORDS,

In the progress of knowledge we have at length discovered, that man is not answerable to man either for his sentiments or belief, any more than he is for his organization. To one capable of comprehending the force of reason, and who has studied the elements of Euclid, it is as impossible for him to reject the truth of—say the 47th proposition of the first book—as for him to survive after his head had been severed from his body. The old and fallacious opinion upon this subject is at length exploded, or, if it continue to exist, is confined to the pulpit.

But surely, my lords, this mode of reasoning will apply with equal force to our actions as to our thoughts. The one is only a development of the other, and in both cases we are actuated by circumstances altogether independent of ourselves. "The character," observes the eloquent and disinterested originator of the co-operative system, "is formed for the individual at birth, solely by the power which creates him. It is formed differently in each child, but that difference is not his own, it is created for him. The rank of life, the character of the parents, the qualifications of the instructors, and the habits, temper, and disposition of those who surround the individual from infancy and childhood, are circumstances wholly beyond his controul; yet these determine his habits, his disposition, his mental powers, his propensities, feelings, and sentiments, his religion, and conduct. He cannot, therefore, have merit or demerit for any of these, and, in consequence, he never can be deemed, in a rational state of society, a proper subject for individual reward or punishment." The difficulty which will here suggest itself is the following: If factitious * re-

wards and punishments be abolished, how can we check vice, and encourage virtue? to which I answer, that by contemplating human nature, we have learnt these important truths: 1st. That the actions of men are the necessary result of their motives; and, 2ndly, that their motives depend upon external circumstances operating upon their mental faculties. We should, therefore, investigate the science of circumstances, with a view not only to removing such as are calculated to excite our evil propensities, but likewise of augmenting the number of those which tend to the development of our finer feelings. "Tell a man," says Mr. Thompson, in his very able treatise upon the Distribution of Wealth, "to be virtuous, to be beneficent, to promote the happiness of his fellow creatures; you must show him it is his interest to be so. Tell him to be virtuous, and surround him with such circumstances as make the virtues you recommend contrary to his *apparent* interest—his conduct will unhesitatingly follow in the line of what seems to be his interest, and all exhortations in opposition thereto will be unheeded and inoperative. Improve his powers of comparing and judging, teach him to observe the *consequences* of his own actions as well as those of others, as well as their immediate effects; teach him foresight,—then surround him by favorable external circumstances, and all the virtues will spring up."† The propriety of these observations might be further enforced, by reflecting upon "the immense difference between men's lives in the most polished countries of Europe, and in any wild and barbarous region of the New Indies, which is so great, that man may be said to be a god unto man, not only on account of mutual aid and benefits, but from their comparative states—the result of the arts, and not of the soil and climate."‡

If it be further asked, how to carry the system into operation? the answer is obvious:—by supplying all classes of society with useful knowledge and with beneficial employment; to accomplish this, is the object of the association to which I have already alluded. I use the term *beneficial employment*, for I consider no employment *beneficial*, which does not enable the producer of wealth to a proportionate share in the consumption of it. Should your leisure permit you to peruse the works of Mr. Owen,§ and Mr. Thompson,|| you will there find it satisfactorily explained, how, by means of mutual co-operation, every individual may enjoy as many comforts and luxuries as are consistent with his happiness. Certain I am, that all who reflect upon the subject, will admit the co-operative system to be a

arrangements, from the co-operating community, all those mutual attacks and restraints—save the plunder of political power—which counteract, in ordinary life, these natural motives. He shows men how to place themselves in such circumstances, that their interest shall always be in union with their duty, that if they act wrong it must be through ignorance, and that it shall always be the interest of every one to enlighten this ignorance."—Distribution of Wealth, p. 451.

† Distribution of Wealth, p. 49.

‡ Novum Organum, Aph. 129.

§ The works of Mr. Owen to which I more particularly allude, consist of, Essays on the Formation of Human Character—Address on Opening the Original Infant School at New Lanark—Report to the County of Lanark—Important Addresses delivered at Public Meetings in Dublin—Lectures, originally promulgated at the Lecture Room in Burton Crescent, and various other Publications.

|| An elaborate Essay on the Distribution of Wealth; and also, an invaluable treatise, containing Practical Directions for the Formation of a Community. Whilst upon this subject, I must not omit to direct the public attention to Mr. Morgan's delightful little work, entitled "The Revolt of the

desirable one; but many people entertain doubts as to its practicability, and, to the removal of these doubts, I shall therefore confine my future observations.

When Columbus suggested to the Spanish court his notions respecting the existence of America, his suggestions, though favourably received by the queen, were for the most part rejected with derision and contempt. "Even without deigning," says Robertson, "to enter into any particular discussion; many rejected the scheme in general, upon the credit of a maxim, under which the ignorant and unenterprising shelter themselves in every age—that it is presumptuous in any person, to suppose that he alone possesses knowledge superior to all the rest of mankind." They maintained, that if there were really such countries as Columbus pretended, they could not have remained so long concealed, nor would the wisdom and sagacity of former ages, have left the glory of this invention to an obscure Genoese pilot.¶ The discoveries of Galileo met with a similar fate. That the world should not be flat, and that it should move, were positions which apparently contradicted the testimony of the senses. But, without referring to so early a period, it is within your lordships' recollection, when the idea of lighting the streets of London with gas was esteemed utopian and visionary. Did ever subject excite more universal ridicule than the attempt of applying the power of steam to the navigation of vessels? It was caricatured in every shop, and afforded sport to all the wittlings of the day; even after success had been obtained, many thought that steam was inapplicable to land conveyances—and, had any one predicted, that by means of it we should travel at the rate of thirty miles an hour, the public would have regarded him as little better than a madman. Were it necessary, I might enlarge upon this topic to almost any extent, but enough has already been said, to check the folly of those who are inclined to laugh at what they do not understand, and to reject as impracticable, that which has never been fairly tried.

I have the honour to be,

My Lords,

Your Lordships' most obedient,

Humble Servant,

PHILANTHROPOS.

London, 9th June, 1832.

[Letter V. in our next.]

MANIFEST OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE WORKING MEN OF NEW YORK.

THE motives and doings of the people of this city, associating in their political capacity, and designating themselves "Mechanics and other Working Men," are misconceived by some and misrepresented by others. They judge it, therefore, useful to the public and due to themselves, by stating the principles in support of which they have united, to repel the charges with which they have been assailed.

They associate neither as a class, a sect, nor a party. If they have called themselves "Mechanics and other Working Men," it is because the great mass of the people of this State and of this Republic are such; and because "THE PEOPLE," (a more accurate, because more comprehensive designation) has been so commonly prostituted as a party name, that republicans almost hesitate to use it. If they have been accused of seeking to support particular polemical opinions, religious or irreligious, it has been either by those who employ falsehood to serve a faction, or by those who cannot distinguish between toleration of all creeds, and opposition to

Bees."—A work from which I have derived much entertainment and instruction.

¶ History of America.

* To understand the principles of Mr. Owen, it will be necessary to bear in mind the distinction between *natural* and *factitious* rewards and punishments. "When Mr. Owen says that *rewards* and *punishments* are not necessary to influence either children or adults to the uniform practice of moral conduct, or that species of conduct which will produce the greatest sum of happiness to themselves and their associates, he alludes solely to *factitious* rewards and punishments, as opposed to the *natural*. Instead of rejecting the aid of natural rewards and punishments, he relies on them altogether as entirely adequate to his purpose. But then, in order to render them operative, he removes by voluntary

those which, for the time being, are popular. They disclaim connection and sympathy with all parties, except that great party which includes the nation; and with all sects, except that great sect which acknowledges every upright man as a brother. They desire to see cast down the walls of partition that separate class from class, party from party, and sect from sect; and from their ruins to erect a National Edifice, that shall have EQUAL RIGHTS for its foundation, REPUBLICAN EDUCATION for its pillars of support, and "OPEN TO ALL HONEST MEN," for the motto over its gates.

But though they cannot sympathize nor coalesce with any party or sect, as such; yet neither do they declare hostility against any particular party or any particular sect. It is not their object to put the ins out, and to put the outs in; nor to replace the ruling faction by another, which only differs from its opponents by being the vanquished instead of the victor. They wish to see public offices filled by those who will feel themselves to be the confidential servants of the people; plain practical men, who will think more of their constituents' interest than their own fine speeches; honest men, who will not spend a dollar of the people's money, except for the people's benefit; republicans, who will enact no exclusive charters, and sanction no monopolies; friends of Education; who, like Lycurgus, will resolve almost the whole business of legislation into the bringing up of youth; disinterested men, who will think more of their duty than of the loaves and fishes. In a word, they want to see the people represented, not governed, not lorded over, not made tools and ladders of, but represented;—their interests cared for; their wishes attended to. They see men in power who postpone questions which deeply interest the people, to discuss those which selfishly interest themselves; and legislate more for the aristocratical minority, than for the great mass of the citizens. They want to see the places filled by men who will consider their State's service an arduous duty, not a lucrative Godsend.

They want these men wherever they can find them, among the rich or the poor, the laborer or the land-owner. They expect to find them chiefly among the industrious classes. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that lawyers will dispense with their enormous gains by simplifying the laws; or that speculators will spoil their chance of speculation by enlightening the people; or that monopolists will vote against monopolies. Men are disinterested now and then; but it is not their general character. Besides, the industrious classes are those who most sensibly feel, and therefore can the most feelingly oppose, the oppressions that weigh upon industry. But what is wanted is, politicians of probity, who will support just and good principles, because they feel them to be just and good; and if such men are found, it matters little what class, or sect, or party they may be found in.—*New York Sentinel.*

To be Continued.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

THE QUAKER'S "SAD DOG."

SIR,—The Quaker who addressed the snappish cur, "I'll not kill thee, but I'll give thee a bad name," and vociferated "a sad dog, a sad dog," was only one of a very numerous class in society, whether in black gowns and coats, or coats of many colours, who well understand the said overpowering effects of a name, and who cry out lustily, "Deist!—Infidel!—Atheist!"

The fate of the Quaker's sad dog,—death, from the hands of a mistaken, because misled crowd, who seized the first missiles at hand, is a type of the sufferings of the thinking men in all ages, who have had the misfortune to be in advance, to have the start of the vulgar mind—and this treatment from all classes in society! and whilst heaven with its thunders, and hell with its terrors, have been appealed to, the arm of the civil power, or dark insinuations against character, comprised in some opprobrious name, have been resorted to, as more certain and efficacious.

These illustrious men have had the hue-and-cry of society raised against them, by the cunning and the hypocritical, who led on the weak and the well meaning to the dreadful chase; and the overpowering voice of the multitude, branded these superior characters as the enemies of God and man! The trick is well tried in the present day, but, since the schoolmaster has been abroad, it is not found to answer so completely.

After all, what had the noble individuals before referred to, at whom the finger of scorn was pointed, what had they to gain by the doctrines they taught? I need not mention the disinterestedness of their zeal. The well-fed, well-paid believers of doctrines in vogue, who saw if the strong rays of truth were suffered to bear upon them—they must thaw, melt, 'dissolve into a dew,' and 'like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a wreck behind.'

That ignorance and error may thus dissolve before the light which hath arisen upon the nations, is the heartfelt wish of,

Yours, fervently, A DISCIPLE.

Camberwell, May 26, 1832.

ENGLISH FEELING.

Although the English, as we have repeatedly said, are not a thinking people, yet they are a people of considerable feeling. But even that feeling, owing to the novels and fictions with which their imagination is over fed, must have something of an interesting, exciting, tragical kind in its object. We much question, whether, if the following children had been the offspring of a poor man, whose death was marked with nothing uncommon, they would have had so much help offered as the under-mentioned, though they might have needed it much more:—

"THE LATE COLONEL BRERETON.—One of the two children left by the late unfortunate Colonel Brereton, an interesting little girl, only three years of age, came over here, from Bristol, by the City of Waterford steamer, recently under the care of her uncle, Francis Drew, of Macollop Castle, Esq. a magistrate of this country. It is a curious fact, but highly creditable to the generous feelings of the English people, that a number of individuals volunteered to adopt and provide amply for these children, if their guardians would consent to it; but such offers were, of course, declined by their affluent and respectable connexions."—*Waterford Mail.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I do not address myself to the editor of the Crisis for the sake of appearing in print, neither do I take up the subject of inconsistency (OR ANY OTHER) with a satirical feeling—no, sir, I would merely point out what I know to be sunken rocks, shoals, and quicksands in the voyage of life, in order to prevent in future so many shipwrecks amongst my fellow creatures.

I am the son of a man who had the misfortune to possess great wealth, and an hereditary title—he had four children, on whom he doated with such undivided affection, that he could scarcely bear us out of his sight; mark the result. My eldest brother came into being a few months before either of the others, and (nearly) the whole estate, which would have kept all the family in comfort—nay, in affluence, went to the eldest child, in order to support the title with proper dignity! whilst the other three children, equally dear to my father's heart, were thus manifestly injured by the unnatural laws of primogeniture—my youngest brother enlisted as a private soldier, lost an arm at the too memorable Waterloo affair, and died time enough to prevent his becoming a Chelsea pensioner.

My eldest sister, though without fortune, had the good luck to marry an honest young farmer, who succeeded his father in a farm under a baronet whose estates lay nearly adjoining my titled brother's estates; the lease expired—the landlord annexed the farm to his extensive domain—the poor fellow determined to emigrate to Canada, was providen-

tially drowned on the voyage, and my sister broke her heart!

My youngest sister was induced to visit India, and sank, in the flower of her age, under the devastating influence of that climate.

My elder brother hunted and gambled, kept company (of course) only with his order, until dissipation and irregularity closed his career at the age of forty-seven, leaving behind him heavy debts, an unsavoury name, and—a title!

If these, Mr. Editor, be the effects produced in a single family by ONE inconsistent cause, what innumerable evils must arise in the aggregate of human actions, from the same source—inconsistency.

In my future communications, I shall confine myself to facts, and remedial curatives, and remain,

Mr. Editor,

Your humble servant,

ROBINSON CRUSOE, Junr.

Solitude, Wednesday, 30th May, 1832.

PUBLIC LECTURES

ON THE

NEW SYSTEM OF SOCIETY

At the Institution, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross,

ARE delivered every SUNDAY MORNING, at Eleven o'clock, and EVENING at Seven o'clock, and an open Discussion takes place on the most important practical subjects on THURSDAY EVENINGS at Seven o'clock. Tomorrow Morning, at Eleven o'clock, ROBERT OWEN will resume his Lecture on the EQUITABLE BANKS OF EXCHANGE.

IN THE AFTERNOON,

At the SANS SOUCI THEATRE, Leicester Place, Leicester Square, a Lecture on the New System of Society will be delivered at Three o'clock, by

The Rev. THOMAS MACCONNELL.

IN THE EVENING,

At Seven, ROBERT DALE OWEN, who has just arrived from America, will deliver a Lecture on the future Prospects of Society.

Questions may be asked after the delivery of each Lecture.

FIFTH

SOCIAL FESTIVAL.

Institution for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, Gray's Inn Road, near King's Cross.

ROBT. OWEN, Governor.

A GRAND CONCERT OF VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC, in aid of the Funds of the Association of the Industrious Classes, will take place in the Assembly Room of the above Institution, on MONDAY, Evening, July 2, 1832. To Commence at Half-past Eight o'clock precisely; full particulars of which will be duly announced.

Tickets of Admission, Visitors 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 230, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner to Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; Gothic Hall, New-road; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 39, Burton-street; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street; 79, Regent-street.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

In order to render these Concerts effective, new arrangements have been made, and several Eminent Professors engaged.

The Sixth Social Festival will be held on Monday, August 6.

Printed for, and published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by Strange, Paternoster-Row; Berger, Holywell Street; Richardson, Holborn; and Purkiss, Wardour Street; and may be had of all Newsmen. WILLIAM DENT, Printer, 39, Burton-street

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 14.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

FICKLENESS OF POPULAR OPINION— THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

DURING the past week the vacillation of the English people has been clearly illustrated and strongly marked. Monday was the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo. It is now seventeen years since that battle was fought. At that time the Duke of Wellington was the idol of the people; last Monday he narrowly escaped being their foot-ball! In returning from the tower, to which he went almost unnoticed, he was assailed in Fenchurch Street with opprobrium, loaded with reproach, seized, and but for assistance, his fate might have been tragical. What a change! And this on the anniversary of the most glorious of all his victories! But a change in whom? Not in him; he has not changed; he fought for aristocracy and legitimacy with his sword on many memorable fields; and his speeches and votes have run in the same channel on all occasions. He is the same man he always has been, rigidly, unbendingly, consistently and staunchly the same. Who or what then has changed? We unhesitatingly answer—the feeble and sickly OPINIONS of the people; and how comes it that their opinions are so feeble and so fickle? We reply, because in what is called their education, they are not trained to think, but to believe—not to look at this world, of which they might know something, but at the next, of which they can know nothing. This produces mental incapacity, which disqualifies them for deliberation, and renders them inconstant. Even now while they differ in opinion with the Duke of Wellington on reform, why not let him quietly hold his opinion, to which he has as great a right as they have to theirs? If the people thought, they would not have gone to church to annoy the anti-reform bishops, but would have staid at home and let the bishops preach to empty pews; which, though silent, would have shouted in their ears. If they thought, those who found fault with the church and her tithes, would not attend her services—but when the bell rings, like sheep they thoughtlessly flock to the fold. If they had thought, they would not have let government accumulate a debt of eight hundred millions; but they shouted "Hosanna in the highest," during the time that this crushing debt was contracting. If they thought, they would not illuminate for Reform until they had experienced some practical good arising out of the measure; but with the failure, the total failure of the Catholic Relief Bill before their eyes, they will not wait, they will illuminate now. There is no thought in them; and there never will be any, while they are trained up from infancy in the present wretched

false and disjointed system. A man might as well expect to reap barley where he has sown cockles, or wheat where he has sown tares, as to find thought where children are trained to believe; or knowledge where faith is held all in all.

This fickleness of opinion arises from a want of thought. What a wretched thing is popularity! How truly worthless are either the praises or execrations of the unthinking and superficial multitude! The Duke of Wellington must think them so. Dr. Chalmers, a clergyman of the Kirk of Scotland, who has had a considerable share of popular applause, thus speaks of it. "It is gaze, noise, stare, and animal heat, beside a tribe of other annoyances which it brings around the person of its unfortunate victim. It has its head amongst storms, and its feet on the treacherous quicksands; with nothing to support the agonies of its tottering existence but the precarious ho-sannas of a drivelling generation." X. Y. Z.

*Institution, Gray's Inn Road,
18 June, 1832.*

CO-OPERATION.

LONDON.—The Rev. J. Marriott, Messrs. Hirst and Carson, (and others,) during their stay in London, at the late Congress, delivered several addresses in the Institute, 59, Poland-street; in the Gothic Hall, New Road; at Theobald's Road; at Camberwell, and in the Borough; at Camberwell a society of 36 members was formed, and at each of the other places named, a strong impression seemed to have been made on the minds of the people who had crowded to hear the "rude eloquence" of the "country-men."

Arrangements were made for these gentlemen to have continued a few weeks in London, for the purpose of spreading in every quarter of that place the truths of co-operation, but domestic affliction demanded the speedy return home of Mr. Hirst, and personal ill health that of Mr. Carson.

After a short stay of three days at home, Mr. H. was compelled, from the engagements he had entered upon, to go, in the first place, to

SHEFFIELD,—to this town he was accompanied by the Rev. C. B. Duan, of Cumberworth, who, with Mr. Carson addressed a numerous and highly respectable party of co-operatives and their friends, who had assembled in their Music Hall, where a splendid festival was prepared for them. Tea and refreshments were served up in the ante-chamber, and an excellent co-operative band playing at intervals throughout the evening, materially enhanced the social pleasures of the party. Altogether the scene which presented itself was of a peculiarly novel and interesting nature. One predominating feeling of love and amity seemed to be the sympathetic chain which bound all hearts together.

We refer our readers to the *Sheffield Courant* for a further account of the proceedings of the meeting.

Mr. Hirst next visited Loughbro', but in consequence of the intense public interest occasioned by the resignation of the reforming ministers, our friends in this place were unable to procure a room for the purpose of a lecture, all being previously engaged for public meetings on the Reform Bill; so Mr. Hirst contented himself for this time with a few hours' conversation with as many of the members of the Loughbro' societies as could be got together. He was here informed that there was a most worthy individual in that neighbourhood, Edward Dawson, Esq. of Whatton House, who had rendered them great assistance; and also that there was a society of 60 or 70 poor Agriculturalists! a few miles from this town. Mr. Hirst then proceeded onward to

LEICESTER,—where, on Monday evening the 14th of May, 1832, he gave a lecture to a crowded audience in the large room of the Third Leicester Society, a very ample report of which is contained in the *Leicester Chronicle*, from which we extract the following:—"Mr. Hirst here produces proofs of many liberal offers of assistance from people in the upper walks of life, which he said, should show them that the aristocracy were not all which many would have them believe—and read a letter, breathing a most intense and generous spirit of love for the improvement of the working classes, from a noble lady, whose retirement of disposition induces her to shun the mention of her name in connection with deeds alike honourable to her head and heart."

"Community of property (continued Mr. H.) equality of rights and privileges—these are the fundamental principles of our system. And what is the Millennium of the Christian—what the social condition desired by the philanthropist—what the bright dream of a golden age which the poet delights to image forth? Do they anticipate any other scene of life than that which we desire to accomplish—that state in which "every man shall sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree, and none daring to make him afraid?"

It will be remembered that it was in Leicestershire where the 1200 acres of land, spoken of at the late Congress, as being suitable for a Community, was situated; Mr. H., in conjunction with a gentleman from Kirkby Malory, took a survey of this land, and found it to be totally unfit for that purpose, it being very hilly and cold, besides being a poor soil with a sandy bottom, and at a great distance from manure, and would only produce, with much labour, 2½ quarters of wheat, or 4 quarters of oats to the acre. Our friend then returned to

LOUGHBRO',—and gave a lecture in one of the Methodist Chapels of that town, to a very numerous assemblage of persons of all ranks in society, many of whom had come a distance of five or six miles from the surrounding villages.

LANE END, Staffordshire, was the next place visited by Mr. Hirst, who addressed a meeting of 6 or 700 people in the large room belonging to the Eagle Inn; such was the interest manifested by the assembly, together with the disappointment of numbers who could not get admittance into the room on account of its being already overflowing, that Mr. H. was prevailed upon to stay in this town another day, consequently he announced, that on the following evening (May 19) he should deliver a lecture in the Town Hall, which had been engaged by some active friends during the time he (Mr. Hirst) was speaking. This announcement was received with strong testimonials of approbation.

At the time appointed the Town Hall was filled, besides hundreds who were standing round the doors, and so great was the eagerness of the people out-of-doors, that in order to accommodate them, the lecturer spoke from one of the windows which faced a large square, wherein were assembled upwards of two thousand persons for the purpose of hearing the lecture. We cannot describe any thing like an adequate idea of the effect produced on this vast multitude, from the various facts brought before them, especially when the following Report of the financial affairs of the society in this town was read, namely,

Amount of Subscriptions £62 5 4
Net Profit 108 14 4

£270 19 8

And this society, added the lecturer, are about taking a large shop, where they intend to sell the manufacture of their brother co-operators of other places, in addition to that of their own town. [We beg to inform our friends that this society will shortly begin to manufacture crockeryware of every description.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

PRIMOGENITURE.

SIR,—In your last week's paper, Robinson Crusoe, Junr. says "his father had four children," his elder brother, and his younger brother, his elder sister, and his younger sister! so that it is evident he does not belong to that family. To what family then, does he belong?—or, does he appertain to any family?

He says, that a father he had,
But I say, a father he'd none!
For if he'd a father, egad!
He'd have been very clearly a son!

W. A. K.

Bloomsbury, 21st June, 1832.

We suppose that Robinson Crusoe, Junr. being a disciple of the "New System of Society" in which community is all and in all, and selfishness and individuality have no place, forgot that at present, he was in the old system, where self is all and in all, and cannot be forgotten with impunity.—(Ed.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

ON THE APPROACHING ILLUMINATION.

SOME of your numerous readers, will, I fear, accuse me of temerity in thus waging war against inconsistency—being, from the notice in your last correspondence, somewhat guilty myself—but, having once thrown down the gauntlet, I must not show the "white feather."

The Reform Bill has passed; that little hexagonal word has produced unparalleled excitement throughout every nook and corner of the kingdom, and agitated the political fane in many other parts of the globe—it has been an object of protracted contest heretofore unknown in the annals of Parliamentary warfare; the vanquished view it as the death blow to the constitution, and the victors as a balm that will renovate the frame of society.

Every good man will ardently desire to behold the latter prediction verified; but, to attain at any object, we should commence with acts which are

consistent with the desired end. Now, Sir, it appears to me that the first consecutive step proposed to be taken in the train of this victory will be a palpably inconsistent one.

It is, I believe, proposed to get up a *general illumination*; but, Sir, when pallid distress and starvation prevails to such an extent never before witnessed, can the human mind conceive any thing more monstrously absurd than to make the poor man purchase oil or candles for this useless purpose, who cannot procure sufficient bread for his family.

I shall, probably, be told that the "*poor man need not illuminate*." Alas! Sir, were such a discriminating principle to be acted upon, it would exhibit a picture by no means flattering to the government where such pictures existed; it would place before the public eye the appalling and incredible anomaly of hundreds of thousands of our fellow beings living in want and wretchedness, in a country overflowing with milk and honey, and possessing within its own circle not only all the comforts and necessities of life, but also many of its luxuries.

Say—"the poor man will not be obliged to illuminate,"—be it so then, let none light up but those who can well afford the expense, and darkness will generally pervade the dwellings of the useful and productive classes, whilst the blaze of light will, as generally, illumine the mansions of sinecurists, capitalists, pluralists, and pensioners, dignitaries of church and state—those who, by an irrational system of governing, are compelled to be numbered amongst the unproductive portion of society, whilst myriads of dark windows would force conviction on the minds of the most sceptical, of poverty—unmerited poverty not being confined to the mud hovels of the country, or to the fetid cellars and attics of the metropolis, but, also, of its prevailing to an extent unprecedented among the greater part of the British population.

Indeed, Sir, I do conceive that human misery has nearly reached its *ne plus ultra*, and that if some ameliorating steps be not speedily taken, it will burst like the long smothered force of an earthquake, or the irresistible force of the lightning's shaft, devastating, indiscriminately, all around.

This, Sir, is a frightful picture for either the philosopher, or the philanthropist to contemplate, but, it is by no means too highly coloured, and the most superficial observer cannot fail to infer therefrom, that the system which has produced only a mass of evil, whilst possessing such abundant powers of effecting unlimited good, must be unsound. In fine, Sir, it is a system not only wretchedly constructed, but (as you, Sir, have somewhere very forcibly stated) it is wholly worn out and useless.

To return, however, to the primary object of this letter, might we not, Sir, without reference to the prospective merits or demerits of the Reform Bill—might we not convert this illumination scheme into a heart-cheering day for those who seldom meet with any thing to relieve the dire monotony of a miserable existence. I would propose that all persons who could afford to pay for lights on that occasion should subscribe an optional sum towards a fund to provide a good dinner on that day for persons who would otherwise go without one.

This plan might be adopted in every parish, proper objects might be furnished by responsible persons in their respective districts, with tickets which should procure them rations, beer, &c., to be fetched by themselves in their own plates from the appointed depots in each parish; this would, indeed, be an illumination; and, I would beg further to suggest, that, which I am well aware will be congenial to your philanthropic feelings; namely, that the capacious arena (I have seen it) of the Institution might be the depot for the parish of St. Pancras.

I have only to request that you will have the goodness to cause this letter to be read at the lectures on Sunday, and also to give it insertion in the next number of the Crisis.

I am,

Mr. Editor,

Your humble servant,

ROBINSON CRUSOE, Junr.

Highbury Vale, 16 June, 1832.

FIELD PREACHING.

SEVERAL disciples of Mr. Owen, who have been for a short time under the tuition of the Rev. Thomas Macconnell, now go out every Sunday, into the fields, the highways, and hedges, to induce men, by the force of argument, and the sweetness of persuasion, to come out of the old system of society, and enter into the views of the new; their earliest efforts have been attended with considerable success. Last Monday evening the Rev. Thomas Macconnell delivered a second lecture at the Amphibion Concert Rooms, Fulham Road, to a numerous, respectable, and attentive auditory.

From an Advertisement in another part of this paper, it appears that on Sunday next, the *Westminster Theatre, Broad Way, Westminster*, is to be opened for regular lectures, by Mr. OWEN and Mr. MACCONNELL. The *Sans Souci Theatre, Leicester Place, Leicester Square*, is lectured in every Sunday afternoon, at three o'clock; and Mr. ROBERT DALE OWEN, who has just reached this country from New York, will lecture at the *Institution, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross*, next Sunday evening, at seven; and the Rev. Mr. MACCONNELL at the same place, in the morning of Sunday next, at eleven.—(See Advertisement.)

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

An Admirer of Truth, and D. Dickenson, are come to hand.

Robinson Crusoe, Junr. is informed that we cannot notice any communication made for insertion in the Crisis but through the medium of the Crisis.

Extracts, with the Stanza of Byron, are before us.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 23.

EQUITABLE BANKS OF EXCHANGE.

IN our last number we promised a supplementary paper this week, explanatory of the arrangements by which these banks should be conducted in all their details. We find, however, that as the subject requires to be developed at much length, it could not be contained in one number, and must occupy a portion of a second, we must necessarily postpone this statement of our views to the following week, when we hope to place it in such a practical form before the public, that men accustomed to business upon such a scale of operations, will have no difficulty in tracing the connexion of each part as they succeed one another, or in fully comprehending the subject as a whole, complete for the every day business of the world, and applicable for immediate general adoption.

It is useless longer to attempt to conceal from the public, that nothing now can prevent a revolution in conducting the affairs of all civilized nations; as we are at the advanced post in the progress of nations, the great change must be commenced by the British government, and the passing of the Reform Bill has brought matters to such a crisis, that the change is now unavoidable.

From a calm inspection of the debates in both Houses of Parliament, it is evident that none of the members have any practical knowledge rela-

tive to this change, which they cannot prevent, and which, from being inexperienced, they know not how to direct or controul.

The Secretary of State for the Home Department admits, that he believes not one per cent. of the resources of the British Empire have been brought into action—we think this impression is general on the minds of the cabinet ministers, and in its truth we cordially agree. Any amount of real valuable wealth may now easily be produced in Great Britain and Ireland.

As the industrious classes now suffer so grievously from the want of this wealth—or, in other words, of these resources being brought into action; we ask, why do not our ministers, at once, openly and boldly, adopt measures to call forth these dormant energies, that the great mass of the population may no longer suffer unnecessary want and privations?

The answer which they must make, when they express their genuine sentiments, is obviously the following:—"We most sincerely desire to govern the country well—we are conscious the British Empire is full of the most valuable resources, even greatly beyond the wants or wishes of the whole population; but now we have obtained the power of the government, with the controul of the means to call these resources into action, we discover our theories are mere words, without substantial meaning, and that we have not a single individual among our party who is a practical man upon this subject. We can talk, but we cannot act; we know our fellow subjects are dying for want of the common necessities to support life—we know they ought to be made to superabound for all classes, but we really do not know how to effect it. We have been made to believe, that the existing system of individual competition, is the mode by which the greatest wealth can be produced, this system is now in more full action in this country than it ever has been at any former period, but somehow or other, as we extend the practice of this glorious theory, distress among the producers, and all the industrious classes, continually advances, until our situation is become most irksome, and we are truly at a loss what to do."

This is the actual condition of the country—this is the precise position of the government. We simply put this question to the reflecting and considerate part of the population. Under these circumstances what does the interest of this and of all other countries now demand? Will they not reply—an entire change of a system, that with such abundant means to produce prosperity and happiness contrives to engender so much poverty, crime, and wretchedness?

"Mr. Robert Dale Owen delivered a lecture on Sunday evening last, upon the future prospects of society, which was received with evident general satisfaction by a very crowded audience, in the large room of the Institution, Gray's-Inn Road. His style is clear, classical, and altogether free from affectation—but that which we most admired, was his perfect fairness and charity for his opponents.—He attends their Discussions upon Thursday evenings."—*True Sun*.

QUARTER DAY.

To-morrow is quarter day—it is big with important events, and instructive associations. Rents are due, landlords hail the day, tenants curse it—what notices to quit will be given both by landlords and tenants! What removals! What fresh occupancies! Pensions and salaries of government officers now become due; with numbers every farthing is condemned before it is received. The quarter's revenue will now be ascertained and published. This is the only quarter day of the four in the rolling year which is not disfigured by some popish name! *LADY DAY*, *MICHAELMAS*, and *CHRISTMAS*, all savour strong of popish superstition. This is *MIDSUMMER*, when, in the unclouded presence of the sun, all nature rejoices and is glad. Schoolboys in the vacations, joy and harmonize with universal nature; their teachers unbend and relax—the vehicle now stands still, that the wheels may be oiled; king's taxes now become due, and are grudgingly paid. At *LADY DAY*, winter over, we seemed as though we had emerged out of the tunnel of the rail-road of human life; since then, till now, we have been travelling in the broad day light, and at present are under the full blaze of a scorching sun. It is *QUARTER DAY*—the languid surface of ordinary life is stirred by its arrival and transition; while we are reading it passes away, and another day is hastening to succeed it, and pass away also. Time is a book—every day is a fresh leaf turned over—instruction is written on it—to-morrow is the completion of the quarter. We have now passed the longest day, and must gradually descend from our present elevation, through chequered scenes, and instructive vicissitudes, till we reach the shortest. A. B. C.

*Institution, Gray's Inn Road,
June, 19, 1832.*

THE APPROACHING ELECTIONS. (From the Times.)

We extract the following from the leading article of the Times, of Thursday, June 14.

"Much, perhaps, cannot be added to the remonstrances and solicitations which have been already addressed to the Reformers of England, and most of all to those of the metropolitan districts, upon the necessity of securing, by active and immediate efforts, the return of members to the new Parliament who shall not betray their trust.

"It is known on all sides, that the Conservatives have long been in the field. They have the balance of tact and dexterity in their favour, let it not be said that they have that of zeal and energy also. We are sure that the miserable Portuguese or Spaniards never were charged with any thing more disgraceful,—with any vice or weakness which appeared to the eyes of Englishmen more unnatural, than their alleged indifference to the means of freedom which the constitutions established in their respective countries had actually placed in their hands. Will Englishmen follow that ignominious example? Will they let it be said of them that they clamoured for reform without having sense enough to appreciate what they called for? or that, having gained their plaything prize, they flung it, like spoiled children, into the fire? If the reformers do not at once buckle on their armour, and manfully take up the ultra-Tory gauntlet, they will prove to the world that it is they, and not the enemies of all reform, who may fairly be counted "hypocrites;" because the Tories were in earnest in their opposition to the Bill, while the professed Liberals have not been so in their support of it. We have received an hundred letters on the contemptible and criminal apathy displayed in this respect by a large portion of the new electors throughout Great Britain."

How very extraordinary it appears, that the fervour of the people of England in favour of

Reform has so soon evaporated, or is in danger of evaporating! What a wretched inference must we make relative to the people themselves! What solid *thought* must have infused itself into all their late shoutings, and meetings, and petitions? Or is it, that now beginning to *think*, they are apprehensive that the noisy article of Reform will prove as *empty* as it has been *noisy*? But if the latter, why talk of an illumination? In whatever way it is looked at, it appears very puzzling and very singular; we might have supposed, had not we known what the people of England are, that they they would have needed *restraints* rather than *excitement* on the subject. But they do not *think*, they are not trained to think; and it is for the interest of certain parties, *that they should not think*—the only illumination they need, is the illumination of the *mind*. A. B. C.

LETTER—No. V.

TO EARL GREY, LORD BROUGHAM, AND
VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.

MY LORDS,

I know not how better to illustrate the efficacy of the co-operative system, than by means of the several clubs established in this metropolis. All that is good in these societies, is in perfect accordance with the principles of Mr. Owen—and every member must be conscious of the advantages he derives from them. It will remain for our opponents to devise any other method, which will enable them, at an expense considerably less than half the wages of a daily labourer, to enjoy more luxuries than a man of £5000 per annum could afford. It is, my lord, for the sake of those who have not the honour of belonging to any of them, as also to inculcate the importance of judicious combinations, that I state, without further comment, what I am sure will meet with no contradiction—that for a premium of £20, and an annual subscription of £6, a member enjoys the perusal of all the daily and weekly papers, the monthly publications, and quarterly reviews, together with that of an extensive and well selected library. In addition to this, he lives in a palace, has servants in abundance to wait upon him, and passes his time in the most refined society of London. It is objected to these establishments, that they are too luxurious, and that, by supplying members with greater comforts abroad than they can enjoy at home, they tend to excite discontent, and to destroy domestic happiness. But were they conducted upon a more extensive plan, upon a scale adapted to the admission of whole families, and, in its internal arrangements, sufficiently comprehensive to relieve the wants, supply the necessities of life, and afford the community every rational enjoyment, the above objections must of necessity disappear. That such an institution might possibly exist, who can entertain the slightest doubt, when he remembers how much may be accomplished by means of so trifling a sum as £6 per annum. The expense of such institution has been reduced to calculation by Mr. Owen, and the most detailed practical directions have been published by the author of the distribution of wealth. Both of these gentlemen have, in my opinion, clearly explained how the lower orders, (were they conscious of their power, which as education becomes diffused they must of necessity be) could, without much difficulty, emancipate themselves from their present state of misery and degradation.

Your lordships are well aware that money does not constitute wealth—it only represents it;

wealth itself is the result of labour. To subscribe any sum of money to any institution is, in other words, to subscribe so much labour as can be procured for that sum. All, therefore, that can be effected by means of the precious metals, can be accomplished without them, if by other means men can be induced to exert themselves.

What is the reason, I would ask, that any man labours to procure money? Is it not that, so dependent are we upon each other, he finds himself incapable, by dint of his own unassisted exertions, of satisfying the wants of nature? Hence he is willing to exchange the produce of his toil for that which will procure him the aid, or, what amounts to the same thing, the co-operation of his neighbour. As the end, therefore, in both cases is the same, the only remaining question is, whether it be easier accomplished by means of the competitive, or the co-operative system? And here I will pursue the course marked out by Lord Bacon, who says, "of all signs, there is none more certain or worthy, than that of the fruits produced—for the fruits and effects are the sureties and vouchers as it were for the truth of philosophy;"* or, in the language of the New Testament, "by their fruits shall ye know them." Alas! my lords, what are the fruits of the individual form of government? are they not most deplorable? As a necessary result, the rise of one man constitutes the downfall of another; and the sufferings of their fellow creatures have been represented to a parliament that is ignorant of the power it possesses to relieve them.

I have the honour to be,

My Lords,

Your Lordships' most obedient,

Humble Servant,

PHILANTHROPOS.

London, 19th June, 1832.

[Letter VI. in our next.]

MANIFEST OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE WORKING MEN OF NEW YORK.

(Continued.)

When the Working Men say they want men who will honestly support their principles, it becomes necessary distinctly to state what their principles are.

They hold that the only legitimate objects of legislation are the defence of the lives, liberties, and equal individual rights of the governed; and that all legislation beyond this is mischievous; therefore,—

They disapprove all monopolies. They conceive them to be a benefit only to the few, an injury to the many. They seek their total abolition, not violently or suddenly, but constitutionally and quietly. They are opposed to bank chartering, as a monopoly; to privileged corporations, as monopolies; in a word, to each and every law and regulation, by which wealth is favoured at expense of poverty, and intriguing speculators at expense of the people.

They disapprove a system of civil law, according to which the rich or the influential only stand a fair chance of obtaining legal redress. Such they consider the present clumsy, complicated, perplexing, tedious, and partial system of law to be. They especially disapprove our present laws for the collection of debts, as without force for the rogue, and often equally injurious to the honest creditor and debtor. They consider that so long as justice is sold as at present, it will be purchased by the rich, and withheld from him who cannot pay for it. They protest against the present system of law, therefore, as virtually and unjustly depriving a citizen of his inalienable rights, if he have not a heavy purse to purchase and secure them.

* Novum Organum, Aph. 73.

They are opposed to a strong government, and to sumptuary laws. They think that the United States require neither: and they have observed, that such governments and laws rather lead to oppression in the few, than subordination in the many. They especially object to the paying of debts being secured at the expense of the liberty of the citizen, and to any crime being punished with death.

They are opposed to all ecclesiastical interference in secular affairs, and to all legislation on religion. They consider religion a private, not a public concern; and they believe that those who desire to amalgamate political and religious questions are actuated by ambition, not by piety. They consider the attempt to stop the mails on Sunday an ecclesiastical encroachment, dangerous and unconstitutional.

They are opposed to every law that savors of a standing army in time of peace; and to our present compulsory militia system, as productive of no one good effect, while it encourages intemperance and vanity, and oppresses the poor, by requiring of him a vexatious, useless service, to the injury of his business.

They view the present district system of elections as injurious—they desire to see it changed, so that there shall be as many districts as representatives; because thus only, they believe, can the political machinery of the present ruling faction be broken up, and its ill-gotten and abused influence destroyed.

But there is one measure which still remains to be spoken of, and which they consider of more importance than all the rest, inasmuch as it secures and perpetuates every political right they possess, or may hereafter obtain. It is a system of PUBLIC EDUCATION, such as shall place within the reach of all, equal facilities for the intellectual cultivation and rational training of their offspring; a system which "shall unite under the same roof the son of the rich and of the poor, the widow's charge and the orphan;" and which shall combine a knowledge of the practical arts with that of the useful sciences. To this great measure—their thoughts and feelings tend, as to that which will break down, and can safely break down, the great wall of partition which has hitherto separated theory and practice—knowledge and industry—science and labor. Thus, do they hope to see all men and women cultivated and all useful. They hope to see the same class producers and consumers. Instead of the mind being exclusively cultivated at the expense of the body, or the body slavishly over-wrought to the injury of the mind, they hope to see a nation of equal fellow-citizens, all trained to produce and all permitted to enjoy. By equal, intellectual cultivation only, are equal rights secured; and without knowledge to employ them, all rights are comparatively useless.

Unless this safeguard to liberty is secured, and by the enlightening of the mass the axe of knowledge be laid at the root of aristocracy, there is effected, as it were, nothing. The best labors are lost, and the success of the present is ever hazarded in the future. As the first and chief of their objects, therefore, the Mechanics and Working Men put forward a system of Equal, Republican, Scientific, Practical Education.

These are the principles the Mechanics and Working Men of this city advocate. They will support for office those men, and those men only, whom they believe sincerely to hold such principles as these, and whom they see able and ready to advocate the same in the councils of the nation. Should they, in their first choice be deceived, they will change their public servants again and again, until they find those who will legislate honestly for the true interests of the people.

In conclusion, they request to be judged by their own words and actions. And, therefore, they earnestly desire that this Manifest of their true sentiments be circulated as extensively as possible, especially in the country, where the principles that guide the working men in this city are imperfectly known. —New York Sentinel.

PUBLIC LECTURES

ON THE
NEW SYSTEM OF SOCIETY,
ON SUNDAY NEXT (Tomorrow).

MORNING.

At the INSTITUTION, Gray's Inn Road, at Eleven o'clock, on the "FICKLENESS OF POPULAR OPINION."

BY THE REV. THOMAS MACCONNELL.

At the WESTMINSTER THEATRE, Broad-Way, Westminster, at Eleven, a Lecture on the New System, by ROBERT OWEN.

AFTERNOON.

At the SANS SOUCI THEATRE, Leicester-Place, Leicester Square, at Three o'clock, a Lecture will be delivered.

EVENING.

At the INSTITUTION, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross, at Seven, on "The CLERICAL PROFESSION." By MR. ROBERT DALE OWEN.

Who has just arrived from America.

At the WESTMINSTER THEATRE, Broad Way, Westminster, at Seven o'clock, "On the DOCTRINE OF CIRCUMSTANCES," as connected with the New System of Society; by

The Rev. THOMAS MACCONNELL.

The Theatre at Westminster will be regularly lectured in every Sunday morning and evening.

Just Published, price 1s. 6d.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS OF DELEGATES from the Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, held at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road, London, on the 23rd of April, and Six following Days. Reported and Edited by order of the Congress.

By WILLIAM CARPENTER.

Published by William Strange, 21, Paternoster Row; sold at the Co-operative Stores, 19, Greville Street, Hatton Garden; 37, Marsham Street, Westminster; 59, Poland Street; 23, Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and at the Institution Gray's Inn Road.

FIFTH

SOCIAL FESTIVAL.

Institution for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, Gray's Inn Road, near King's Cross.

ROBT. OWEN, Governor.

A GRAND CONCERT OF VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC, in aid of the Funds of the Association of the Industrious Classes, will take place in the Assembly Room of the above Institution, on MONDAY, Evening, July 2, 1832. To Commence at Half-past Eight o'clock precisely; full particulars of which will be duly announced.

Tickets of Admission, Visitors 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner to Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 37, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; Gothic Hall, New-road; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bernonsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 39, Burton-street; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street; 79, Regent-street.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

In order to render these Concerts effective, new arrangements have been made, and several Eminent Professors engaged.

The Sixth Social Festival will be held on Monday, August 6.

Printed for, and published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by Strange, Paternoster-Row; Berger, Holywell Street; and Purkiss, Wardour Street; and may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 15.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

THEOPHILUS AND AMIDA,

RELATIVE TO CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITIES, AND
A NEW STATE OF HUMAN SOCIETY.

T. At the termination of our last conversation you promised to give me some general explanation of what you mean by communities.

A. I did. With pleasure I will now perform my promise. You may perhaps recollect, I said, that they were new machines for performing all the business of life in the best manner.

T. I do well remember, and continue much interested to know how a community can be a machine.

A. You will, however, as we proceed in this investigation, discover that it may truly be called a machine, and one too which contains the most new and extraordinary powers, ever yet combined in any machine of human invention—it will re-create man.

T. You do not mean to say that this is a machine for regenerating mankind, or by which, in the language of scripture, man shall be born again?

A. Yes—all that has been predicated by the wisest men of former times, relative to the improvement of man and his condition, will be fulfilled under the change which this new machine may be made to accomplish.

T. I know machinery has lately been made to perform most extraordinary physical results, but I never expected to hear it could be applied to make so great an improvement as you promise, in the character and condition of man—pray explain.

A. You know that man is a compound being, formed in part of his original and peculiar constitution or organization at birth, and in part by the influence of external circumstances acting upon this organization from birth; or, in other words, that each individual is simply an effect produced by these two general causes, and that sometimes one part of the compound, and sometimes the other predominates in forming the character; and which part may prevail, will depend upon the comparative strength or weakness of the original constitution, and of the external circumstances in which it is placed.

T. And it is on this foundation, I suppose, that you have so often told me that man is essentially the creature of the circumstances in which he is placed.

A. Yes, and it may be truly said, that man is entirely the creature of the above two kinds of circumstances; when men shall be trained to think and act rationally, they will seek to gain such useful practical knowledge as will enable them to improve in the shortest time, these two classes of circumstances, both for the present and future generations.

T. I can imagine that great improvements may be devised in favour of the next and future gene-

rations, but how can any material advancement be made in the circumstances and condition of the present prejudiced population of this and other countries?

A. Even this difficulty may be overcome by the introduction of arrangements to form a new character for the human race, by surrounding all with permanently prosperous circumstances, and, by rendering private wealth useless, and therefore no longer desired.

T. Do you not speak now wildly, as a visionary, or, as some would say, as a madman, to talk of doing away with the desire for private property, when you know that, at this moment, all evidently seek to obtain it?

A. Yes, I know all this, and much more, relative to the early prepossessions of mankind in favour of established institutions, and more especially of private property. Who ever proposed to introduce any great and decided improvement for the human race, that was not designated, by the inexperienced and unthinking, a visionary and a madman? I well know the present generation have been formed in like manner with all former generations; and to be changed in character, they must be acted upon in accordance with their nature, and by so doing, any beneficial change, however extensive, may be effected. Private property is at present the most generally sought after by all individuals: the time is however, not far distant, when no single individual will desire to possess any, except that which will be requisite under a system of general public property, or of united production and expenditure.

T. You may be assured this statement will appear most strange and impracticable to the public.

A. No one can be more convinced of the truth of your present observation than I am, and yet I know measures are this moment in active progress that will compel all men to receive new impressions and convictions, respecting these, and all other matters, connected with the forming and governing of society.

T. To what measures do you refer?

A. To those which are now in full activity to induce the public to exert itself to discover the causes of ignorance and poverty, and to apply a power sufficient to remove them.

T. What is the cause of ignorance and poverty?

A. The want of effective arrangements to give real knowledge to all of the human race, and to train and place all to produce, with the greatest delight, more wealth than all, freely using, will desire to consume.

T. Your remedy?

A. To create superior arrangements, to give knowledge and wealth to all.

T. How?

A. By superseding the present arrangement of cities, towns, villages, and single dwellings, by another arrangement, which will insure the advantages of all these, and many more superadded, and shall

yet be free from all the disadvantages of the existing cities, towns, villages, and single dwellings.

T. What do you call this new arrangement of society?

A. The name is not very essential—but, as it will be a total change from the present irrational condition of man, it might with propriety, in opposition to it, be called the "Rational System of Society."

T. The world will probably give it the name it shall deserve when it shall be generally known—but what are these arrangements which you call rational?

A. Mankind are children of one family, having a unity of interests and their immediate and remote objects, the permanent well-doing, well-being, and happiness of each member of the family from birth to death.

T. Will you explain what the communities are, such as you intend them to be?

A. They are new scientific machines of singular and extraordinary powers for producing the greatest amount of health and happiness to every member of the community.

T. Indeed! By what means are they to effect so great a good to mankind?

A. By enabling them to produce in a superior manner, at all times, a surplus of agricultural productions, of manufactured articles, and every other species of wealth desired by rational beings—to distribute this wealth equitably and beneficially among all the members of the community—to make these and other arrangements in such order as will enable the present generation to reform and improve their characters and conduct to a great extent, and new form the character of their children according to an archetype, far surpassing in wisdom and beauty, all that has yet been achieved among the human race; and to govern this new order of intelligent beings harmoniously and advantageously with reason and affection, instead of force and fraud.

T. You surprise me beyond expression! To talk thus coolly and calmly of a race of men now so ignorant, brutal, and impoverished; so full of the most vile and degrading passions, so disunited and difficult to be governed, even by the fear of imprisonment and death in this world, and of everlasting punishment in hell fire in the next! You surely cannot be serious?

A. I am not only serious, but in my sober senses; all which I have stated will be easily attained and secured permanently for the human race, when governments shall be taught to understand the art of governing with wisdom.

T. But are not the governments of this country and of the United States, full of practical wisdom relative to the best mode of governing their respective countries?

A. If the individuals composing these governments have any real knowledge of the principles

and practice of governing man as he ought to be governed, they have taken especial care that the world should not discover it. The governments of these two countries are at this moment worse conducted, with the means at the control of each, than any other country calling itself civilized. The governments are the sole cause of all the ignorance, poverty, crime, and misery now existing in both countries—and they ought to be made amenable for every instance of either of these to be found within the dominions of each. Within the extent of the territories of the British empire, or of the United States, the means abundantly abound, if wisely directed, to maintain in high enjoyment, the whole present population of the world, without crime and scarcely any human suffering. Great Britain has not more than one hundred millions, and the United States but thirteen millions, and yet the governments know not, or seem to know not, how to prevent a large portion of the population of both countries suffering all the misery of ignorance, and poverty, and crime, and wretchedness.

T. All this wants much explanation—for to me, what you have now said appears to be wild and visionary, the effects of an over heated imagination.

A. I am aware it must have this impression upon your mind, and upon the common mind of the world, for it is in a wretched state of presumptuous ignorance, which must be removed to prepare it to receive any real useful practical knowledge upon these subjects.

T. Sceptical as I am upon these matters, yet I am most desirous of acquiring a knowledge of any means that will enable me to assist others to overcome, even in part, the crime and misery with which our own country abounds. Pray make these subjects, if you can, plain to my comprehension.

A. Think of what I have stated, and in our next conversation, I will endeavour to enable you to understand that which has long been familiar to me.

ST. SIMONIANS.

We have just learnt, say a French paper of the 25th instant, that a Commissary of Police has been to the domicile of the St. Simonians, at Menilmontant, to put seals to the place where they hold their sittings, and prevent them from assembling.—*Morning Herald.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Robinson Crusoe," Jun., is very much obliged to "W. A. K." for pointing out the error into which he, Robinson, had fallen, in his communication of the week before last. Instead of *four* it should be *five*, and instead of *three* it should have been *four* children. There was nothing egotistic in our hermetic friend, Robinson, in this affair is very manifest.

We have received several communications, into the particulars of which our space will not allow us to enter this week.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 30.

ON A CHANGE OF SOCIETY.

In the United States of North America the people have had more, much more, than our Reform Bill for upwards of half a century. They have had a Republican Government and Republican Institutions, full and complete as any republic ever possessed; and what is the actual position of these people at this moment? They are dissatisfied with the effects produced by their institutions, and they have much cause for their dis-

contents, for in proportion to the means possessed by the United States, there is no civilized nation in which the individuals obtain so few advantages. We make this statement after maturely reflecting upon the present condition of the government and people of the United States. They possess a territory which contains a full supply of all the materials to enable them to produce without contest or competition, a condition of society, which might be termed a terrestrial paradise, with every comfort that could or would be desired by rational beings: and that too for a population greatly exceeding the present population of the world. They also have the most ample means requisite to form a character for every native-born American that would constitute a national character superior to any known to have existed at any former period, and yet with these means at their disposal, the population of the United States is ignorant of its power and true interests, mentally enslaved by the priesthood and lawyers, and many of them in consequence are compelled to exist in poverty and misery.

But why is it thus? because the old authorities of the world have deemed it for their interest that the populations under their influence should be kept in the grossest ignorance, as the only means they knew of keeping them in subjection. The church and state of all countries have heretofore formed a partnership in opposition to the rights, improvements and happiness of human nature, and the North Americans have no other knowledge than that which they have derived from this most polluted source; the government and people therefore are ignorant of the means by which to bring their extraordinary national resources into action, and thus do they live in a state of ignorance, of continual contention to obtain a useless surplus individual property, which, when it is procured by a few from the many, essentially injures both the few and the many. Let us not then suppose that the passing of the Reform Bill will effect the great change, which the present state of society requires, and which the oppression and suffering of the industrious classes render unavoidable. It has not made man a more rational creature in America, and can we reasonably expect it will produce more beneficial results here?

No; we must now be taught to investigate all institutions to their original principles, and to trace their influence in practice to their ultimate consequences. We must no longer be led astray by mere names, which have been hitherto applied most ingeniously to mislead the mass of the people in all countries, but we must boldly and fearlessly lay open all the errors of our ancestors, that we may clearly appreciate truths the most important for man to know.

Our ancestors we must suppose desired to form a superior character for the human race, and to ensure its prosperity; to effect these purposes they established innumerable institutions founded upon theology. After the experience of many thousand years, it is now discovered that institutions founded upon any of the theologies of the world, must, when successful, force man to become irrational. And it is now evident that the human

nace never can be permanently improved in its condition as long as any of these institutions shall be permitted to remain. Theology and insincerity must be conjoined, the first through unavoidable necessity, produces the last—and as long as the construction of society shall render deception and insincerity necessary, it will be vain to expect either virtue, intelligence or happiness.

It is now the real interest of every member of society, that this low and wretched condition of man should be brought to a termination in the shortest possible time. Experience proves that society as it now exists, does not provide the mass of the people with a sufficiency of food, dwelling, clothes, education, or healthy and useful occupations—nor can it. We therefore deem it our highest and first duty to institute measures to render it imperative on all governments now to change their principles and mode of governing.

With this view, in our present numbers, we develop a new system for the exchange of human productions and services, founded on the only principle of equity by which exchanges of equal values can be effected. We refer to the article in this and the supplementary number, under the title of Equitable Banks of Exchange.

Upon examining the monetary system of society we find it has become a cunningly devised arrangement to deprive the actual producers of wealth out of the rightful fruits of their industry, and to make the working classes the slaves of the useless and non-producing.

By this systematic deception upon a large scale, ignorance and poverty, the fear of poverty, and all manner of vice, crime and wretchedness are perpetuated, and as long as this injustice to the producers of wealth shall be permitted, the useless members of society will superabound in riches, while the useful will be reduced to starvation.

This injustice to all, for all suffer by it, must no longer be permitted, the darkness of the old world is dispersing, light is come among us, and we can now say to evil, thus far shalt thou come and no further. Henceforth knowledge and power and riches shall spread over the earth, until the most distant parts shall experience the benefit of this great change, which is now about to commence in the British Metropolis. READERS, ponder well upon the contents of these two numbers of THE CRISIS—and in those which will succeed, expect the elucidation of that perfect system for practice, which no power can now prevent the world from receiving with joy and gladness.

The old world is a cheat from one end to the other, and through every part of its ramifications; it has lived as long upon its own corruptions as they could sustain it, and now it must fall by its own weight. It has been said, that this change shall come upon the world like a thief in the night, and so it will now come to pass. The Equitable Banks of Exchange now proposed, and preparing for universal adoption, will create an immediate necessity and demand for the introduction of the new system, in the full extent of its magnificence and power.

NEW SYSTEM OF SOCIETY AT WESTMINSTER.

On Sunday last, the Theatre, Broadway, Westminster, was opened by Mr. Owen and Mr. Macconnell, for the purpose of propagating in the city of Westminster, the principles upon which an entire New System of Society must be formed. The place which will hold eight or nine hundred persons, was filled in the morning, and crowded in the evening; notice was given that there would be regular Lectures there every Sunday morning at eleven, and evening at seven o'clock.

EQUITABLE BANKS OF EXCHANGE.

ASSOCIATION

FOR

REMOVING IGNORANCE AND POVERTY

BY

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT.

At the first public meeting held for the purpose of forming this Association, it was resolved, "That it should be formed of the intelligent and well disposed of the industrious classes, and of the enlightened and benevolent of all ranks, sects, and parties, to carry into immediate execution decisive measures, to employ beneficially, and educate usefully, all who are unemployed and uneducated in the British empire."

It was stated, that the *Sixth Practical measure* should be, "to receive provisions, clothing, and other property, and services of every description, to be exchanged on the equitable principle of labour, for equal value of labour, through the medium of Labour Notes."

That the *Seventh measure* should be to establish a Bank, in which to exchange the Labour Notes for the currency of the country."

It is scarcely necessary to enter upon reasons for the foregoing resolutions, for to all practical persons, and those who are not wilfully blind to the great extent of misery and wretchedness that now exists among the Industrious Classes of the United Kingdom, the reasons are self-apparent—yet there may be some persons, who, not being within the range of these evils, have not had the means of judging of their extent, but derive their information from the interested reports of others—to such persons, possibly, it may be necessary to address a few words. They may enquire what has induced the establishment of this Institution? we reply, *universal distress, occasioned by ruinous competition and over-production.*

When man had to compete with man only, each succeeded according to the amount of his knowledge and physical powers; and an industrious family could furnish itself with all the necessaries, and many of the comforts of life.

But when machines were introduced to supersede human labour, however simple they might have been, the possessors of them could furnish more produce than those who were without such assistance, and could thereby obtain a greater proportion of the necessaries of life, with less toil and anxiety. As these machines were improved, or increased in number and in productive powers, a corresponding ratio of human labour was required to compete with them—and less of the necessaries of life were obtained by their exertions: they have now increased to so great an extent, that not only the physical power of males, but those of females and children united to them, have been brought into action and exhausted; leaving the human competitors in the lowest depths of wretchedness, surrounded by poverty and misery.

The enormous productive powers of the machinery of this country ought, and would be, under proper guidance, one of the greatest blessings, in lieu of a curse to mankind. And we trust that the baneful effects of this competition, are now sufficiently evident, to every one in possession of the kindly feelings of humanity, to create a desire that this dreadful state of society should terminate.

But this can only be brought about by the contrary principle, a union of interests—or, when machinery shall be made to work *for*, and not *against* man.

The way to obviate this distress is very simple, and at the same time effective. The articles that are most desired, or are most indispensable among all classes are—food, clothing, tools, &c.; next to them are domestic utensils, furniture, &c.—and, in the third place, those articles that are not absolutely necessary to the existence and comfort of individuals, such as ornamental furniture, clocks, watches, &c.

Now hundreds of thousands of persons of *all* the various trades in existence, rise every morning without knowing how or where to procure employment. *They can each produce more than they have occasion for themselves, and they are each in want of each others surplus produce.*

The agriculturalist can produce more wheat, oats, potatoes, bacon, cheese, &c., than he can consume, and he requires, and is daily consuming—clothing, implements of husbandry, furniture, &c. The producers of these various articles are in want of his surplus produce, and of the surplus produce of each other; the tailor being in want of shoes, the tinman in need of clothes, &c. &c.

The usual course pursued by these different persons, to obtain the produce of each other has been, to convert their stock into money, by disposing of it to a money-holder, or middle-man, and then exchanging this money for the articles they may require, either with the producer, or most generally to another middle-man; but should there be a scarcity of money, or the middle-man not feel inclined to take the produce offered, the producer must make a considerable sacrifice to obtain it, by giving a greater portion of his produce before he can get possession of the articles he requires; thus being entirely dependent upon the middle-man—who always obtains a profit by retaining a part of the produce for himself, on every article that passes through his hands, to the manifest injury of the producer, who parts with his own produce at a disadvantage, and obtains that of another at an advanced price.

Now there is no necessity for this middle-man, producers can do without him—they merely want to come in contact with each other, and they can exchange their respective produce to their mutual advantage, and to the advantage of the general consumer, who may not be a producer, but has to exchange his money for their produce.

Thus, they will be able to obtain all the necessities of life, and money also, when it may be needful.

They have only to fix upon a place where all their surplus produce can be deposited, to be exchanged for produce of similar value, and immediately the wants of the different parties can be supplied—and this too, on the equitable principle of *labour for equal value of labour.* In lieu of a person, as is now the case, waiting until he is able to obtain employment, in order that he may procure any article he stands in need of, he will only have to work, deposit his labours, and he can instantly obtain it. Thus it will be seen, that another market to a great extent will be opened, to furnish employment to the unemployed, by making those millions consumers who were scarcely more than producers before. For the anomaly now exists—of the producer creating an over abundance, being in the midst of plenty, and at the same time being unable to assist himself.

The place thus selected should be called an *EQUITABLE BANK OF EXCHANGE.* An establishment of this nature cannot flourish merely by the combination of a few trades; to be carried on in perfection, it should present as great a variety as is to be found in the outward market, and when it shall do so, the contributors may bid adieu to poverty and misery.

This system is not only applicable to individuals but to Societies. There are at present between four and five hundred Co-operative Societies established, and these are spread over the United Kingdom. Many of these Societies have a superabundance of some particular stock, according to the district in which they are established, either agricultural or manufactured, and would be most willing to exchange that produce with other Societies who may be similarly circumstanced; but they are situated as individuals are—they do not come in contact with each other, and consequently are not acquainted with the necessities of each other, or, are uninformed as to their surplus stores.

To overcome these inconveniences, the United Kingdom may be divided into district stations, each of which should have its separate committee of management, should be in communication with all the Societies situated in their respective districts, who may be willing to join the general union; and should be required either monthly, or at any other regular period, as may seem requisite, to transmit an account of what surplus stock they may have in store, and of what particular articles they stand in need of; this information being received at the chief station of each district the information can either be conveyed to London, as the head quarters, and from thence circulated in a cheap form to all the various Societies; referring those who may be in want of each other's surplus, to the nearest source for obtaining them; or, the different chief stations, after having received the reports from each other, can disseminate the information they have received among the Societies in their respective districts. But as simplicity and unity of arrangement is highly necessary in all extensive operations, the former plan is recommended.

Thus, in lieu of acting upon the isolated principle of fifties or hundreds, *millions of individuals*

can be brought to know each other's wants, and direct their attentions to supplying them.

But the basis of a great National Establishment of this nature, must be upon the most pure integrity and honour, for without them confidence can never become permanent. It is impossible for this principle to be too strongly impressed upon the minds of the members of the different Societies, by those who may be chosen to have the conduct of them; let them constantly remember the vast importance of the cause in which they are about being engaged—a deliverance from poverty and misery, to independence and happiness.

The power is within themselves—they have only to will it and it is done. It is said knowledge is power, and it requires but little skill to prove that it is so, as applied to the subject before us.

A knowledge of the evils of competition produces union, or co-operation.

Union of labour, with this knowledge, produces wealth.

Wealth, union, and knowledge, produce strength; strength, wealth, union, and knowledge, produce power.

All these have truth or integrity for their basis—they are dependent upon, they cannot exist without them; immediately deception is practised, distrust commences—the union is dissolved—individuality re-generates—and power ceases.

Here then, are two roads by which they can travel—the one leading to competency and happiness—the other to poverty and misery; follow the first, and they may bid an eternal farewell to woe and want.

All wealth proceeds from labour and knowledge.

And labour and knowledge are generally remunerated according to the time employed.

Hence it is proposed, to make time the standard, or measure of wealth.

It would be highly desirable, could it be accomplished, to make this standard of value the same over all the United Kingdom, and it may eventually be done; but at present, from existing arrangements in the manufacturing world it cannot, nor would it be equitable that it should be so, until the consent of all parties engaged in the co-operative union could be obtained.

To make this union as complete as possible, it should embrace all the various species of manufacture, which variety ought to be found in the store of every society connected with it; so that there should be no necessity to have recourse to any but their own market for any thing they may require; and this can readily be done by means of the monthly returns before described—for, wherever a deficiency of any particular article or articles may appear, it will only be necessary to address the producers of the articles, showing them the advantages of the union, inviting them to join, and the deficiency will be immediately supplied.

To return to the standard of value: it is known that the wages of the various trade differ from ten

shillings, to one shilling per day. The average of these may be called five shillings per day—the great majority of all the most useful trades in the metropolis will be found only a trifle more or less than this average.

The time employed by the different trades, and called a day, is also various; it is desirable to reduce these varieties to one standard—and for this purpose it is proposed, that ten hours shall constitute a day's labour, and each day be valued at five shillings, making the standard of labour, sixpence per hour.

Now we know that all vocations which receive at the present time less wages than this standard, will most readily accede to the principle, but the difficulty is, whether those who are now receiving wages at, or more than this standard, will work on equal terms for those who do not receive this amount. But, if they consider that no union of trades can be complete without an entire circle of them can be formed, and in that case, the services of those who do not receive this amount, will be as necessary to that end as their own, it will be to their interest to consent to the measure.

Of course the above remark only applies to the labour of men, and not to that of females and children, whose labours must be remunerated according to their utility.

When this shall be accomplished, we shall have as definite a standard for wealth as there is for distance, weight, or measure; we have, when we speak of a mile, a pound, or a gallon, a defined idea of an unvarying standard, but, when we speak of a sovereign, or a bank note, we are perplexed by their fluctuations; but an hour's labour will supply this defect, and form an undeviating standard for all kinds of wealth.

Should this be objected to on the principle that too much will be left to the honour of the workmen, in rendering a proper quantity of labour for the equivalent, the same remark may be applied with equal justice to short weight and measure, when persons are desirous of committing a fraud.

Until an arrangement can be formed among all trades that they will give labour for equal time of labour, the following table will assist to convert the different rates of wages now paid to the standard proposed, of five shillings per day, of ten hours each.

Wages per day.	hours.	Wages per day.	hours.
10s.	is equal to 20	5s.	is equal to 10
9s. 9d.	19½	4s. 9d.	9½
9s. 6d.	19	4s. 6d.	9
8s. 3d.	18½	4s. 3d.	8½
9s.	18	4s.	8
8s. 9d.	17½	3s. 9d.	7½
8s. 6d.	17	3s. 6d.	7
8s. 3d.	16½	3s. 3d.	6½
8s.	16	3s.	6
7s. 9d.	15½	2s. 9d.	5½
7s. 6d.	15	2s. 6d.	5
7s. 3d.	14½	2s. 3d.	4½
7s.	14	2s.	4
6s. 9d.	13½	1s. 9d.	3½
6s. 6d.	13	1s. 6d.	3
6s. 3d.	12½	1s. 3d.	2½
6s.	12	1s.	2
5s. 9d.	11½	9d.	1½
5s. 6d.	11	6d.	1
5s. 3d.	10½		

Examples.—The value of a person's labour who receives 2s. 6d. per day, of ten hours each, is equal to five hours of him who receives 5s. per day.

Wages of 7s. 6d. per day, of ten hours each, are equal to fifteen hours, at 5s. per day.

The higher part of the scale refers principally to artisans in those businesses that are not in general demand; the lower to the labour of females and children.

The producers of articles in daily consumption, form the middle rates of wages; with a little consideration on their parts of the advantages to be derived from giving labour for equal labour, there can be little doubt upon their entering into the compact immediately.

Labour, or time, added to the cost of materials, constitutes the commercial value of an article when completed for sale.

As it is not easy in practice to ascertain immediately the cost-price of raw materials in hours, or the time and labour that it is has taken in passing through the various processes of growth and manufacture, the market price will for the present be the best by which to regulate its value.

It is proposed that Notes representing the Time or value of labour in the various articles to be exchanged, shall be the circulating medium to represent the amount of wealth deposited in the new Banks of Exchange.

"This medium will have three properties united, without which it cannot be just or beneficial, or fit for the purpose."

These properties are—

"1st. The power of being increased precisely as real wealth is increased.

"2ndly. The power of being diminished exactly as real wealth is diminished.

"3dly. Of being unchangeable in its value.

"Labour or Time being the only true standard of value, these notes alone can possess the above three properties.

"The intrinsic value of an article is the labour or time necessary to produce or obtain it—and, in order to have that value correctly represented, a circulating medium ought to be employed for the exchange of these productions; which will represent accurately the labour or time required to produce them. And such will be the properties of the New Note."

Having thus shown one of the chief causes of poverty among the industrious classes, and the most advantageous manner of relieving themselves from it, both individually and collectively, we will in a brief manner point out the necessary measures to be observed in forming a Society by which the benefits described may be enjoyed.

Let an address be prepared to the industrious classes of any district, showing the nature of an institution of this kind, and collect the names of all such persons who may be willing to join it on the principle of giving labour for equal value of labour, the greater the number and variety of trades the better. When sufficient names may have been

collected, a Committee of management should be formed from amongst the members, who ought to appoint the officers for the establishment, consisting of a Secretary to conduct the correspondence; to keep the cash accounts, as likewise minutes of the transactions of the Society at their various meetings.

An Exchange or Storekeeper, with assistants, should they be required, to regulate the reception and delivery of the goods deposited.

Trustees should also be appointed to superintend the proceedings of the whole society, and to be empowered to sign the notes for issue as they may be required. Securities should be obtained from all these parties.

General meetings should be held periodically to receive reports of the progress of the society, to make and amend laws and regulations, and to receive an account of the funds and exchange operations.

When there are several members of one trade, it will always be desirable that a sub-committee should be chosen by themselves from among them, by ballot, in order that persons in whose integrity and skill the depositors may have confidence, may be appointed to value the articles sent in for exchange.

All articles when practicable, should have the maker's name legibly stamped upon them.

As it will be necessary to raise a fund to form the establishment from among those who receive the benefit of it, the members should subscribe a monthly, quarterly, or annual sum sufficient for that purpose.

To cover the current expenses of the establishment, a per centage of one halfpenny in the shilling should be required upon all goods left for exchange by members of the society.

Those persons who deposit goods and are not members, should be required to pay a per centage of one penny in the shilling.

Proper books should be prepared for the accounts, and all the transactions of the society, specimens of which are given in the next page.

Regular officers having been appointed, premises properly fitted up, and rules for the guidance of the society being arranged, operations may be commenced by the reception of goods.

When goods are brought in for valuation, the ~~est~~ price of the materials, and the value of the time occupied in their manufacture, ought to be delivered with them.

The storekeeper must give an acknowledgment or receipt for the goods.

When the articles are valued, Time notes to the amount of the goods must be delivered to the depositor, at the rate of *one hour for sixpence*; for example, the goods brought in are valued at 9s. 6d., Time notes for 19 hours must be issued.

In order to simplify the accounts of the different exchanges, no smaller fraction of time than *one hour*, should be circulated, and all fractional parts of an hour, of half, or three pence, or above that amount, should be charged at the hour immediately above it

in value—and all fractions below half, or three pence, should be charged at the hour immediately below it; thus 2s. 3d. 2s. 4d. 2s. 5d. 2s. 6d. 2s. 7d. and 2s. 8d., should be charged as *five hours*, and 2s. 9d., 2s. 10d., 2s. 11d., 3s., 3s. 1d., and 3s. 2d., should be charged as *six hours*.

The labour note should bear the following form:

_____ Equitable Bank of Exchange.
The Price of Labour is Sixpence per Hour.
No. of the Note issued. _____ Date. _____
Deliver to the Bearer on demand, Exchange
Stores of the value of _____ hours.
By Order of the Trustees.
Hours. _____
Two Signatures { _____

This note should be formed of the toughest paper that can be made, in order that it may last for a long period in circulation.

The accounts of the establishment should be balanced every evening. All notes taken in the course of the day for stores, should be paid into the bank the same evening, in order that they may be re-issued for fresh stores on the following morning. The amount of notes in circulation should always represent the amount of stock in the exchange.

Time notes for 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 hours should form the circulating medium.

No cash should be received for stores of any kind; if persons who are not producers wish to obtain goods from the stores, it will be necessary first to exchange their cash for notes, and with the notes obtain the articles required.

Cash will be received in exchange, merely as an article of commerce; persons depositing cash will receive Time notes for it on the same principle as any other produce, at the rate of *one hour for sixpence*. But it is proposed that no commission shall be charged for exchanges of cash, in order that the non-producing public may become acquainted with principles and advantages of this method of exchange.

List of different Trades whose Products might be advantageously received into the Equitable Bank of Exchange, divided into three Classes according to their respective utility for this purpose.

CLASS I.

Agriculturalists	Haberdashery
Baker	Hatmaker
Boot and Shoemaker	Hosiery
Butcher	Milk-seller
Capmaker	Oilman & Colourman
Cheesemonger	Potatoe Salesman
Carrier & Leather seller	Soap manufacturer
Earthenware	Straw Hat & Bonnet
Flannel manufacturer	Tailors
Green-grocer	Tallow Chandler
Grindery	Tinman

CLASS II.

Basket-maker	Carpenter
Bell-hanger	Comb maker
Birch broom maker	Cooper
Blacking maker	Cutler (working)
Brace maker	Glover
Brazier	Glue maker
Brush maker	Hardwareman
Button & Trimming maker	Harness maker

CLASS II.—continued.

Ironmonger	Printers, Lithographic
Japanner	Sack and Bag maker
Last & Boot-tree maker	Soale maker
Mat maker	Smith, Black
Painting-brush maker	— White
Paper maker	Stationer
Patten and Clog maker	Tool maker
Printers, Letter-press	Turnery
Copperplate	Umbrella maker

CLASS III.

Bed and Mattress maker	Glass Lamp
Bedstead maker	Lamp maker
Bellows maker	Linen Draper
Blind maker, Window	Mangle maker
Cabinet maker	Measure maker
Carpet & Rug maker	Melting pot manufacturer
Carver and Gilder	Milliner
Chairmaker	Rule maker
Engraver	Silk weaver
Fender and Fire Iron maker	Stove Grate maker
Floor Cloth manufacturer	Toy maker
Glass (window)	Trunk maker
— Cutter	Upholsterer
	Watch and Clock maker

In addition to the foregoing employments among the manufacturing classes, the services of bricklayers, painters, plumbers, carpenters, masons, &c. &c., (or of those persons who cannot bring articles of manufacture for exchange) can be exchanged with those who have deposited produce in the stores. Their names can be given to persons who may apply for assistance, but the society ought not to run any risk in guaranteeing payment for any labour that may be performed; the parties can be referred to each other, and then act as their judgment shall dictate—the society can only keep accounts with those persons who have deposited produce with them.

Another important consideration is, that education may be paid for in Time notes; doctors, lawyers, and the different professions will have no objection to receive this kind of currency whenever they shall become acquainted with its value.

The foregoing are most of the principal points to be considered in forming these New Banks of Exchange, but others of course will arise under peculiar circumstances which have not been contemplated, and which can always be formed to meet the case when it occurs.

Before closing these observations, it may be useful again to direct attention to the absolute necessity of integrity in all these proceedings, the success of the undertaking depending entirely upon the most pure faith and honour—therefore, upon any attempt being made on the part of a depositor to deceive, in substituting an inferior, for a superior manufacture, or in any other manner, he should be made acquainted with the prejudicial effects of such conduct, not only to himself, but to thousands who may be receiving the benefits of the society; should he, after the evil consequences of such conduct has been pointed out to him, again endeavour to deceive, his name should be withdrawn from the society—for one bad member may be the means of bringing the whole establishment into discredit.

To insure permanent success, it is requisite that the utmost order and regularity should be established and maintained through the whole of these proceedings.

FORMS OF AN EQUITABLE BANK EXCHANGE BOOKS.

RECEIPT OF STORES AND VALUATION BOOK.

STOREKEEPER'S RECEIPT.

Date.	Name of Depositor.	Articles Deposited.	Cost of Materials.			Value of Labour.			Total.			Value in hrs.	Date.	Depositor.	Articles Deposited.
1832 May 14.	R. Thompson	1 Pr. Shoes 1 Pr. Boots 2 Pr. Slippers 6 Pr. Straps	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		1832. May 14.	R. Thompson,	1 Pr. Shoes 1 Pr. Boots 2 Pr. Slippers 6 Pr. Straps
				5	6		4	0		9	6	19			
				13	0		8	0	1	1	0	42			
				2	6		2	6		5	0	10			
				2	6		0	6		3	0	6			
				1	3	6		15	0	1	18	0	77		
		2 Pr. Half Boots.			0		9	0	1	1	0	42			
	R. THOMPSON. (Signed by the Depositor)														
														W. KEEP. (Signed by Storekeeper, and given to Depositor.)	

When Goods are left for valuation, the Storekeeper enters a description of them as above in his valuation Book, which is then signed by the Depositor, as an acknowledgement of its accuracy. These articles are examined by the Committee, and if approved, the Storekeeper is directed to issue a draft upon the Bank for their value. The Account is then entered in the Store Book.

When the Storekeeper delivers a Draft to the Depositor, the Storekeeper's receipt must be restored to him, which he destroys.

DR.

STORE BOOK No. 1.

CR.

Date.	Name of Depositor.	Articles Deposited.	Cost of Materials.			Value of Labour.			Cash Value of each article.			Time Value of each article.		No. of Dft. on Bank.	Amt. of Dft.	Date.	Articles exchanged.	Cash Value of each article.			Time Value of each article.		Cashier's Signature	Pd. into Bank Balance.	
1832. May 15.	R. Thompson.	1 Pr. Shoes . . 1 Pr. Boots . . 2 Pr. Slippers . 6 Pr. Straps . 2 Pr. Hf. Boots	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.					1832. May 15.	1 Pr. Slippers 1 Pr. Shoes . 2 Pr. Straps .	£	s.	d.					
				5	6		4	0		9	6	19								2		4			
				13	0		8	0	1	1	0	42								9	6	19			
				2	6		2	6		5	0	10								1	0	2			
				2	6			6		3	0	6													
	Do.			12	0		9	0	1	1	0	42		No. 1 2	77 42							25		J. Cashr.	25 94
				1	15	6	1	4	0	2	19	6	119		0	119		Nts. pd. into Bk. Bal. car. forwd.		12	6				
																				2	7	0			
May 16.	Balance brot. forward . . .		0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	0	94		0						2	19	6		Hours.	119

This Account is copied from the Valuation Book, and is balanced at the close of every day, which balance is to be brought forward as above.

All the receipts of the day are to be paid into the Bank in the evening. When the account is made up, the Storekeeper takes his Book and Notes to the Bank, which the Cashier acknowledges the receipt of by his Signature opposite the entry.

DR.

BANK STORES BOOK.—(The Stores of Exchange in Account with the Bank.)

CR.

Date.	No. of Store.	Name of Payer.	Notes of each class rec.								Amt hrs.	Casr Nte. Bk. fol.	Exd. by	Date.	No. of Draft.	Name of Drawer, & No of Store	Notes of each class pd.								Amt hrs.	Com- mission.	Cash Bk. fol.	Exd. by
			Hrs. 100	hs 50	hs 20	hs 10	hs 5	hs 2	hs 1	Hrs. 100							hs 50	hs 20	hs 10	hs 5	hs 2	hs 1						
1832. May 15	1	W. Keep. Balance Notes in Circulation.	—	—	—	1	2	2	1	25	1		1832. May 15.	1 2	W. Keep 1 —	—	—	2	2	2	3	1	77	£ s. d. — 1 7½				
			—	—	—	2	3	2	6	2	94					—	—	2	2	5	2	42	— 0 10½					
			—	—	—	2	4	4	8	3	119					—	—	2	4	4	8	3	119	— 2 5½				
													May 16.	—	Balance	—	—	2	3	2	6	2	94					

This Account will give the Number and amount of Notes removed from circulation, or that have been paid into the Bank daily by the different Stores.

This Account will show the Number and Amount of Notes that have been issued for circulation, and the Number of each denomination.

The Balance of the two accounts will show daily at one view what is the amount of Notes in circulation, and the quantity of each denomination. The person bringing the Drafts for Notes, must pay the Commission in Cash.

DR.

CASH BOOK.

CR.

Date.	Folio Stores Acct.	Amount of Commission.			Date.	Expenses of the Banking Department, &c.					
		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1832. May 15.	To Commission	1		5½	1832. May 23.	By Printing Notes					
						— Salaries					
						— Stationery					
						— Incidental					

In a Bank of Exchange the source of Income will be from Commissions paid by the Depositors, out of which must be paid all the various expenses of Rent, Salaries, printing Notes, &c.

DR.

CASHIER'S NOTE BOOK.

CR. ?

Date.	No. of Dft. on Treas.	Store Book Folio.	Notes received.							Total No. of Notes.	Total No. of Hours.	Date.	Store Book Folio.	Notes issued.							Total Number of Notes.	Total Number of Hours.
			hrs. 100	hrs. 50	hrs. 20	hrs. 10	hrs. 5	hrs. 2	hrs. 1					hrs. 100	hrs. 50	hrs. 20	hrs. 10	hrs. 5	hrs. 2	hrs. 1		
1832. May 14 15	1	— 1	50	70	200	300	500	1000	5000	7120	25000	1832. May 15	1	—	—	2	4	4	8	3	21	119

This Account consisting of the Total Receipts and Issues of the day, will show daily the Total Number and Amount of the Notes in circulation, as well as the Number and Amount of each denomination.—It will be posted from the Stores' Account.

DR.

CASH RECEIVED FOR NOTES.

CASH STORE BOOK.

CR.

DR.

NOTES RECEIVED FOR CASH.

CR.

Date.	Cash.		Notes.	Notes of each class issued.										Exd by	Bnk. Str. Bk. Fol	Date.	Notes.	Notes of each class received.										Cash.		Exd by	Bnk. Str. Bk. fol.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
				Hrs. 100	hs 50	hs 20	hs 10	hs 5	hs 2	hr 1	Tot. hrs.	Hrs. 100	hs 50					hs 20	hs 10	hs 5	hs 2	hr 1	Tot. hrs.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																									
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The total Amount of Notes received and issued in each day, must be entered in the Bank Stores Book.

PRINTER'S RECEIPT AND DELIVERY BOOK.

Date.	Treasurer's Receipt.	Number delivered	Date.	Printer's delivery.	Number delivered
1832. May 30.	Notes received. O. TREASURER.	20000	1832. May 30.	Notes delivered. J. PRINTER.	20000

The Treasurer should have an Account with the Printer as above.

To prevent forgery it will be absolutely necessary that none of the Blank printed Forms of the Time Notes should be suffered to remain in the hands of the Printer—a confidential Person should be present at printing, to receive all impressions that may be taken.

NOTES ISSUE AND CANCELMET BOOK.

No.	Date of Issue.	Date of Cancell.	No.	Date of Issue.	Date of Cancell.
1 2 to 99			100 1 &c. 99		

It will be highly desirable to have an Account of all Notes that may be issued, with their Date, Number, and when brought in for cancellation, in order to know what average time they last, what number & description are in existence, to prevent fraud, &c.

This Account may be kept with very little trouble, having 100 lines in each page; and each page divided into five parts, will render an Account of 500 Notes. When a Note is cancelled, a red ink line should be drawn through the Number and Date of issue, and an entry made of the Date of Cancellation.

DR.

TIME NOTE BOOK.—Treasurer, or Trustees, in Account with the Cashier.

CR.

Date.	Number and Description of Notes prepared.								Date.	Number and Description of Notes issued.									
	hrs. 100	hrs. 50	hrs. 20	hrs. 10	hrs. 5	hrs. 2	hrs. 1	Tot No Notes.		No. Dft.	hrs. 100	hrs. 50	hrs. 20	hrs. 10	hrs. 5	hrs. 2	hrs. 1	Tot. No. of Notes.	Tot. value of Hours.
1832. May	200	300	1000	1500	2000	5000	10000	20000	95000	1832. May	1	50	70	200	300	500	1000	5000	7120 25000

The Treasurer, or Trustees, having received the Notes, causes the Number, Date, and Value of each note to be inserted; after which, the Signature, or Signatures, are written, and the Notes are ready for circulation; he must then debit himself as above, with the Number thus completed, and Credit himself by the Number and Amount issued to the Cashier.

COMMISSION TABLE (for the use of the Cashier).

Amt. of Dft. Hrs.	Members 4½ per Ct.		Non-Members 8½ per Ct.		Amt. of Dft. Hrs.	Members 4½ per Ct.		Non-Members 8½ per Ct.		Amt. of Dft. Hrs.	Members 4½ per Ct.		Non-Members 8½ per Ct.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
1	—	—	—	—	50	1	0½	2	1	180	3	9	7	6
2	—	—	—	—	60	1	3	2	6	190	3	11½	7	11
3	—	—	—	—	70	1	5½	2	11	200	4	2	8	4
4	—	—	—	—	80	1	8	3	4	210	4	4½	8	9
5	—	—	—	—	90	1	10½	3	9	220	4	7	9	2
6	—	—	—	—	100	2	1	4	2	230	4	9½	9	7
7	—	—	—	—	110	2	3½	4	7	240	5	0	10	0
8	—	—	—	—	120	2	6	5	0	250	5	2½	10	5
9	—	—	—	—	130	2	8½	5	5	260	5	5	10	10
10	—	—	—	—	140	2	11	5	10	270	5	7½	11	3
20	—	—	—	—	150	3	1½	6	3	280	5	10	11	8
30	—	—	—	—	160	3	4	6	8	290	6	0½	12	1
40	—	—	—	—	170	3	6½	7	1	300	6	3	12	6

CHEQUE.

No. 1.

15th May, 1832.

R. THOMPSON.

Hrs 77.

W. K.

FORM OF DRAFT.

INSTITUTION

OF THE

INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

Equitable Bank of Exchange,
15th May, 1832.

No. 1.

DELIVER to R. Thompson, of
Bearer, TIME NOTES for Seventy Seven
Hours, for Goods deposited.

Hrs 77.

W. KEEP,
1st Store.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

Sir,—I take the liberty, as a female unknown to you, of submitting a few observations for your consideration, if you feel them worthy of your notice, to be inserted in the Crisis. I feel it a justice due to your work, and excellent system which you have so generously undertaken to develop, surrounded with so much opposition as such a system must expect to meet with, being so much opposed to the avarice and selfishness of the corruptible system which we now live under. I am a person who has been educated from my infancy in the Christian religion, and I have made religion the subject of my inquiry. Sometime ago, various doubts and difficulties suggested themselves to my mind respecting the religion in which I was baptized and educated, and having those doubts and difficulties occur to my mind continually, though not voluntarily, I applied for advice and assistance, upon those points, to the ministers of the church to which I belonged; I am sorry to be obliged to say that little satisfactory account could I get from them upon those points which distracted my mind: some dismissed my inquiry with great impatience, and others instructed their servants even to tell falsehoods, by saying they were not in the way, merely to get rid of my inquiry. I was then left in a most dejected and distracted state of mind, not knowing what religion to embrace for the best among the many different sectarians. I went in and out among them, in order to find out the best and safest religion, but among them I found the most strange and contradictory opinions, and the most irrational—but all of them bigots to the creeds and the tenets which they maintained—I therefore, after all my inquiries and researches, have been compelled to bow my understanding in the dust of humanity to that great Being who has drawn me into existence, and not hazard, or build my faith upon any man's creed or profession—still I do not attempt to undervalue Christianity nor the oracles of God's word wherein they are to be found, but the teachers of Christianity appear to me to have not yet found out the real meaning, or else there never could exist such a variety of inconsistent creeds and religious opinions; I said religious opinions, but I should rather have said religious opinions and dangerous doctrines, well calculated to produce a race of beings, such as we find them to be. I have been an inmate in the house of several sectarians, and have always found them to be the most illiberal, the most selfish, the most bigotted, and the most vindictive beings, far inferior to those who profess no religion at all; it is perfectly true, they talk much about God, and make long professions, but in reality, they possess their creeds and religions as persons possess a property or estate, without any inquiry into the realities of the religion which they profess, and if even they do any good, it is to those only who are, as they call it, of the household of faith with themselves. Sir, I hope you will pardon me for so long dwelling on this subject, it is some months ago since I first had the happiness to hear your lectures, the first of them which I heard conveyed to my mind more real instruction, and I may truly say, it appeared to me to inculcate the very essence of all the laws of God. I mention this circumstance to you, wishing it to be made known to the public, being aware that many well disposed persons are deterred from attending your lectures, as well as furthering your cause, from a mistaken notion they have respecting your principles—they suppose by that by entering into your system, they would be obliged to give up their religion, or be in danger of their religious opinions being contaminated; now I myself have endeavoured, by every means in my power, both by hearing and inquiry, to find out whether I could discover in your principles, or any disposition to deprive any person of their religious opinions, and as you do not make religion a condition, I certainly consider no person ought to object to further your just cause. The object I have in view in troubling you with this tedious outline, is the welfare of my fellow creatures; and as I daily converse with persons who are opposed to your system, when exacting from them the reason why they so oppose your

system, the answer I get is "because you are an infidel, and an unbeliever in Christianity." With respect to myself, I freely declare, after having attended your lectures for several months, that I am more a Christian altogether than before I heard you, that is to say, I have lost the superfluities and false notions of religion, and have embraced the substance instead of the shadow, and I would anxiously wish that both sexes would come as speedily as possible into your ark. I wish the public to understand that I have no interested motives in the above statement, as I have no relation whatever belonging to the Institution, but am an humble individual, entirely by myself, not even known at this moment while the pen is in my hand to the Editor himself. I have endeavoured to keep to the truth in all that I have stated, and I hope conscientiously done my duty in giving an opinion of this good cause, and I hope that it will be understood that I do not mean to undervalue Christianity nor the professors of it, but the wrong manner in which Christianity has been applied. I feel confident that if persons were to be well informed with the nature of your system, it would never meet with so much opposition, and I find that those who oppose it most are of the Sectarian party.

I am Sir, your obedient Servant,
S. W. B.

WEST INDIAN SLAVERY.

SAINTS and sinners in this country differ in their opinions, (which under the present system of society, are generally formed by their interests) relative to the abolition of colonial slavery. The saints are hot and impetuous, and want immediate abolition; while sinners say and swear that it must and can only be gradual, and that the slave proprietors must be compensated—wherever, however, and by whomsoever slavery is abolished. The saints talk just as though they had never drank any West India rum, or used any West India sugar in the whole course of their lives; and, if we might judge by their sourness on this subject, we should suppose that of late they had not used much sugar; but, from their heat and zeal we might be induced to think they had taken copious draughts of rum and water just before speaking on this matter. What can argue more conclusively on this point of their intemperate zeal than the idea of immediate abolition, both as it regards the slaves and their masters. Does any man that knows any thing of the mental character of the slaves, dream that they are ready for instant emancipation? What could they do? Starvation would be their lot, and ruin the fate of their owners. Let the parties who make long and copious speeches on the subject subscribe to compensate the planters, and put abolition in a gradual, easy, and amicable train. Slavery has been supported by the nation, in the purchase which the nation has made of the produce of slavery. If there had been no purchasers there could have been no sellers. Let the nation, if the nation wishes abolition, shew it is just and kind, by proposing to compensate slave owners; this would be doing as they would be done unto. But there are many Christian owners who would rather speak for an hour against slavery than give half-a-crown towards substantially doing it away. We yield to none in our abhorrence of slavery itself; but we feel for the slave owners, knowing that they are the creatures of circumstances, in this matter, as well as the slaves themselves.

SLAVERY

is a horrid bag of deformity, her strong hold is interest, her face is brass, her heart is stone—her hand is iron, with which she wrings from the constrained and unpaid labours of the poor blacks the wealth by which she is clothed in purple and fine linen and fareth sumptuously every day;

watching with unslumbering jealousy every ray that would enlighten the darkness of her kingdom, and frowning indignant on every finger that would disturb the stability of her throne. A. B. C.

Institution, Gray's Inn Road,
21 Jan., 1832.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

FIFTH

SOCIAL FESTIVAL.

Institution for Removing Ignorance and Poverty,
Gray's Inn Road, near King's Cross.

ROBT. OWEN, Governor.

A GRAND CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC, in aid of the Funds of the Association of the Industrious Classes, will take place in the Assembly Room of the above Institution, on MONDAY, Evening, July 2, 1832. To Commence at Half-past Eight o'clock precisely; full particulars of which will be duly announced.

Tickets of Admission, Visitors 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner to Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; Gothic Hall, New-road; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bernonsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's-inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 39, Burton-street; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street; 79, Regent-street.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

In order to render these Concerts effective, new arrangements have been made, and several Eminent Professors engaged.

The Sixth Social Festival will be held on Monday, August 6.

THE NEW PATENT BEAVER HATS.

THESE HATS, being manufactured of the most choice Materials are more durable, light, and lasting in their colour, than any hitherto invented; they are made water-proof, by a process of stiffening with elastic gums, before they are dyed, and will be found the most elegant Beaver Hats that have ever been offered to the Public. They are sanctioned by the King's Royal Letters Patent, granted to ROBERT FRANKS and Co., Manufacturers and Patentees, and Sold at 71s. and 74s., at 140, Regent-street, 62, Redcross-street, London; 6, St. Andrew-street, Edinburgh; and 97, Rue Richelieu, Paris.

MILLINERY, DRESSES, AND CORSETS.

LADIES, desiring Novelties in good taste, are invited to visit the Establishment, 280, Regent-street, where they will find every Article at a low price, and made of the best materials.

FRENCH and ENGLISH CORSETS, of UNRIVALLED excellence, at very low Prices.

Ladies who may address Mrs. ALLSOP, from the Country or the Colonies, may rely upon having full justice done to their Commissions.

To those Ladies who have not yet visited the Establishment it may not be unnecessary to state: that its reputation rests upon its character for good taste, very moderate charges, and the honourable and liberal spirit in which it is conducted.

No. 280, REGENT-STREET, Three Doors from Oxford-street.

Printed for, and published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's-Inn Road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by Strange, Paternoster-Row; Berger, Holywell Street; and Purkiss, Wardour Street; and may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's-Inn Road, King's Cross.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 17.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

DEPENDENCE AND INDEPENDENCE.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE LECTURE AT OUR INSTITUTION ON SUNDAY MORNING LAST.

THE subject upon which the Lecturer descanted was, without any common-place exaggeration, not only *one* of the most important, but the most important to which the attention of the productive classes could be called. The lecture developed a plan by which the industrious classes might easily, without any noise, strife, or injury to the unproductive classes, be successfully relieved from that *dependence* on those classes, which had hitherto been the bane of both. This artificial and abject dependence, he said, arose out of the artificial poverty of the productive classes, and the artificial wealth of the unproductive classes. Where, he asked, was there any poverty, but that which was wholly artificial? Nature, in fields, meadows, gardens, orchards, forests, quarries, mines, rivers, streams, hills, and vallies, teemed even under the present bad management, with the necessities, conveniences, and luxuries of life. Every wave of the sea broke big with abundance at the feet of man. There is no famine in nature, the unwasting fullness of whose unfailing resources is yet, after all, but very partially known. It was the want of *money* in one class of society, and the accidental possession of it in another, that superinduced and perpetuated this dependence, which caused—DRUDGERY, OBSEQUIOUSNESS, COWARDICE, INSINCERITY, DEGRADATION, and ANXIETY. Facts were here adduced in confirmation—it was a chain that must be broken. The productive classes may be in possession of right sentiments but *durst* they express them? They might be pointed to the right way, but *durst* they walk in it? They might have their rights political, and otherwise, restored, but *durst* they exercise them? Dependence, frightened them. From this they must be relieved before they can be really and permanently benefited. Equitable Exchange Banks were the effectual relief. These would infallibly secure to the productive classes, whose sterling worth was as yet very imperfectly appreciated, a GENERAL, HONORABLE, PEACEABLE, and PERMANENT independence, as long as there was no failure in their persons or in the resources of nature. And this independence would equally benefit the unproductive classes, by giving them new and correct ideas, creating fresh sympathies, and relieving them from poor's rates, alms-giving, and every terror arising out of increasing population, and diminished demand for labour, by the introduction of machinery. In conclusion, the lecturer asked what revolution could be compared with the revolution about to be introduced into society by

Equitable Exchange Banks? It would cast all former changes and revolutions into the shade. What could the Reform Bill do, compared with this simple, silent, equitable, honorable, and peaceful measure? It would touch a chord which would vibrate through society, and arouse philosophers, legislators, priests, peers, princes, ministers, and kings. It would make the productive classes feel their power, and the unproductive their weakness—it would put industry on the throne, and indolence in the pillory—wisdom in ecstasy, and folly in humiliation—community at an advance, and competition at a discount—it would be a great practical step towards the New System of Society, which has, in the opposition it now meets with, all the difficulties of a warfare in its progress, and which, from its truth, must have all the glories of a victory in its consummation—a victory from which will everlastingly spring, all the honors of a conquest without any of its havoc—all the glory of the laurel without any of its stain.

Pentonville,
July 3.

AUDITOR.

MACHINERY.

EVERY day develops the multiplied wonders of mechanical might, and in doing away, as far as that might is applied, with a correspondent proportion of manual and animal labour *for ever*, it opens prospects which extend farther than the eye can reach—the following fact unites the reality of truth, with more than the wonders of fiction.

EXTRAORDINARY PERFORMANCE BY STEAM POWER.—On the occasion of a scientific gentleman lately visiting the Liverpool and Manchester railway, some very extraordinary performances were effected. On two occasions, a load, amounting to 100 tons, was drawn by one engine from Liverpool to Manchester, a distance of above 30 miles, in an hour and a half, being at the average rate of 20 miles an hour. An eight-horse waggon, on a common road, is capable of carrying only 8 tons a day. Consequently, it would take 100 horses, working for the day on a turnpike road, to perform the same work as was here accomplished by a single steam-engine in an hour and a half on the rail-road. It is said that no former performance effected on the rail-road has come near this result.—*Liverpool Advertiser*.

Who can tell to what extent this gigantic power may be applied? Let it be remembered, that the men, which in its first application it throws out of work, are thrown out of that particular work not for a few weeks, or months, or years, but for *ever*; and yet the very part of the population which machinery is throwing out of work, have increased, and are now increasing, at the rate of 25 per cent. every ten years. Thus, under the present arrangements of society, the

skill of man is arrayed against his numbers; the demand for labour diminishing, and the number of labourers increasing. This unnatural state of things is approaching to an alarming head, and nothing but an entire new arrangement of men and things, can shelter human nature from its terrific consequences.—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—The new system of equitable exchange, or barter, having been so fully and so ably developed in the last number of the Crisis, it occurs to my mind, that I cannot promote this great division of your comprehensive philanthropy *better*, than by putting in *juxta-position*, some of the monstrous *inconsistencies* of the present trading system! where the intervention of money serves but to render the mind callous to every social feeling; and where each *individual producer* has to run the gauntlet through a host of *competitive distributors*!

Look but for a moment, at the disadvantages under which the industrious man now procures the common necessities of life—he can only obtain the numerous articles of food and clothing, by going to nearly the same number of shops, or distributors, at great loss of time, besides paying thirty, forty, or fifty per cent. beyond the cost price! By this system, all parties in the state are more or less injured, except the rich capitalist or monopolizer, who converts his money into an engine of oppression—into a wide-spreading blight over human industry!

For example, many of the articles which even the working man requires for his family, have now to pass through the hands of five, six, or more distributors! and each of these (of course,) lays his profit upon each article; and thus when it reaches the consumer, it will probably be doubled in price! Let me not, sir, be considered as censuring the *fair trader*, or *retailer*, on the contrary, it is the system—the present competitive money system! against which I desire to raise my humble voice—to put down and destroy which, I have contributed, and will continue to contribute my humble mite, both pecuniary and otherwise, to the utmost extent of my ability!

I not only consider it, sir, as 'the mill stone,' round the neck of human improvement of man's happiness! but also to be so *absurdly incongruous*, that one is obliged, on reflection, to wonder *how*, or *why* it has prevailed so long! whilst your plan of equitable exchange, appears to me, to be so simple in its application, and extensively beneficial in its effects!—that it will enable the most numerous, and the most useful portion of the community—the *producers*, to enjoy the wealth they themselves create!

By inserting the above, in your next number, you will oblige, Sir,

Your sincere, though humble Co-operator,
And constant Subscriber,

ROBINSON CRUSOE, JUNR.

H. Vale, 3rd July, 1832.

MISS MACAULEY'S ADDRESS ON RESPONSIBILITY

CONTINUED AND CONCLUDED.

The doctrine of responsibility, like many other doctrines, has been admitted by the multitude, without investigation, I think if it had been investigated, it would have been found opposed to every feeling of true and genuine religion, for, associated as it is, and must be, with another point of Christian doctrine—I mean the dogma of human depravity, it places the creator of man in a most degrading point of view. No doctrine could be found more injurious to the interest, welfare, and happiness of mankind than this; the idea of native depravity is paralyzing to every feeling of virtue, for it debases man to the condition of a slave—he who really believes himself naturally unworthy, will never be capable of any great, or good, or noble actions; he who does not feel himself thus depraved, yet professes that he does feel so, fights under the banners of hypocrisy, and acts the part of a traitor to his fellow man!!

How doctrines so incongruous, so inimical to goodness, should ever have gained ground with thinking beings, is most extraordinary, since these principles are not reconcilable upon any ground of justice and reason. According to the dogma of human depravity, we come into the world with a load of sin pressing upon us—with the germs of vice grafted in our very hearts. In our progress through life we are liable to the influence, and subject to the dominion of an adverse spirit, whose business it is to lead us to every extremity of guilt, and yet, with all these disadvantages—all this accumulation of evil both in us, and around us, against which almost overwhelming influence our poor fallen and degraded nature can scarcely have the power to contend, with all these awful odds against us, we are yet to be responsible—personally responsible for those evils, which we did not create—be punished for those offences, which, from the very imperfections of our nature, we were impelled to commit! yet such is the mercy! such the justice, such the judgment! which we, under the name of religion, presumptuously attribute to our Creator! Gracious heaven, what should we think of the justice, the judgment, the mercy of our earthly parent who should act thus! In what light should we estimate the man, who having from infancy retarded the growth of his child by pressing a continual load upon his shoulders, should punish him in manhood because he did not stand erect in full power and manly beauty—who had from his birth administered food baneful to strength and vigour, yet in maturity should punish him for not being robust and healthy—and last and worst of all, who, having placed as preceptor to his child a being in all respects depraved and wicked, should at a distant period sentence that unfortunate, that misguided child to everlasting punishments, because he had followed in the path of error pointed out by his preceptor—how utterly should we detest, despise, and abominate a human character of this description, yet even with such attributes as these do we clothe the deity whom we profess to worship.

It is indeed time we began to reflect upon these delusive doctrines to which we have so long submitted—not merely to listen to arguments for or against, but to exercise our own judgment. We turn our thoughts inward, and draw from their incalculable stores of intellectual wealth, of which every human being is possessed, but which very few of us know to what extent. In this investigation we should, I think, examine the subject in three distinct points of view.

First. That as the idea of responsibility has not suppressed the commission of crime, or established the dominion of virtue, it is inefficient.

Second. That as it operates upon the hopes and fears of many, leading them to the semblance, and not to the substance of virtue, it is delusive.

Third. That as the really good and virtuous, they do unto others even as they would that others should do unto them, will have no need of judg-

ment; to them, therefore, responsibility will be useless!!!

Yet this I presume to recommend, private investigation rather than public discussion, not only on this, but on all abstruse and metaphysical subjects, for which opinion I could advance many and powerful reasons—let it not be supposed, that I have done so, with a view to shield myself from those animadversions which the advocates of responsibility may find themselves called upon to make. This I have been given to understand by a gentleman, of whose good sense in all respects I entertain the highest opinion, that I might venture to say what I pleased, for that “no man could contradict a lady!” now this species of gallantry has been very prevalent in the old world, but, as it is a species of falsehood, I trust it will not be permitted to find an entrance into the new world. Women have been too long considered as playthings, or as slaves, but I hope the time is at hand, when we shall hold a more honourable rank in the scale of creation, and become reasonable, thinking beings. If a woman, stepping out of the pale which slavish custom prescribes in the present disjointed state of society, presumes to enter the list of controversy, she has no right to require undue submission, though her sex may, and should protect her against insult, it should not defend her against opposition. In discussion it is not the speaker, but the sentiments which demand animadversion—and, I confess for my own poor part, I should not feel flattered by that species of respect which was paid to my sex, while it offered an insult to my understanding.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

C. J. “On the New Era,” is received; also “A world be genuine Co-operator.”

E. H. and W. M. C. are come to hand.

“Truth,” and the extracts from the Times, are in our possession.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 7.

We have given in our last number a full explanation of the principles of the Equitable Exchange Banks, and also a detailed account of the manner of carrying them into execution. To men of business, who are accustomed to reflect, the whole operation will appear plain and simple. It is the first of a series of practical measures to promote a rapid increase of wealth by facilitating the exchange of it upon principles of perfect equity. As soon as its benefits shall be exhibited to the public, in one or two instances, well conducted, it will be eagerly and universally adopted; all other modes of carrying on the general business of society must fail in competition with it, and they will of course give place to it.

We, having the improvement of the whole population in view, are desirous that this great advance in the progress of civilization shall be productive of the least evil, and the most benefit, to ALL, from its commencement. We now distinctly see the change—the entire change, of all the Banking, Wholesale and Retail business, and trade of this great metropolis, and of all other large cities and towns; and we desire that those interested should be prepared for the change, that they may

derive gain instead of loss from its adoption.

With this view we have called a Public Meeting of these and other parties, interested in the trade and commerce of London, to take this subject into their most serious consideration—the meeting to be held in our Institution, on Monday, the 16th instant, at twelve o'clock, for one precisely, when the Chair will be taken, and this important business commence, that if possible it may be concluded in one day without the necessity of adjournment.

Those who have given themselves the trouble to make themselves in some degree acquainted with this subject, already discover that the present practice of conducting the business of life must immediately undergo an entire change, and that the real producers of wealth will naturally take the place heretofore occupied by the non-producers, and that the latter must of necessity become the dependants upon the charity, goodwill, and kindness of the former. We are, however, most desirous that this charity and kindness should be commensurate with the new power which they will thus acquire, that there shall be no inclination to return evil for evil, but on the contrary, that those who have been trained by the accidental past circumstances of their lives to be the producers of wealth, shall occupy themselves without delay, to consider what measures can be now adopted to prevent injury in mind, body, or estate, to all who have not been taught to produce wealth, or to benefit society in some way by their talents or services.

IMPROVEMENT IN STEAM CARRIAGES.

Who can draw the boundary line, and say to the inventive faculty, “hitherto shalt thou come, but no further?” Such an attempt would have nothing human about it—but its presumption. Every fresh invention which does away with manual labour, casts all its weight into our scale. Every steam engine, steam carriage, power loom, thrashing machine, and drilling machine, are all working for our system.

STEAM CARRIAGES.—The public are aware that immense expence has been incurred by many very ingenious mechanics to construct a steam carriage adapted to common roads. After many attempts had proved abortive, it was thought every difficulty had been overcome, and a carriage of this description was put on the road between Gloucester and Cheltenham, but after a trial of some time it was abandoned, it was said, owing to impediments created by the trustees of the road. It is now believed that these difficulties have been overcome by the ingenuity of Dr. Church, of Birmingham, who has constructed a carriage, which, he feels confident, will run with perfect ease and safety, at any speed and with any weight likely to be required, and which will not only not injure the roads, but constantly improve them. The wheels he intends affixing to his carriage will be eight or nine inches broad, and act on Macadamised roads as rollers, keeping them in the best possible condition. This breadth of wheel is, we understand, the grand secret of Dr. Church's anticipated success. The great difficulty with steam carriages on common roads has hitherto been in making them pass over loose materials; the wheels have then either wholly or partially turned round without making corresponding progress, but it now appears the wheels wanted greater breadth to make them bite. It is stated in a prospectus issued by a Company now forming, called “the London and Birmingham Steam Carriage Company,” intended to be incorporated by Act of Parliament, or if an Act cannot be obtained to be formed as a private Company, that the Carriages will cause no inconvenience on the roads, and that they may be propelled in a hilly as well as in a level country. It has been stated that Dr. Church's carriages can be propelled on common roads at the rate

of thirty miles per hour, but it is not intended that they should travel at a greater rate than fifteen.—*Liverpool Chronicle.*

POPULATION OF THE WORLD

ACCORDING TO THE

DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS SECTS.

Catholics	129,550,000
Protestants—	
Evangelic, United....	8,200,000
Lutherans	16,220,000
Proper Reformed	7,440,000
Presbyterians	4,800,000
English Church (Est.)	15,050,000
Independents	3,800,000
Methodists	1,500,000
Quakers	200,000
Meronites	200,000
Herrnhuters	100,000
Baptists	76,000
Unitarians	60,000
Swedenburgians.....	36,000
Fillipines.....	12,000
Greek Church	
Russo-Greek	35,375,000
Eastern Greek	6,000,000
Proper Jacobites	220,000
Copts	3,200,000
Thomas Christians ..	80,000
John Christians.....	26,000
Maronites	150,000
Armenians	2,200,000
Nestorians	400,000
	105,345,000
Jews.....	8,150,000
Mahometans viz.—	
Sunrites	85,000,000
Uchabites	7,000,000
Schites	43,000,000
Ismailites	120,000
	135,120,000
Pagans—	
Zoroastrians	780,000
Confucians	5,000,000
Nankists	4,000,000
Lamaites	58,000,000
Brahmins	115,000,000
Buddhists	169,000,000
Fetich Worshippers ..	124,000,000
	475,780,000
Total	853,945,000

We have every reason to suppose this valuable document to be as correct as the magnitude and diversity of its various items will allow. What a bewildering variety of opinions! *Each* division regarding itself *orthodox*, and the rest, as far as they differ from it, *heterodox*. We have frequently been charged with being visionary, in supposing that we could ever bring the world over to our opinions; but, if we are visionary, what must we say of missionary societies, who propose to bring all these different conflicting sects over to their opinion; sects which differ as much from each other, as they do from the missionary societies which propose their conversion? We have no variety of opposing sentiments to contend with and overcome, consequently our task is easier than theirs. If we are visionary, missionary societies must be mad.

EMIGRATION.—Men are not now emigrating to America for liberty, as they did formerly, but for subsistence. As a check to increasing population, emigration, except on a most extensive scale, is insufficient. To keep the amount of population what it is now, THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND must annually emigrate from their native soil; this is reckoning according to its increase for the last ten years.

3,418 persons have emigrated to America and the Canadas from Bristol alone, within the last six months—about 6000 a year on the average.—*Derby Reporter.*

PUBLIC MEETING AT OUR INSTITUTION.

We direct the attention of our readers to the leading article in this paper, in which they will see the particulars of a public meeting of the very first importance and novelty announced.

FIFTH GENERAL SOCIAL FESTIVAL.

On Monday evening, our Fifth General Social Festival was held in the great lecture room of the Institution. A very considerable, and respectable company participated in the rationality, recreation, sociality and diversified enjoyments of the evening, which commenced with a very superior concert; immediately after which, a short address on "The Science of Society," at present so little understood, was delivered by the Governor; this was succeeded by dancing, which continued till half-past one, when the unwearied company reluctantly separated.

A NEW LOOKING GLASS.

Oh that some power the gift wad gie us,
To see oursel as others see us,
It wad frae monie a blunder free us
And foolish notion.
What airs in dress an' gait wad lea'e us
And ev'n Devotion!
Burns.

THERE was a certain country, the inhabitants of which, though possessing not only the necessities of life, but many of the luxuries of civilization, had remained ignorant of the art of manufacturing looking glasses, and were, consequently, unacquainted with their own personal appearance, or with the effect their style of dress and decoration could produce. They however prided themselves upon their taste and elegance, and had two leading reviews, which as each season returned published fashionable notices, and criticized with the most relentless rigor whatever departed from that standard which the respective editors had pronounced infallible; besides these, there were periodicals without number, to settle the minor questions of petticoats à la Suisse, or trowsers à la Cosaque. But all availed little—they certainly dressed very ill, and in spite of much natural beauty, looked most unattractive. Each saw defects in others, but thought that in him or her were fixed, as in the picture of Zeuxis, those beauties which nature had distributed among many—a lady, for instance, who had become the fortunate possessor of a bonnet, larger by 3 inches in diameter than any that had yet appeared, would neutralize the mischief such an object must cause, by putting it on hind part before!—An exquisite who dreamed of breaking the hearts of half a dozen damsels, simply because his tailor had sent him home the last new color, carried an antidote in the odious tie of his cravat, or in an half-shaven whisker, for such was the self-complacency of these people, that even when they were informed of their ludicrous appearance, they would persist in their folly, or retort upon the bad taste of the censor, who might at the same time be guilty of some glaring absurdity, such as wearing blue and pink ribbons! or a red waistcoat and yellow neckcloth!!

Many individuals, otherwise amiable and valuable, could not associate for even the most benevolent purposes, because their ideas of elegance were offended by the bad taste of their neighbours. That there was a sad want of kind feeling, all were compelled to admit, but while none would yield a sandal or a button, how could it be remedied?

It chanced, at length, that one eminently skilled in the art of making mirrors, arrived among them at the important period when the state was convulsed by the interesting question of pig tails or wigs, ringlets or bands à la Madonna. Party spirit ran so high, and most minds were so agitated,

that the more calm and reflecting were convinced things could not long remain as they had been; in short, they felt that "the crisis" had arrived—something must be done. To the stranger therefore many applied, for though she openly told them they were all wrong, no one would admit that the censure was true as applied to himself or party, and only correct with regard to his neighbour or opponent. At first the prejudice against her and her mirrors was very strong, for no one liked to own that his features or his taste were so far from the perfection he had fancied; some, however, did buy the looking-glasses, and because they showed a bad complexion or an ill shaped nose, in a fit of passion broke them—but perhaps the last glance they had of their countenances, inflamed by anger, and distorted among the fragments, haunted them till they were *compelled* to make another purchase. Others looked, and found that in many cases, that which had disappointed them could be remedied—thus, natural curls were very pretty, but when dishevelled hid bright eyes or a snowy forehead—now, aided by the friendly mirror, they could be arranged in very dangerous ringlets. The head of an Antinous was lost in an ugly broad brim; and who could admire the figure of an Apollo if the coat hung like a sack? now the latter cured the one, and the tailor the other.

The mirrors not only gave self-knowledge, but they struck at the very root of unkind criticism; all, in being made willing to hear of, and correct an error or a defect, learned forbearance towards others—they felt that of themselves they were unable to conquer their folly, and saw clearly, that no one was responsible for his taste or his appearance; instead therefore of the ill natured sneer, the ladies are now assisting each other to look and dress well, and the men actually help to shave each other's faces!

CONCORDIA.

April 20th, 1832.

CELIA AND JULIA.

DEATH ended the career of the mother of Celia and Julia, interesting twin sisters, while yet they were mere infants, being only four years old. For two years subsequent to this, two elder sisters administered to their wants, at the end of this period a step-mother was introduced, the family became divided, all the elder branches left home in consequence of frequent dissensions, and the care of these two children devolved upon their step-mother, whom I will hereafter call Mrs. J—, for brevity's sake. For a considerable time she dealt out her favors to them upon principles of equality, and all was well—both their little wants were supplied impartially, consequently there was no cause for envy on either side—all they then had to do—all they then did was to love each other and be happy. But alas! this state of things was too good to last under the old system, the principles of which (if any thing in such a hodge-podge is worthy of being called a principle,) are only calculated to destroy all the better feelings of our nature, and to cause us unceasingly to plant the *thistle* where we should plant the *vine*. The most trifling circumstance—the merest accident in its results under the old system frequently does more good or evil for an individual than the indefatigable labour of years would effect, which eminently shews it to be a system thrown together by chance, full of glaring contradictions—pretending to be based upon principles of order and union, while it produces nothing but disorder and disunion—then away with it, and produce one stamped with the Majesty of Nature! But to return to my little heroines, who have now comfortably reached the age of eleven years. Up to this time, equality!—mighty and sole producer of felicity—equality!—had been the principle upon which they had been governed, at home at least—well for them had it continued to be so—well for the world was this the governing principle; but to go on with my story. I must now relate a circumstance which quite altered the aspect of affairs—it was one of those trifling insigni-

significant sort of occurrences, which are to be noticed every day by those who look about them, but which, however insignificant in themselves, are quite sufficient to prove—under the old system

"That the very silliest things in life

"Will oft produce a deal of strife."

as has been the case in this instance. Julia, about three o'clock in the afternoon, smiled, "for something or for nothing," or perhaps she did not smile at all, but Mrs. J.—thought she did, in fact she was sure of it, and she was likewise sure there was no more occasion for Julia's smiling than there was for Celia's—she therefore conjectured there was some hidden reason, and she was determined, she said, to know the "why and the wherefore," in which particulars poor Julia could not satisfy her, not being aware that she had smiled at all—this in Mrs. J.—'s opinion was an evasion, to say the least of it, and "from this more words arose," and at last it was resolved "that unless Julia would tell why she smiled, that is, unless she would tell why she did that which she had already said she did not do at all, and even if she had done, was, I apprehend, harmless,) it was resolved that unless she did this, she should not accompany them to the theatre, for which place they were preparing to start. Julia was firm—she knew not that she had smiled, she had stated this, and no other answer could be extorted through fear of punishment. The party being ready, and Julia remaining as it was said obstinate, they departed, leaving her behind. From this time Celia became a favorite, and the consequences of this and the wound before given, began immediately to manifest themselves in the bosom of Julia.—"Small beginnings frequently have large endings,"—so it was here. A feeling of dislike towards Mrs. J.—gradually took hold of Julia, which amounts at this time to perfect hatred, and a similar feeling crept upon Mrs. J.—towards the poor girl, in an equal degree. Celia all this while becoming, naturally enough, more favored than ever, in consequence of her affectionate disposition, as Mrs. J.—calls it, but which in fact is no more than a natural result, arising from the increased attentions paid her by Mrs. J.—, and here we have to deplore the feeling which takes possession of Julia towards her sister, that of dark envy, for every kindness shown Celia is a thorn in her bosom, and this not because her original disposition was inferior to Celia's—no—it is no more than the natural consequence of Mrs. J.—'s partiality. Thus for nine years, Celia has been getting all the "loaves and fishes,"—Julia all the "contempt and the spurns," and thus Celia has been made a quiet, tractable, affectionate girl, while Julia's temper has been soured, rendered irritable and untractable, envious and spiteful, towards not only her step-mother, but sister also, whom she would otherwise have dearly loved. Now had Celia been the offender in the first instance, Julia would, in all probability have been the favorite, and Celia the outcast. Who then is to blame for this? I answer unhesitatingly—the horrible system which engenders erroneous notions in the heads of us all. Mrs. J.—thinks Julia ought to act towards her in the same way in which Celia does, and yet she has been for years giving her reasons for acting to the contrary, and Julia imagines Mrs. J.—ought to be as kind towards her as she is to her sister, and yet she is hourly giving her cause to do otherwise, and Celia upbraids her sister as being an ill-natured, obstinate, spiteful, envious creature—in fact they are making themselves continually miserable, and all this arose from the insignificant trifle I have mentioned, and has been perpetuated solely in consequence of acting upon the old wretched principle of rewards and punishments, or in other words favoritism. O man! man! when will you dash this poisoned chalice from your lips! have you not drank your fill from this cup of errors and of miseries—this source of human degradation—this fruitful cause of "weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth."—I trust the time is near.

W. L.

June 19th, 1832.

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON, AND THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

In reviewing the life of that excellent philosopher, statesman, and patriot, Thomas Jefferson, no impartial lover of truth can fail to admire the goodness of his disposition, the benevolence of his heart, and his anxiety for the happiness of his country, and of mankind. With great natural energy of mind, and possessing all the advantages of extensive reading and reflection, he was happily enabled to arrive at the most accurate results, in his investigations and researches. There were few subjects directly and extensively useful to mankind, which had not, at one time or other, engaged the attention of his great and energetic mind. Like his predecessor, Franklin, he seemed born for mankind, and his whole time was occupied in those things which most intimately concern the welfare and happiness of his fellow men, and calculated especially to establish and perpetuate the glory and felicity of his country.

To the great and important concern of religion, he was not inattentive; and as in every thing else which employed his faculties, he appears to have entertained those opinions, which must meet the assent and approbation of all, who are not the dupes of senseless bigotry and priestly ambition. On this subject he had every reason to speak the truth, and his condition hereafter was of course a sufficient motive for deep and thorough examination. Thomas Jefferson speaks of religion as every man of common sense would do, who was not under the influence of early impressions, and the dominion of authority. He had penetration enough to see the absurdity of the fabricated systems of modern theology, and independence and firmness sufficient to reject as worthless trash, the numerous creeds and catechisms, which are made the basis of religion with the credulous and ignorant multitude. The following sentiments are extracted from his correspondence with his old revolutionary colleague, John Adams, whose mind seemed in perfect unison on the subject treated of; both must be actuated by the purest motives of humanity, as no sinister views could possibly have been entertained at the period the letters were written; both were advanced in life; both had declined all public employment; both had filled the measure of their country's glory; and both were ardently looking forward to the period of their separation for ever.

"I remember to have heard Dr. Priestley say, that if all England would cordially examine themselves, they would find that Unitarianism was the religion of all. It is too late in the day for men of sense to pretend to believe in the Platonic mystery, that *three are one*, and that *one is three*—and yet that the *one is not three*, nor the *three one*. But this constitutes the craft, the power and profit of the priest.—Sweep away their gossamer fabrics of fictitious religion, and they would catch no more flies. We should all then, like the Quakers, live without an order of priests, moralise for ourselves, follow the oracle of conscience, and say nothing about what no one can understand, and of which, of course it is of no consequence to believe.

"The Christian priesthood, finding the religion of Christ level to every understanding, saw in the mysticisms of Plato, materials with which they might build up an artificial system which might admit everlasting controversy, give employment to priests, and thus lead to power, profit and pre-eminence. The precepts which flowed from the lips of Jesus, are within the comprehension of a child; but thousands of volumes have not explained the Platonisms engrained on them; and for this obvious reason—that nonsense can never be explained. The doctrines of Jesus are simple, and all tend to the happiness of man. They are incomparably superior to the detestable and demoralising dogmas of Calvin. A few of which are, 1. That there are *three Gods*. 2. That *good works are nothing*. 3. That *Faith is everything*, and the more incomprehensible the proposition, the more merit in believing it. 4. That *reason is of no use*,

and 5. That God from eternity elected certain individuals to be saved, and the remainder, by much the largest portion, to be damned. That no crimes of the former can damn them—no virtues of the latter can save them."

Mr. Jefferson concludes by saying;

"I can never join Calvin; he was indeed an *Atheist*, which I can never be; or rather, his religion was *demonism*. If ever man worshipped a false god, he did. The being whom he describes, is not the God whom you and I acknowledge, worship, and adore—the Creator and benevolent governor of the world; but a demon of malignant spirit. It would be better to believe in no God, than abuse him by the attributes of Calvin. In truth, such a God is no God at all, and to pretend to believe in such a being is practical Atheism."

B.

MISS MACAULEY'S LECTURE.—On Wednesday evening last, Miss Macauley delivered a lecture, at the Philadelphic Chapel, Windmill Street, Finsbury Square, City Road, on Commercial Reform. The lecture took a very comprehensive view of national distress, and partially touched on Labour Banks, which she will more fully develop on a future occasion, as a powerful engine in effecting commercial reform. A considerable, attentive, and respectable audience, repeatedly expressed their approbation as the lecture proceeded, and its termination was marked with great applause.

The sullenness of character, which no threats or bribery can reduce, and which gathers a deeper and more determined gloom when the hand of authority is applied to it, has been rendered tractable by the magic spell of kindness. He that never changed any of his opinions, never corrected any of his mistakes! and he who was never wise enough to find out any mistakes in himself, will not be charitable enough to excuse what he reckons mistakes in others.—Dr. WHISHOOTE.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

SALE BY AUCTION.

FREEHOLD & LEASEHOLD INVESTMENTS.

TO be Sold by Auction, by Mr. BROMLEY, at the Mart, opposite the Bank, on Wednesday, July the 11th, at 12 o'clock, by direction of the Assignees of Samuel Appleing, a Bankrupt, in 4 lots; viz.—A FREEHOLD ESTATE of 24 Acres, and Buildings at Llanbadern Vynydd, Radnorshire; a Leasehold ditto, 96, Wood-street, Cheapside; a Gentle Residence, near Burton Crescent; and 12 Houses, Teale-street, Whitechapel Road.—The lots may be viewed, and printed particulars had of T. D. Springfield, Esq. 66, Coleman-street; of Messrs. Fryson & Beck, Lothbury; Messrs. James and Son, Bucklersbury; Mr. Henderson, King's Arms Yard; and Mr. Stephens, Solicitors, Newtown, Montgomeryshire; at the Mart; and of Mr. Bromley, No. 1, Euston Square.

THE NEW PATENT BEAVER HATS.

THESE HATS, being manufactured of the most choice Materials are more durable, light, and lasting in their colour, than any hitherto invented; they are made water-proof, by a process of stiffening with elastic gums, before they are dyed, and will be found the most elegant Beaver Hats that have ever been offered to the Public. They are sanctioned by the King's Royal Letters Patent, granted to ROBERT FRANKS and Co., Manufacturers and Patentees, and Sold at 21s. and 24s., at 140, Regent-street, 62, Redcross-street, London; 6, St. Andrew-street, Edinburgh; and 97, Rue Richelieu, Paris.

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THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 18.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

WAR IN PORTUGAL.

DON MIGUEL AND DON PEDRO.

WHAT an exhibition of the present benighted, senseless, and distorted state of the human mind, is now held up to the commiseration of the philanthropist—the instruction of the philosopher—the ridicule of the satirist—and the cupidity of the plunderer in the neighbouring Catholic kingdom of Portugal, where, as the bard sings—

"The trees ever blossom, the skies ever shine,
"And all but the spirit of man is divine!"

Twelve thousand men, eight for Pedro, and four for Miguel, have abandoned their useful occupations in producing the necessities, conveniences, and luxuries of life—drawn their swords—placed their lives, and all the endearing relationships of fathers and husbands, brothers and sons, in jeopardy, and exposed to destruction their property and the production of their toil, and all for the sake of two men of like parts and passions with themselves! and that, when they (the Portuguese,) are capable of being made to manage their own matters much better without either of these men, than with them. Had they been trained from infancy, according to the laws of their own nature, they would have needed no other laws; no other government, either of Don Pedro, Don Miguel, or any other Don whatever; for 'tis strange, 'tis passing strange, that while the laws which nature has legibly impressed upon all her other diversified productions, should be found sufficient for their government—Man, the "Lord of Creation!"—Man, the monopolist of reason!—Man, the "High-Priest of the Universe!"—Man, the golden pinnacle, which blazons on the summit of Creation!—Man, requires artificial laws and government to keep him in order! And to form this government, and to secure this order, men place men in power who require precisely as much governing as they do who place them there! And this cannot be otherwise; for where will they find any men who are essentially different from themselves? If one man requires artificial government all require it; for all are essentially the same. The fact is, that owing to the variety of opposing interests which COMPETITION

has created, artificial government has been found necessary to preserve order in the midst of so much confusion. This is the origin of all artificial government, if it may be called government; for it also has its own interest to protect and secure; and frequently its interest comes in collision with that of the people, and thence feuds and dissensions arise, which originate intestine commotions. Civil wars, (of which kind is the present Portuguese contest,) have raged in all parts of the world, and through all periods of time. Governors painfully and experimentally conscious of the inefficiency and infirmities of all forms of human government, have attempted to shore them up, by the invention of a *divine government*, advocated by priests, with which Portugal swarms, which, by a distribution of rewards and punishments in another world, might assist in the preservation of order in the present. But all will not do—men do not sing, but groan; they do not smile, but sigh—society is fast decomposing, and nothing but COMMUNITY can save it from a reduction into its first elements, and from a fall into confusion. It trembles through its whole frame; and its face is drawn into convulsions. Splendid wretchedness and magnificent misery may dazzle the eyes of some superficial people for a while, but Time, the great infallible teacher, will soon uncover and demonstrate all. Nothing can save the present system; it has run its length; it must perish, and with no sepulchre for its ashes—monument for its memory—or mourning at its funeral, it must be consigned, without pity or remorse, to the cold embrace of approaching annihilation.

But the Portuguese combatants are not children, who can be trained in new usages and on new principles, but men whose habits and characters are completely chiselled and shaped by time. Then if the issue of a battle must decide whether Don Miguel or Don Pedro shall be ruler of Portugal, then let Don Miguel and Don Pedro alone fight, and let the assembled Portuguese look on, and at the close of the contest, award the crown to the conqueror! This would be the language of common sense on the subject; which language we are very sorry to say is become almost a dead letter. Men are born in error, and educated in falsehood—they are debilitated by superstition—scorched with passion, and froze with selfishness. Upon the soil of the uncultivated mind of the mass, little grows but briars and brambles; nettles and thorns; jungle, bushwood and gorse; hemlock, henbane, and night-shade. We are anxious, by instruction, to break up this ground every where—to eradicate these poisonous weeds, and to fill their places with plants

impregnated with the spirit of health, and trees which shall yield fruit in generous abundance. Then, and not till then, will war cease for ever, through both hemispheres of this well-peopled world—then, and not till then, will the beautiful imagery of Eastern poetry, which abounds in the writings of the circumcised Prophets of Israel be realized, "when the wolf shall lay down with the lamb, and the leopard with the kid; when the cow and bear shall feed together; when the sucking child shall play with the asp, and the lion eat straw with the ox; when spears shall be turned into pruning hooks, and swords into plough shares."

Religion will never be able to accomplish this great measure. It has already been itself the object of more fierce contention than any thing else in this world. Look at Ireland. Religion there has given birth to such an alarming state of things, that very frequently in the history of this unfortunate country, even in our own time, if not just now, (though now it is wretched,) a few sparks would have kindled a conflagration that a deluge of blood could not have extinguished. This great end will alone be secured by "*community*," under whose wise, just, and benign arrangements men will be mollified, and become blythe and bland, and when they will no more fight, either by land or sea, with either swords, pens, or tongues, either for territory, power, spoil, revenge, religion, ambition or glory; or for monarchies, aristocracies, democracies, or republics; or for any man, woman, child, animal or vegetable, mineral, or any other production whatsoever, either of nature or art, "in Heaven above, or the earth beneath, or the waters underneath the earth."

*Institution, Gray's Inn Road,
July 13, 1832.*

ALARMING SYMPTOMS

IN

CHURCH AND STATE.

TITHES.—Tithes, under any name and in any shape, are for ever at an end in Ireland, in which there are, according to the latest official report, 1305 beneficed clergymen, 2312 parishes 14,603,473 cultivated acres, 1,000,000 of which are tithe free. The breath of life can never again be infused into this lifeless corpse! All that is now doing by government is political galvanism. The people on the confines of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kilkenny, met on the 2nd instant in great numbers, and entered into very strong resolutions against all landlords who shall pay tithes. One of these decisive and startling resolutions was,

"that no labourer would work for any such proprietor." In consequence of this resolution being carried into effect, Lord Cloncurry, Mr. Read, Mr. Graydon, Colonel Conelly, and Mr. Bourne, were immediately placed in very humiliating circumstances.

Mr. Bourne horses the mail along a part of that line of the road, and keeps sixty horses for that purpose. There is not now one person who will look after the horses except the agent, so that the animals are almost starving—the hay is uncut, and foreign supplies are cut off by the anti-tithe party. This will be a new way of stopping the mail. On the 3rd instant, the mail had to wait while the guard and coachman harnessed the horses themselves. Lord Cloncurry's crops are uncut, and his cattle unattended, except by his own servants; the peasantry and farmers are determined to compel landed proprietors to cease from paying tithes, and there is no doubt but that they will triumph over government who will try to compel the payment of tithes.

If what is called Infidelity were the cause of all these disturbances, dissensions, and strifes, what a hue-and-cry would echo through the religious world! "Away with these infidels from the earth, it is not fit that such fellows should live!" But all these strifes, contentions, ill blood and injuries are occasioned by RELIGION, which should produce peace and good will—what a failure! Had there been no religion there would have been no tithes, no bishops, no clergy, no churches, all of which are supported by the labour of the industrious classes. Whether religion will stand, if tithes are abolished we cannot say, but sure we are that the tithes in Ireland are substantially abolished for ever! For the *misinformation* of men, the church is called the ESTABLISHED church; it would be much more correct to call it the TOTTERING church. Seceders from the church in Ireland having succeeded there in abolishing tithes, seceders in England will follow their example. The church is indeed in danger now!

TRADE.—From the best sources of information we learn that the hope that TRADE would revive after the Reform Bill was carried, has not been realized. There is a general want of activity, and purchases are made with caution and reluctance; but very little money is any where to be found except in the hands of great capitalists, and confidence does not revive. There were some who merely skim over the surface of things, who supposed that the stagnation of commerce arose from the political agitation occasioned by the reform measure—the result has shewn that they were deceived—the disease is much more deeply seated and of much longer standing; it arises out of the present arrangements of society, which the Reform Bill so far from amending, will, as far as it comes into operation, only render more complicated and intricate. Money, the mere representative of wealth, must be gradually done away with by the introduction of labour exchange notes, which will serve the interests of mankind so much better than money; Equitable Exchange Labour Banks must be generally established, the reign of capitalists must be gradually brought to an entire termination—machinery must have full and fair play, and then such, with the known capabilities of nature, would be the amount, not of money, but of real wealth in the nation, that the national debt might speedily be paid off; increasing population, which is the greatest bugbear and source of evil to political calculators, would be absolutely necessary to consume what would be produced under such practicable arrangements. This is the true REFORM which society requires to save it from impending danger—this remedy would go up as its disease, and soar higher than its hopes.

NOVEL AND IMPORTANT PUBLIC MEETING.

We again point the attention of our readers, to a paragraph in the leading article of this paper, announcing a Public Meeting at our Institution, on Monday next, at twelve for one o'clock, a meeting new in its kind, and most important in its object.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Jacob Dixon's valuable communication is in our possession, and will appear in our next.

To our two esteemed correspondents from Northampton, we are sorry that at present we cannot say any thing more, than that we have received their letter of the 8th instant, of which we shall not lose sight.

An "Adherent of Divine Revelation," in our next.

Robinson Crusoe, Junr. has come to hand.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 14.

SHALL the world continue to be overwhelmed with ignorance, poverty, and crime—or, having the means in our possession, shall we now make one grand effort and remove these evils for ever from society?

Is it possible, says one—is it probable, says another—it never has been done, and therefore never can be, says a staunch supporter of things as they are; it is a mere visionary notion, and we will not give ourselves the trouble to think about it, say the millions, who have been taught to believe and not to think.

While men shall talk thus and do nothing, it will continue to appear to be visionary, and to be impracticable, but to remove the real causes of ignorance, poverty, and crime, is a plain, simple, straight-forward, matter-of-fact business; and, whenever the subject shall be fairly and fully examined by men of business habits, who have been accustomed to form extensive arrangements, and who possess powers of mind sufficiently comprehensive to grasp a subject of this magnitude, all difficulties will vanish before them, and every one will be astonished, that that which might have been effected long ago, and yet so important to accomplish, should, after the principles were openly promulgated, have remained for so many years unexecuted, and held in so little estimation by the public, who were by the change to be such extraordinary gainers. It can be accounted for only on the principle, that hitherto prejudices have been made the motives to human action, instead of reason; but these prejudices are hourly dissipating, and ere long, we hope to see them abandoned altogether.

The first object to be attained in the present state of society is, to discover a circulating medium that can be made commensurate with our means of producing wealth. The second, to intro-

duce this medium into general society for the benefit of all parties, that the industry of the country may have full scope—both these objects may be now easily accomplished.

To forward these measures, a Public Meeting will be held in this Institution on Monday next, at one o'clock, to take into consideration the best mode of establishing National and Parochial Equitable Exchange Banks.

We trust the bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and wholesale and retail traders, will discover how deeply they are interested in this subject, and that they will come prepared to give their best aid and attention to it, and to lend their assistance to put it into practice with the least delay.

Those who know the wretched condition in which many of the most industrious and deserving members of society are compelled to drag out a miserable existence, for the want of this easily procured medium of exchange, will agree with us, that no time should be lost in arousing the public to the immediate investigation of this most important subject.

EXECUTIONS AT THE OLD BAILEY.

DURING the past week, Jonathan Smithies, aged 35, and Thomas Reilly, aged 50, have suffered death, before the debtor's door in the Old Bailey; the latter for murder, and the former for arson and murder. We do not impugn the testimony of the witnesses—or the verdict of the jury—or the charge of the judge, but—the present vicious arrangements of society, under the necessary influence of which, judges, juries, witnesses, and criminals, invariably, and of consequence, act. These vicious circumstances, acted upon the organization of these unfortunate men, and necessarily produced the tragical results. We say UNFORTUNATE MEN, for the state of mind in which they perpetrated these dire deeds was miserable, unlinged, and horrible; and the commission of the act, was a measure to relieve the mind from its suffering; and the addition of artificial punishment, was (though unintentional,) making those already miserable more miserable; it was in fact adding misery to misery. But it is asked, must not a recurrence of such deeds be prevented? And how are they to be prevented but by such punishment? Will not such public examples deter others from imitation and repetition? In such offences must there not be blood for blood? We go the full length of saying, that such crimes must be prevented, but prevented in whom? How do we know who needs such preventives? The party who has committed the offence evidently does; but who can point out ANOTHER man in society, and say THAT MAN NEEDS SUCH A PREVENTIVE AS A PUBLIC EXECUTION, TO DETER HIM FROM COMMITTING MURDER? Who can do this? No one can. The public execution of a malefactor as a preventive to others is a shot in the dark, to all intents and purposes. That those who are executed, are effectually prevented from repeating these offences we admit. But might they not have been so dealt with, as to be restored to a proper state of mind, which would prevent the like transgression in them, and make them useful members of society? We think, that as the commission of crime always argues, more or less, according to the magnitude of the offence, INSANITY at the time of its commission—all criminals should be dealt with precisely as insane persons.

When the conduct of criminals is condemned, the person condemning their conduct judges them by HIMSELF, and feeling firmly persuaded that he could not have committed such offences, he reprobates those who have committed them, for

getting that he and they are two DIFFERENT persons, and that the circumstances in which they are placed are different also. This is a source of much error in our decisions on the conduct of others, that we make ourselves the standard by which that decision is formed; this applies also to legislators in their legislating against crimes—their decision is regulated by what they themselves feel and think with regard to the impossibility of their committing such crimes; this invariably decides the severity or leniency of the laws which they make. If we are asked then, by what standard are we to judge of the quality of conduct, we unhesitatingly say, by the good or evil which it does to society—and that we are to prevent or promote it, as it requires and admits of prevention and promotion.

We cannot conclude these observations without remarking, how much more humane and wise it would be in legislators and governments, if, instead of hanging men after the commission of crime, they would remove the inducements which exist in society to its perpetration—if there were no temptation there would be no sin. It is immediately incumbent on all governments, promptly to withdraw from amongst their respective subjects, all those bad circumstances which compel to the commission of offences. With this high and paramount duty they are expressly charged—and for the removal of these circumstances, they, and they only, are responsible.

THE
ADDRESS
OF THE
FIRST
BRISTOL CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY,
(LATELY ESTABLISHED.)
To the industrious and sober-minded portion
OF THE
WORKING CLASSES.

“The little selfish passion destroys all around it,
and in the end its possessor.”

FRIENDS AND FELLOW WORKMEN,

You are all now tolerably well acquainted with the evils existing in the political world, and have had some share in the endeavours made to extinguish them; you will doubtless go on as nearly as possible to perfection. But it is not our intention to dilate on politics; we have something of higher importance to your interests to communicate. Nor is it our wish to interfere with your religious creeds or opinions—these matters we shall leave to your individual cogitations.

There is, however, a great evil in the world, which few have sufficiently considered, or reflected upon, and yet it is one of immense importance, and destructive of the best interests, not only of the Working Classes, but of Society altogether; for if the industrious portion of any community be deprived of any fair opportunity to exert their industry, and of a just and reasonable remuneration for their ingenuity and labor, and are thereby constrained to become dependant for their sustenance on the caprice of others, what is to become of the next class who derive their support principally from them? The next grade must suffer, and the next again, and so on, until every class, except those of independent fortunes, placemen, pensioners, sinecurists, and all those who are immediately connected with the state, will eventually become poverty-stricken and ruined.

The formidable evil to which we allude is CONCENTRATION, which produces “private accumulation and excessive inequality of wealth.” It has arisen

out of the selfish, individual system of society. You see men of every grade grasping at the apparently indispensable commodity—money, as the only means of obtaining happiness, and of satisfying their ambition to become great in the world, although they may obtain their wishes at the expense of thousands of the human race. In the present vitiated state of society, few men seek to obtain the title of *philanthropist*; they prefer acting, like silly schoolboys, the part of *tyrants*, that they may exercise authority, humble and degrade their fellow creatures, and reduce them to the necessity of becoming *their slaves and vassals*.

Contesting capitalists draw from labour immense masses of wealth, which enable them to compete with each other; and, with the product of the *poor man's earnings*, to play the game of CHANCE! and to continue the game, they go on diminishing the wages of their labourers; mechanics, and other working men of every description, that they may compete with more certain advantage with those who oppose them, till the earnings of the useful, hard-working classes, in numberless cases, are brought down so low, that *when fully employed*, they can scarcely exist.

Under the devastating influence of this accursed system, one man, to obtain employment, offers his labour for a smaller remuneration than another, and deprives him of the opportunity of living by his honest industry. The mechanic will work for less wages in the same way, to supplant his fellow workman. The shopkeeper avails himself of every mean and cunning artifice to undersell his neighbour, that he may degrade and impoverish him; whilst perhaps, at the same time, he unconsciously lays the foundation for his own ruin. One manufacturer, by stratagem, competes with another, and produces articles at lower prices; the other will not be undersold, and reduces the wages of his workmen, invents machinery to supersede manual labour, and employs *women and children*, at much lower wages, as substitutes for men; he thus at once, destroys numbers of men of their only resource—destroys all domestic comfort, makes cripples and slaves of children, and consigns them all to everlasting ignorance and poverty,—the fruitful parents of crime. The merchant employs his agent, to obtain the articles he wishes to purchase, at lower prices, if possible, than ever; these are frequently introduced into a foreign market already glutted with the same articles, the result probably is that they are sold at a considerable loss. But in some cases goods sent out under these circumstances cannot be disposed of for more than half their value; they are returned to the merchant, totally unfit for sale in a home market, and he, in this case, finds himself minus all the expenses, and unable (from this source) to pay the manufacturer. Thus competition rapidly lessens the demand for labour, reduces the wages of those employed to almost nothing, and destroys the profitable employment which would ensue from an extensive consumption at home, by depriving the industrious poor of the ability to satisfy their natural wants. The burden of this complicated evil falls with such mischievous force upon the productive classes that they cannot, with all their industry, supply themselves and their families with decent apparel, or with the other comforts (or even necessities) of life. They, the producers of abundance (*monstrous anomaly!*) are reduced to the necessity of lingering out their days in miserable anxiety, upon a starving pittance, scarcely sufficient to enable them to exist; and, amidst all their privations and sufferings, as if these were not sufficient, they are most *humanely*, most *compassionately*, and most *kindly*, called the *swinish multitude!*

This unnatural system is eminently calculated to produce distress and ruin to all parties, though it has been lauded to the skies, and the men engaged in it have been called enterprising! It must, therefore, be counteracted by another system, better adapted to the wants and wishes of mankind; and by whom? By the producers themselves, for few others will engage in the task. *We must emancipate ourselves and our children from interminable slavery,*

by uniting, by co-operating, and using the small means we have at our disposal, in a wiser manner than we have hitherto done. Let us henceforth as sober, thinking men, employ our time, our talents, our industry, our ingenuity, as much as possible, *for the benefit of ourselves*, and not suffer others to speculate upon and squander our hard earnings. A few persons of various trades, who now address you, determined to accomplish this desirable object, have formed a society, and intend to follow the example of some of their brethren in London, and other places, in establishing an “EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE BANK,” where every man and woman in the society, as well as those out of it, by paying a very trifling commission on the goods sold, may deposit whatever article they can make it convenient to manufacture and send, at a price which will allow a fair compensation for labour, and receive in exchange for labour, or the articles deposited *Labour Notes*, which will entitle the holders at any time to receive any other goods to the same amount which they may stand in need of; thus securing to each individual a just remuneration for their labour and skill; the society, at the same time, acquiring a trifling profit, which, with small weekly subscriptions (and donations from those who choose to assist us in that way) will form a fund, with which to purchase raw materials, to be manufactured into articles for sale or exchange, and other useful commodities, and which fund or stock is to be *indivisible*, and to go on accumulating, until we are enabled (in conjunction with agricultural pursuits, if thought advisable) to manufacture and trade upon a larger scale, and eventually, to rent or purchase land, upon which to build our own houses, and live in community, where every individual, contributing a moderate share of labour, industry, and skill, will be *equally entitled* to enjoy all that is necessary, convenient, and desirable to make life happy; and will be delivered for ever from the experience, and even the fear of want—providing, at the same time requisite attention and all necessary comforts for times of sickness and old age, and the utmost security against the possibility of becoming those miserable, despicable creatures, which the present haughty and insolent lordlings of the world, designate by the degrading appellation of *paupers*.

The immediate benefits of co-operation will be developed by calling into action the benevolent and social feelings of our nature, instead of those which are envious and malignant, and hostile to our mutual interests; we shall become as it were “new creatures,” stimulating each other to the exercise of all that is noble, virtuous, and ingenuous. Wherever this system is heartily embraced, it will give new incitements to the inventive and productive powers, create a thirst for knowledge of the highest order, and set in motion the latent springs of genius: we shall learn to act, not with the sordid and grovelling view of outstripping, underselling, and ruining our neighbour, but with the manly, generous, and truly philanthropic desire of promoting the happiness, and establishing the independence of each other, and thereby generate and foster reciprocal kindness.

In conclusion, co-operation is intended to bring society into a natural and healthy state, by inducing individuals to work *for*, and not *against* each other. Instead of depreciating it will enhance the value of labour, and hasten the happy period when every member of a well organized community shall possess, in abundance, not merely the necessities, but all the comforts and enjoyments of life, and secure to their children, and children's children, the same inestimable blessing.

Now, we would ask, when such a benevolent and comprehensive system as this shall prevail, what will become of competition? Its necessity (if such necessity now exists) will no longer be found; in fact, it cannot have a being—it will be driven from the face of the renovated earth, no longer to destroy the harmony, or disfigure the beauty, of this fair creation; and then, the very machinery, designed to supersede labour for the benefit of a few, the existence of which is now so much deplored, will

come in to our aid, and very considerably reduce the amount of manual labour requisite to supply our wants, giving us leisure to pursue nobler objects, and to enjoy a greater share of intellectual pleasures.

We invite you to inspect the rules which we have drawn up for the government and conduct of the society, and, should you approve of them, we earnestly request you to co-operate with us in this good and glorious cause. Remember, it is to effect your emancipation and establish your independence!

92, Old Market Street, Bristol,
30th June, 1832.

LETTER—No. VI.

TO EARL GREY, LORD BROUGHAM, AND
VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.

MY LORDS,

It is not uncommon with those who are incapable of refuting an argument, to expose their adversaries to ridicule by the disingenuous course of misrepresenting him; hence the opponents of Mr. Owen have charged him with the preposterous attempt of endeavouring to change human nature, whereas his system is built upon the solid basis of experience, which of necessity presumes, that the course of nature will continue such as we have hitherto found it.* Co-operators contend, that mankind will remain essentially the same throughout all ages, but that they are capable of indefinite improvement; how far these positions are consistent with fact, I may safely leave to your lordships' judgment—but, should your sentiments concur with mine, what I have stated will follow as an inevitable consequence, and proceeds upon the principle, that SIMILAR CAUSES PRODUCE SIMILAR EFFECTS—that, in as much as mankind will no less require to be supplied with the necessities of life under the new, than under the present state of things, men will be found to work hereafter as effectually as they do at present.

The force of this argument is not diminished, even on the supposition, that the disposition of man is naturally inactive and averse to labour; but its weight is much increased, if, as I am inclined to believe, the contrary of this position be true. For we find that the majority of those whose circumstances do not require them to work, seek employment either in the pursuit of literature and politics, or in the most violent bodily exercise. Some few unhappy individuals may indeed be found, to whom it seems an object of ambition that others should esteem them idlers, and, even their enemies must admit, that, to all useful purposes at least, their conduct is in perfect accordance with their professions; but if we trace them to their retirements, even these apparent exceptions will, in reality, confirm the general rule—the misery they endure, and the strange manœuvres to which they resort, with a view of banishing ennui, are satisfactory proofs that they have adopted a mode of life at variance with the laws of nature.

The pleasure derived from intellectual attainments can be questioned by those only who are entirely ignorant, and yet your lordships' cannot have forgotten with what difficulty the majority of boys at school were formerly induced to acquire the rudiments of learning; whoever procured a holiday for them, was hailed as a general bene-

factor. This feeling was also prevalent in the days of our forefathers—and Shakespear describes a schoolboy in language equally applicable to our own times. But, notwithstanding these appearances, we are not warranted in concluding, that the human mind is averse to the pursuit of knowledge; on the contrary, the natural inquisitiveness of most children, and the satisfaction they evince when made acquainted with any fresh information, clearly prove the opposite fact—nay, so much is this the case, that in every establishment there are some boys who are willing to encounter every difficulty rather than not gratify a laudable passion. Wherever we find inconsistency we may be sure there is error; and subsequent experience has shown, that the distaste for books is to be attributed, not to any defect in the scholar, but to an injudicious method of teaching him; this will be apparent to all who have been to Edinburgh, and seen the Sessional school as conducted by Mr. Wood. "In forming their arrangement," we are told, "the directors regarded their youngest pupil, not as a machine,† or an irrational animal, that must be driven, but as an intellectual being who may be led; endowed, not merely with sensation and memory, but with perception, judgment, conscience, affection, and passions; capable, to a certain degree, of receiving favourable or unfavourable impressions, of imbibing right or wrong sentiments, of acquiring good or bad habits; strongly averse to application, when its object is unperceived or remote—but, on the other hand, ardently curious, and infinitely delighting in the display of every new attainment which he makes."‡ I have, myself, witnessed the fruit of these principles when reduced to practice, and what constitutes the most striking feature of the institution is, not that the boys surpass in knowledge any other children I had ever heard examined, but that the youngest, as well as the more advanced, experienced pleasure in receiving instruction; and (as I was informed) regarded a prohibition to attend lectures, in the light of the severest punishment.

And why may not agricultural, as combined with manufacturing pursuits, be rendered agreeable? With regard to the former, there is nothing for which children, who have been brought up in the country, evince a stronger propensity, as is evident from the circumstance, that it is impossible to afford them a higher gratification, than by presenting them with a wheelbarrow and spade; nay, more—so strongly do we imbibe from nature this feeling, that, notwithstanding they are for the most part, surrounded by every circumstance that is calculated to suppress it, many literary men, men of intelligence and well constructed minds, combine recreation with exercise in cultivating a garden. Were it necessary to insist upon this subject, I might venture to assert, that no occupation is more profitable, none more instructive, none more congenial to the natural disposition of man, none which to an enlightened community might be rendered more pregnant with all that conduces to real enjoyment, than that which could be derived from tilling the soil, preserving the crop, and

† In using the term MACHINE, in the vague sense in which it is here applied, the learned, and truly philosophical author, evidently felt himself obliged to enlist the prejudices of society on his side. A general rule alike applicable to animate and inanimate nature, is laid down by Lord Bacon in his 3rd Aphorism. "Knowledge and human power are synonymous, since the ignorance of the cause frustrates the effect; for nature is only subdued by submission, and that which in contemplative philosophy corresponds with the cause, in practical science becomes the rule."

‡ See Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School, by John Ward, Esq.

superintending the works of nature. And in this opinion I am confirmed by the sentiments of the greatest moralists and most celebrated poets.

Dr. Franklin's attachment to agriculture may be collected from the following passage taken from one of his essays. "There seems to be but three ways for a nation to acquire wealth. The first is by war, as the Romans did, in plundering their conquered neighbours; this is robbery.—The second by commerce, which is generally cheating.—The third by agriculture,|| the only honest way, wherein man receives a real increase of the seed thrown into the ground, in a kind of continual miracle, wrought by the hand of God in his favour, as a reward for his innocent life, and virtuous industry."§

I have the honour to be,

My Lords,

Your Lordships' most obedient,

Humble Servant,

PHILANTHROPOS.

London, 10th July, 1832.

[Letter VII. in our next.]

|| Agriculture in its extensive and philosophical sense, comprehends also manufacture. It is of comparatively little avail to sow the seed, unless we afterwards manufactured the produce, so as to render it of service to man.

§ See conclusion of Essay on Positions to be Examined, by Dr. Franklin.

ARAB ACCOUNT OF DESTOR AND CREDITOR.—Corporal punishments are unknown among the Arabs. Pecuniary fines are awarded, whatever may be the nature of the crime of which a man is accused. Every offence has its fine ascertained in the court of justice, and the nature and amount of those graduated fines are well known to the Arabs. All insulting expressions, all acts of violence, a blow however slight, (and a blow may differ in its degree of insult according to the part struck,) and the infliction of a wound, from which even a single drop of blood flows, all have their respective fines fixed. The judge's sentence is sometimes to this effect:—(Bokhyt and Djolan are two Arabs who have quarrelled and fought.)

Bokhyt called Djolan "a dog." Djolan returned the insult by a blow upon Bokhyt's arm; then Bokhyt cut Djolan's shoulder with a knife. Bokhyt therefore owes to Djolan—

For the insulting expression . . . 1 sheep

For wounding him in the shoulder . . . 3 camels

Djolan owes to Bokhyt—

For the blow upon his arm . . . 1 camel

Remain due to Djolan, 2 camels and 1 sheep.

Burckhardt's Notes on the Bedouins and Walkabys.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE NEW PATENT BEAVER HATS.

THESE HATS, being manufactured of the most choice Materials are more durable, light, and lasting in their colour, than any hitherto invented; they are made water-proof, by a process of stiffening with elastic gums, before they are dyed, and will be found the most elegant Beaver Hats that have ever been offered to the Public. They are sanctioned by the King's Royal Letters Patent, granted to ROBERT FRANKS and Co., Manufacturers and Patentees, and Sold at 21s. and 24s., at 140, Regent-street, 62, Redcross-street, London; 6, St. Andrew-street, Edinburgh; and 97, Rue Richelieu, Paris.

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WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's-Inn Road, King's Cross.

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* See upon this subject one of the most valuable works of the present day, called Essays upon Truth, Knowledge, and Evidence; and written by the author of Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"If we cannot yet reconcile all opinions, let us now endeavour to unite all hearts."

VOL. I. NO. 19.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

COMPETITION IN THE COLLIERIES.

PIT MEN IN THE NORTH.—The dissatisfaction so prevalent above ground, has extended itself to the regions beneath. Between 8 and 9,000 colliers having struck for wages, emerged out of the northern coal pits three months since, and have not yet descended to their former occupation—men, unaccustomed to such employment, are now supplying their place! The pit men are organized into a union, and are appealing to the political unions of the kingdom for sanction and support. What feuds! what heart-burnings! what strifes originate in the present competitive system of society, which sets man against man; feuds and quarrels which no legislation can prevent, no religion allay. Were it not for the original inherent goodness of human nature, which yields its healing oil, this friction would set the world on fire. Oh, that men would cease to preach against the evils in society, and unite to remove the cause which produces them! Clergymen may declaim against strife, until age bleaches their locks as white as their surplices, without effecting any diminution of the evil. Let them unite with us in removing the cause of evil, which is competition, and substituting community, the source of all good. They have tried their remedy and it has failed; all we ask is, that they will assist us in trying ours—we shall feel perfectly content with a tenth part of the time, and a hundredth part of the money, which they have occupied and expended in the test.

PEACE AND GOOD WILL

AMONGST

IRISH CHRISTIANS.

From the *Dublin Evening Mail* of the 7th inst., we detach the following paragraph; which shows how high religious party feeling is now running, between his Majesty's subjects of the Roman Catholic religion, and those of the Protestant persuasion, in the metropolis of the unfortunate, benighted, and superstitious kingdom of Ireland. Other tides have their ebb, but that of religious party feeling has none—it seems not only always high water, but always hot water.

"Street lists are making out of butchers, bakers, grocers, and huxters with whom the Protestants of the metropolis deal in self-defence; that these lists are nearly completed, and that they will be published as advertisements in the morning and evening papers, a fund having been created to defray the expenses."

With what an unsparing hand has religious superstition sown the seeds of strife between man

and man! Who would believe that a vast expenditure of agency, property, time, talents, interest, & influence, were daily employed to support such a system of contention, and such a scene of confusion! Weak and imbecile, the deluded devotee, cringingly kisses the scourge which smites him—and, in the reveries of his disordered brains, dreams that he is most acceptable to the creator, when he is most injurious to the creature; and, that the more of hell he makes in this world, the more of heaven he shall enjoy in the next. And to the objection, that it is not religion which is the cause of these evils, but its corruption, it may be fearlessly asked, for the question cannot be answered,—“how comes it to pass, that religion, which should cure all other corruptions, has itself become corrupt?”

MISSIONARY SOCIETY AT OUR INSTITUTION.

A Missionary Society has just been formed at our Institution, to assist Mr. Owen in the propagation of his principles. One hundred and thirteen members constitute the Society. Subscriptions are one penny and upwards per week. It has six Preachers; three thousand tracts have been presented to it, and it is now forming a fund to send out Missionaries.

SPEECH MAKING

AT PUBLIC MEETINGS.

ONE of the numerous and fatal symptoms of the long and deeply seated malady of the present system of society, whose restlessness is ominous of its approaching dissolution, is the incurable itching which has so generally seized, and which so severely afflicts many worthy persons for making speeches at public meetings. While we cannot uncover those deeply buried springs of action, the motives of these afflicted persons, we must be silent on that subject, and hope for the best; but we may be perfectly competent to sit in judgment on their capabilities for the task which they have gratuitously undertaken. Their correct information and understanding of the topic upon which they often very boldly, lengthily, and oppressively, expatiate, is the first item to which an enlightened mind naturally turns. Without this essential qualification, all mere fluency of speech is empty, vapouring, and idle talk. And yet how many

speakers are there who appear ready at any moment in the proceedings of a meeting, to speak on almost any subject which may be agitated, no matter how great its magnitude, how numerous its difficulties,—the variety of conflicting opinions with which it is encompassed, or the diversity of interests which a public decision upon it must vitally and permanently affect! They come into a public assembly where, in a number of successive resolutions, a variety of subjects must of necessity be introduced and touched; upon any one of these, no matter how foreign to their daily pursuits, their habits of thinking, powers of mind, or extent of information, they at once, in the plenitude of their imaginary resources, and the inspiration of their fancied capacities, unhesitatingly proceed mercilessly to inflict on the suffering patience of a wearied audience, a long and winding harangue; in which, violence of manner is a substitute for vigour of mind—animal heat for intellectual fire, fluency of expression for plenitude of information,—abuse for severity,—and dogmatical assertions, for argumentative conclusions. They seem to have set it down as an axiom, that confidence, like the cholera, is contagious; and that the more positive they are the more effectually will they convince their audience. These speakers frequently drink cold water during their fervid orations, out of glasses previously filled for their anticipated and pressing animal necessities. It is not at all surprising that these prompt orators should frequently stray from the subject, out of which a wise and enlightened speaker would weave in the loom of his understanding a whole piece of valuable instruction; whereas these speakers introduce a piece of one subject, and a piece of another; a fragment of one topic, and a shred of another; and thus a piece of coarse patch-work of many colours, is the mangled production of their uncommiserated toils. And if any reporter had the skill and industry to report verbatim one of these speeches, and any reader had the patience to enter into its chequered details, how often would he wonder by what possible obliquity of understanding, the speaker could have discovered the remotest bearing of some of the introduced and diversified topics, upon the subject in hand! Such is the absolute want of connection in many of these speeches, that if you were to takeaparts out, no chasm would be made! neither would the slightest defect be perceived. A subject which lays, (as the expression is) in a nutshell, and upon which, all that is necessary to be said for the purposes of practice and business,—and these are the only legitimate ends of all speaking,—ten minutes would suffice they will spin out to the tedious length of

hour; leaving the real DIFFICULTIES of the subject after all, very frequently untouched, and consequently unexplained. But little instruction is to be gathered from these speakers, except, that, without intending it, they teach us how ignorant they are—how strong are their prejudices—how great their presumption—how numerous their errors—how wretched the system in which they have been trained—and what novices they are in the art of persuasion!

Their intentions no doubt are good, and their burdens great; and we sincerely wish, and are anxiously striving for the removal of these burdens; but we think it would be much more beneficial for many of these orators, their wives and children, their friends, acquaintances, and society at large, if instead of aspiring to be public speakers, who require so much education, study, and time, they would be contented to be practically and privately useful, in the daily and hourly application of such principles as they understand, for want of which practical application many orators are mere cyphers in the great sum of human benevolence.

Our warmest wishes for their welfare induce us to tender them this advice, apart from our own feeling in the matter; for after all, while these speakers are copiously declaiming against TAXES, a subject which they no doubt heavily feel, and to which they necessarily gravitate in all their effusions—a constant resource whenever they are in need—they are imposing a very grievous tax upon the public; not a tax on light, or property; or articles of food or raiment; not a tax upon knowledge, of which the public has little; but a tax upon PATIENCE, of which it has less.

With no method in their addresses, little correct information, great volubility, unbounded confidence and love of debate, it is not at all surprising that these speeches to which we allude, should sometimes be forced on an unwilling audience, and prove very successful in creating worthless discussion and endless wrangling, that occupies precious time, exhausts patience, obstructs business, and confuses and disunites their hearers.

These speeches necessarily arise out of the present artificial and vile arrangements of that circle of society in which their well-meaning authors have been nurtured and formed. They are perfectly in keeping with every other matter connected with, belonging to, or partaking of these individuals. Never will there be a lack or a fear of a lack, of diversified and suitable subjects for speech-making as long as the present system of society survives. In its death there will be an end everlastingly put to the trade, since TRUTH alone, which will then be universally seen in its clearness, singleness, simplicity, and unchangeableness, would, if they were in existence, and dependent on speechifying, absolutely starve the whole oratorical profession to death.

*Institution, Grays-Inn-road,
July 17, 1832.*

TRUE BENEVOLENCE. TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—If ever human beings were made completely conscious of the true dignity of their nature, if ever they felt the ennobling influence which the principles that you advocate can have upon the human heart, it must have been those who attended your Institution this morning. By them my allusion to the circumstance which occurred there will be immediately anticipated. Could they behold a gentleman, who in making a few remarks upon the progress of our opinions in some agricultural districts he had visited, and in attempting to state (as he, what he felt upon contemplating that

the teeming crops of the bounties of Nature which he there saw around him, were, *through error*, destined to be so scantily distributed among the mass of his fellow creatures, was so overpowered by the immediate impulses of pity and benevolence as to burst into tears, and be unable to proceed with his observations.—Could they, I ask, witness this, without involuntarily sympathising with the feeling which elicited so delightful a manifestation of perfect benevolence? As for myself, however unused to the melting mood, I could not, in this instance by any effort keep my eyes from filling with tears; and as they trickled down my face, I felt my heart expand with the consciousness of their worth, and the firm conviction which they gave me of the perfectibility of man, amply compensated for the sorrow which accompanied them, that that perfectibility which all perfect wisdom has decreed to be progressive with knowledge, should be so opposed and retarded by ignorance. Here Sir, is a subject for those who hold the opinion of man's natural depravity, and that religion is absolutely necessary to check that depravity, we, professing your principles—who follow no religion—who worship no imaginary God, nor fear any imaginary devil—we, who confine our views to this world because our reason tells us that with our present means of knowledge, we can know nothing of any other; and who rely with confidence on the hope that the Great First Cause of Nature, whatever it may be, will make us fitted for the issue of death, as he has made us fitted for the result of life—we who are called Atheists, and Infidels, and every thing that is bad—we boast of being disciples—(and I saw many of them this morning,)—who can shed tears of pity for the misery which error has brought upon their fellow creatures, and which ignorance has suffered to remain so long. Can any of the religious creeds now in the world create a better feeling, nay, can they create so good a one as is here exemplified in those whose God is Nature—whose Hell is the effects of vice on earth, and whose Heaven is the terrestrial paradise which Truth is competent to establish? Ask any of the religious sects whether they do not desire to see mankind virtuous and happy—they would shudder at the supposition that they had any other object in view in promulgating their different creeds—we too, without religion have the same desire; and must they not then admit that human nature is really good without religion, and that no religion is wanted to better it? It is this belief in the goodness of human nature which gives your followers those cheering hopes which is the rock that Young was looking for, when he said, in his "Night Thoughts."

—"In this rapid tide of human ruin,
Is there no rock on which man's tossing thought
Can rest from terror, dare his fate survey,
And boldly think it something to be born?"

It is these hopes alone which open the prospect of real happiness to the human mind, and, from experience, for I once belonged to the old world, I fearlessly assert, that no other principles can give these hopes, so much indeed do I value these hopes, that were it possible I could exchange them for all the wealth in the world, I would refuse to do it.

To our opponents I would say, do not judge us too hastily—hesitate before you pronounce a premature judgment against us, for we are but following the example of that pious individual of antiquity whom superstition and priestcraft has called divine, who, as the Scripture tells us, "went about doing good."

In conclusion, Sir, I beg to reiterate the sentiments of the worthy man to whom this letter principally alludes, who observed that it now became the duty of all your followers to speak the Truth boldly; and, allow me to add, that in so doing we are acting charitably towards the whole of the human race, whereas by supineness we are but retarding the progress of human improvement.

I am, Sir,

Your obliged and humble follower,
*Sunday Noon,
15th July, 1832.*

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Concordia" and "Tom Jones," are in our hands.

Our late public meeting and matters connected immediately with it, necessarily occupies much of our paper, and also of a supplement, that we cannot this week insert, as we promised and intended, and which is all in type, the valuable communications of "Jacob Dixon" and "An Adherent of Divine Revelation."

Several of our articles are also laid aside for the present.

We have not lost sight of the "Jupitariana."

Mr. Sturges's Letter is received.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 21.

It is greatly to be desired that the public attention should be instantly directed to the new measures which we are about to adopt for the immediate relief of the daily increasing distresses of the Industrious Classes throughout this extravagantly rich and wretchedly poor country.

We allude to the general introduction of the Equitable Exchange Banks, and the free circulating medium which they will afford to society, commensurate at all times with its real wealth and wants.

But the advantages to be thus derived are too enormous to belong to any individuals for their own gain and accumulation; the public already suffers deeply from the gains of overgrown capitalists who produce nothing, who are of no benefit, but a serious grievance to the body politic. It is indeed full time that these insane proceedings should now terminate, for the safety of the public, and of these overgrown capitalists themselves whose imaginary property might otherwise be swept away in an hour.

To introduce this great and glorious change in the mercantile affairs of men, we must open their eyes to the actual condition in which they are to-day, and in which their ancestors were kept, through ignorance, for unknown centuries past.

It is therefore necessary, as a preliminary, now to state the actual condition of society; that the means may be discovered to break at once the spell of ignorance by which all ranks and classes appear to be encompassed, and, by an infatuation, of a character most difficult to define. Truly may it be said, that either man or society has always been irrational; for the interest, or, which is the same, the happiness of all require—

First, That no one should be allowed to grow up without the best physical, mental, and moral training. The means exist to give this training most easily to all, but it is not given to any. *This all will admit must be irrational.*

Second, That no one should experience the evils of actual poverty, or be permitted to know the fear of poverty. The great majority of man-

kind are subject to the one or both of these evils—the means exist to remove both immediately and effectually from the whole of society. These means are applied, not to produce, but to prevent the production of wealth. *This all will admit must be irrational.*

Third, That all should cordially unite in promoting the interest or happiness of each. This mode of conduct could be easily implanted in every one—all existing arrangements have been made to prevent this union of interests, and apparently with a view to keep man, if it be practicable, separate from man for ever. *This all must admit is irrational.*

Fourth, That each individual should have real charity, and kindness, carefully cultivated within him from infancy, for all of human kind. There are obvious means by which both may be most certainly effected—these means are never brought into action, but the most effectual measures are daily and hourly applied to prevent the growth of those thoughts and feelings, from which alone sincere charity and pure affection can ever arise, and to instil others that must produce evil passions of the worst description. *This all will admit must be irrational.*

Fifth, That the best character only that the original constitution of each child can receive should be given to every one—all except malformed organizations are capable of being made to acquire a good and most useful character—the utmost pains are taken, and an enormous expense is incurred to insure the most defective and inferior character to every child which nature submits to the care and protection of society. *This all will admit must be irrational.*

Sixth, That justice in the most simple form, at the least expense, and in the shortest time, should be awarded to every one—this could be easily effected in a plain and obvious manner to the great advantage of every member of society. This is not ever thought of; but on the contrary—the most cruel, unjust, oppressive, and futile arrangements have been introduced, not to obtain protection for the weak against the strong, but to hold out every inducement and give every facility to the strong and fraudulent to oppress the weak and unwary. *This all will admit must be irrational.*

Seventh, That the capital, skill, and industry of all should be applied in the best manner to produce the greatest amount of the most valuable wealth, to preserve it after it has been produced, and to distribute it the most advantageously for the use and enjoyment of society. This may be accomplished by a straight-forward practical measure easily to be understood and acted upon by all—but the most complicated arrangements exist to prevent the creation of the most valuable wealth, to render the scanty supply of inferior wealth produced difficult to preserve, and to put formidable obstacles in the way of its just or beneficial distribution. *This is surely most irrational.*

Eighth, That measures should be adopted to prevent disease and secure good health to all members of society. These measures may be most easily carried into execution throughout all the arrangements of a society well-constituted—now all the business of this country, and especially in the late improvements, as they are called, in the manufacturing districts, as well as the effects produced from an over-anxious state of mind arising from general pecuniary embarrassment, tend materially to generate disease both of body and mind, and yet those who have the immediate charge of the health of the community, have a direct interest to keep it in the most unhealthy condition. *All this is surely most irrational.*

Were we to proceed systematically through this development we should be compelled to occupy many numbers of our paper, but we must for the present desist, and close with one of the most immediate interest to all parties, as we may derive from it the shortest remedy for some of the most pressing evils produced by the irrational system in which all seem confounded and astonished.

Ninth, That a circulating medium of exchange should exist, to be obtained as easily as the wealth which it represents can be produced and brought to market—that there may be no limit to industry, or the creation of useful and desirable wealth—and that an end may be put to poverty and the fear of poverty for ever. Such a circulating medium may be most easily obtained, without injury to any class or individuals when proper arrangements shall be made for their relief. A fictitious, inconsistent, and most absurd medium, is now deemed the only sound and healthy one, that can be used, when it is almost the worst under existing circumstances that the world could adopt. *This all will admit must be irrational.*

Now to put a stop to this gross irrationality in the affairs of human life, causing so much daily and hourly unnecessary misery—a Public Meeting was held on Monday last in the Institution of the Industrious Classes to open this subject more particularly to the British public. That the Meeting, which after some delay, occasioned by the eternal talkers of a jargon called politics, which is always full of fury and violence, but ever amounting to nothing, but words without any substantive meaning, though often well intended by those who have been taught to believe that there must be some rationality in their proceedings, the resolutions, stated in Mr. Owen's speech, were unanimously adopted.

We must now endeavour to make our readers understand this part of our subject, and what we have in view, that the industrious classes, first, as they are the more immediate sufferers, and afterwards all classes, may be relieved from the irrational thralldom of metal money, and the fear of ever again wanting to resort to it to obtain real wealth.

As soon as men can be made to escape one of the gross irrationalities in which all, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, whether called wise or foolish, are now involved and overwhelmed; it will be at once perceived that the powers now possessed by society, if rightly used, are greatly more than can be required to saturate all countries with the most valuable wealth, and that plain common sense and moral courage are alone wanting to give the proper direction to these powers. We will now try whether we cannot aid human nature to overcome and remove those causes which have hitherto kept man in all countries in the grossly irrational state in which he now exists. The industrious governed, talking all manner of absurdities, and age after age performing all manner of follies at the bidding of their rulers; the governors, even now forming extensive arrangements to be carried into execution by those governed, to maintain the one and the other under the worst combination of irrational circumstances that could well be devised, and most assuredly leading to a long and sanguinary destruction of both—while to the ultimate result, no one can look with any satisfaction or confidence. To stop this career of human folly we are about to render the sinews of war and of immorality no longer available by these irrational parties for their cruel purposes.

The intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious classes, who can now, by their industry, properly applied, so easily create a superfluity of

wealth, will no longer sell their labour, their life's blood, for metals of less intrinsic value than iron. No! they will exchange it only for wealth of equal value, and with those only who are the rightful owners of such wealth—with those who have produced it, or who have a just right to it by valuable services performed in some way or other for the public.

This class, if there be any wisdom in man, will no longer be the irrational slaves of metals, which they can neither eat, drink, wear, or beneficially use for their most necessary and valuable purposes. No! if they have but one grain of common sense, they will now make a stand for themselves, their children, and indeed, for the direct benefit of every class in society, and reject altogether, except while forced by law, as long as such irrational laws can continue, to trade with those who deal in such false, cruel, oppressive, and worse than useless money—in a circulating medium that is of no earthly value, but to deceive all mankind to their injury. *It has been indeed, and is now, wherever used, the root of all evil.*

But for the infatuation of not making real wealth to furnish at all times its own representation to effect its exchange, poverty, with ordinary industry properly directed, after the improvements made in mechanic contrivances and chemical discoveries to aid and abridge labour, could never exist together.

We now say to all the industrious classes, exchange your labour for equal value of labour through the medium of Time Notes of Equitable Banks of Exchange, and you will be at once emancipated from poverty, and shortly from all manner of oppression, and from sin and wretchedness—never mind what ignorantly interested persons may say to you; persevere, and all will soon be right throughout society.

That which is now wanted is a rational and therefore beneficial compromise between you, the producers of real wealth on the one part, and the non-producers and the governors of society on the other part. This is the time to make it most advantageously for all parties concerned, and as the real power to command terms must be ere long in your hands, we strongly recommend you to adopt the full measure of charity and kindness in all your negotiations upon these subjects, which for a time, must be most trying to all those who now consider themselves your opponents. They have been your masters, and have acquired all the feelings which that situation naturally creates in men trained from their infancy to be irrational. You know not how we should rejoice to see you acquire sufficient rationality to conduct this change in such a manner, and you will have the power to do it, that not one of your fellow-creatures shall suffer by it in mind, body, or estate. This feeling was the first that occurred when we clearly perceived the glorious truths, through the knowledge of which the great change in human affairs, from ignorance and irrationality, to knowledge and rationality, could be effected; and we have but one object of personal ambition, all others weigh not a feather with us, and it is, *that this new birth to the human race—this magnificent change from error and misery to truth and happiness*, may be now accomplished without producing, if it be possible, to any one, even temporary evil. Time and space will not permit us to pursue this enticing subject further in this number, but we shall of course refer to it again and again until the producers and non-producers of human good shall discover their new positions in society, and shall be prepared to make a compromise of their present little futile interests that both may obtain another and a better, even one that shall enable them to enter without contest of any kind into

by comparison with the present mode of human existence, a terrestrial paradise.

It will be presently ascertained by the aid of this new circulating medium, whether the world has been irrational, or 'we have been wild visionary, or mad.

* Extracts relative to the principles on which these Banks and Medium of Exchange are founded, are given in the Supplementary Number.

PERSECUTION OF THE SAINT SIMONIANS.

WE make the following extract from a letter dated Paris, July 15, and which appeared in the Morning Chronicle of Tuesday last. The correspondent of the paper attaches the signature O. P. Q. to his valuable and diversified communication.

"The French government follow them (St. Simonians) from house to house—from hiding place to hiding place—to interrupt their religious services & prevent the propagation of their doctrines; they have crushed their journal by the demand for stamp duties, and now hold them up as public cheats who wish to advise wealthy people to join their body, in order that they might fleece them."

When will governments be contented with the wholesome and orthodox doctrine that persecution is not only unjust in principle but erroneous in policy? Persecution frequently gives importance to insignificance, publicity to obscurity, interest to unconcern, and sometimes the powers of the most active poison to the very dregs of stupidity. The sufferings of the persecuted are their armour, and their weakness is their strength. The fires which a cruel superstition has enkindled to consume her hunted and injured victims, have darted light into understandings impervious to every other illumination, and the blood which she has so copiously shed, so far from arresting the propagation of opinion, has accelerated it—blood is manure—it has fertilized the soil on which it was shed, made the plants more numerous and the fruit more abounding. Persecution lingers in the bosoms of many individuals in this country, whose spirit is restrained only by law. There are other inquisitions in the world beside that of Spain, and other persecutors beside Roman Catholics; in many families in England are they to be found, and the candid declaration of heterodox opinions within their arbitrary and orthodox precincts is highly dangerous. Where servants lose their places, tradesmen their business, or assistants their situations, on account of their opinions alone, and for no other cause whatsoever; that deprivation is, to all intents and purposes, radical persecution and the very essence of popery, with this very important distinction in favour of the papal power, that, while she persecutes heterodox opinions, she strictly prohibits their expression; protestantism, allows their expression first, and then punishes it afterwards. The issue will shew what effect persecution will have upon the propagation of the doctrines of St. Simon.

PUBLIC MEETING AT THE INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD.

On Monday last, at one o'clock, a very numerous and respectable meeting of the different classes interested in the prosperity of trade and commerce, was held at the above-mentioned Institution, pursuant to an advertisement which has appeared in all the public papers. The capacious and convenient platform, which yields in accommodation and arrangement to none in London, was crowded with ladies and gentlemen, amongst whom were many literary characters; and the superb and spacious lecture room, where the business of the meeting was transacted, was filled to an oppressive excess.

On the motion of Mr. OWEN, which motion

was unanimously supported by the meeting, the Rev. Arthur S. WADE, D.D. Rector of St. Nicholas, Warwick, was called to the chair.

Dr. WADE, who was received with great approbation, having taken the chair, arose and said the object of the meeting being a matter of business, and of practical measures, he should leave it to other gentlemen of greater experience to explain those practical measures. He would, however, state, that they were destined to effect the greatest happiness of the greatest possible number, in the shortest period of time. He was proud to preside at a meeting which contemplated such a benevolent object.

Mr. OWEN said they were met to take into consideration the best method of establishing Parochial and National Banks of Exchange. As he always disliked keeping people in suspense, he would immediately proceed to read the Resolutions, which would make the Meeting better understand the subsequent remarks and proceedings. He then read the Resolutions to the following effect:—That the present system of society has proved inadequate to produce the prosperity that ought to exist among the population of Great Britain; that the means abounded to produce such prosperity; that the monetary system, as at present established, was the chief cause of all existing evils; that gold, silver, and ordinary bank notes of credit are inadequate to exchange the wealth that may be produced by the industry of the United Kingdom; that the time had arrived for the introduction of a natural medium of exchange by means of notes representing the average labour or time necessary to produce the wealth which each note should be made to represent. That a Preliminary National or Parochial Bank be established. That the funds accruing from these banks be applied to render poor rates unnecessary, to feed and educate the poor, and that the surplus gains should pay the interest and the principal of the National Debt. That a Committee be formed to take the whole of this important subject into serious consideration. It would be easily seen from these Resolutions, what were the measures the meeting had to consider. Could it be believed that the wide-spreading misery which had prevailed during the last twelve years in England, Scotland, and Ireland had arisen entirely from the ignorance of those who were at the head of the Government of those countries? Such, however, was the fact, though no real reason could be given during that period, why one should have died—but it is well known that many did die of sheer want. In the year 1820, considerable distress prevailed among the agricultural classes, so much so, and particularly in the county of Lanark, that the wealthier portion of society did not know what to do in order to lighten that distress. The real and immediate cause was the measures adopted by Sir R. Peel and his colleagues to return to cash payments. He (Mr. Owen) was then applied to by the nobility, gentry, and people of Lanark to draw up a report, setting forth the best means of applying a remedy equal to the occasion. He did draw up a report, which was laid before a great County Meeting; but as many of the persons now present must be ignorant of its contents, he would beg leave to read some extracts from it. If what he had proposed then had been acted upon, every class of society would be at this present moment in comparative affluence. [The extracts of the Report were then read. These extracts will be found in the supplementary number.] As this Report contained several recommendations that required acts of Parliament to put them into effect, he would pass them over, and attach himself to one which may be effected without having recourse to any act of the legislature. As he never recommended measures which would bring down any injury upon any portion of the community, he would not do it now. What he wished was, to raise the very poorest to a more enviable station than that in which the richest were but who are now sunk so low that all further humiliation would be an entire ruin to them, he had determined to be no longer an expounder of a system, but to put it into action at once. He had been long waiting for the proper time, and he called upon them to rejoice with him, for the

fitting time was now come. The industrious classes had the substance, but the aristocracy, who had scarcely the shadow, enjoyed that substance. He would ask whether gold and silver were things absolutely necessary [no! from all parts of the room.] They are not the intrinsic value of hire. He would explain briefly his system. Here was a book (taking one in his hand,)—a committee would say what it was worth—that is, what was its value in labour. A receipt would then be given, and such a receipt would entitle the holder to purchase to its full value any other thing he might stand in need of. Banks would be established in this metropolis, and throughout the country, where every thing would be obtained according to its labour value. If this system had been adopted, all the misery, all the poverty, all the ignorance, and all the inequality that has so long existed, would not now be heard of. From the wretched distribution of property proceeded all the present evils of society. One-third of the population derived its subsistence from distributing the wealth which the other portion creates. It would be much better if a large part of that one-third was employed in producing this wealth than in consuming it. He wished to introduce no measures hastily, least they should cause confusion, and injure a great number. It was for this reason that he had called together a meeting of the bankers, merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans of this metropolis—nothing shall be done without the whole world being previously informed of it. The Aristocracy would not at first like these proceedings, for what would they do when his system was put into effect? Where would they get food and clothes, unless they worked for them? It would be necessary, as Mr. O'Connell said lately, of the Irish Clergy, to allow them a life annuity. (laughter.) I hope the parish of St. Pancras will set an example, by establishing a local bank of exchange. If it does it will soon get rid of its poor rates, which amount to so great a sum, and, besides, will be enabled to give the poor the means of maintaining and educating themselves (cheers.)—Morning Chronicle.

* This Report of the Speech of Mr. Owen is copied from the Morning Chronicle. Mr. Owen said much more than is here reported, and referred to his Memorials to the Governments of Europe and America, and to the Allied Powers in 1818, and to his Addresses at Public Meetings in Ireland, in 1823; Extracts from which Documents will be found in the Supplementary Number. He emphatically pressed upon the Meeting the fact THAT WHAT HE THEN FORETOLD, HAD NOW COME TO PASS.

Mr. OWEN then read his resolutions again to the meeting *seriatim*. All were approved of till he came to that by which he proposed to pay off the national debt, when a gentleman from the room said he was prepared to oppose that resolution, and to shew that the national debt should not be paid at all. Being called upon state his opinion, he went upon the platform and announced himself as,

Mr. DUFFIE.—He said that they were called on to approve of the national debt, under the appearance of approving of a system, the advantages of which were only prospective, and as must appear to Mr. Owen himself, who had laboured for twenty years in vain, without being able to establish his system, and to the meeting, which had listened to Mr. Owen's Address, that the advantages of the system were very problematical. He (Mr.

Continued in the Supplementary Number.

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THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. No. 20.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

Continued from page 76.

Duffie) considered this only as a mere trick to get them to acknowledge the national debt.—(No, no, and groans, which prevented him for some time being heard). He then said there were many excellent truths in the Owen System, nevertheless he thought it impracticable as a whole. He laid great stress on the circumstance of the Meeting recognizing the payment of the National Debt, and appealed to the men of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, who were present, to abjure every acknowledgment of the debt. He execrated it from his very soul. (A man here cried "you call it a debt, why then talk of not paying it.") This staggered the Orator a little. He then declaimed against the utility of Exchange Banks, and stated a case of a great difference in the valuation of some boots, which had occurred in some Exchange Committee of which he was a member. He said he would move an amendment to a part of Mr. Owen's resolution, but in the first place it was necessary that Mr. Owen's resolution should be seconded.

Mr. ROSSER in a very short and appropriate speech, in which, referring to poverty, he said "we should think it very singular, if in a room that was brilliantly lighted, the people complained of darkness; and yet, said he, in the very midst of plenty—in the granary of the world, people are stretching out their hands for food."—Seconded the resolution.

Mr. DUFFY moved, as an amendment, that the meeting did not approve of the national debt, which Mr. Owen has characterized as unjust, being paid off.

Mr. CLEAVE seconded the amendment.

The meeting was then addressed by Mr. O'Brien, the Rev. Thomas Macconnell, Mr. Savage, Mr. Murphy, and other gentlemen, into whose speeches, which turned chiefly on the objectionable part of the resolution, our limits will not allow us to enter.

The Chairman begged leave, before he put the resolutions, to offer a suggestion, which he hoped would reconcile both parties. It was, that the surplus profits arising from the exchange-bank system should be distributed or employed according to the determination of deputies, appointed by both parties.

The suggestion was adopted, and Mr. Duffy's amendment withdrawn.

The following Gentlemen were then unanimously appointed a Committee, to take this subject into

their consideration; and to report thereon to a general parish meeting to be held at the very earliest convenience, at the Institution Gray's Inn Road:—
Messrs. T. Alsop. Messrs. — O'Brien.

S. Austin.	R. Owen.
T. Blakeman.	R. D. Owen.
J. Braby.	B. Pratt.
T. Bugden.	J. Reddish.
— Case.	C. Rosser.
C. Green.	— Ryland.
— Harnden.	— Savage.
W. Hoskins.	J. D. Styles.
— Michell.	C. Tiffin.
T. Murphy.	W. Willis.
E. Nash.	Rev. A. S. Wade, D. D.

A vote of thanks, amid three cheers, was then given to the Rev. Chairman; when the meeting separated, at eight o'clock.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT TO THE COUNTY OF LANARK.

BY ROBERT OWEN.

1831.

The evil for which your Reporter has been required to provide a remedy, is the general want of employment, at wages sufficient to support the family of a working man beneficially for the community. After the most earnest consideration of the subject, he has been compelled to conclude, that such employment cannot be procured through the medium of trade, commerce, or manufactures, or even of agriculture, until the Government and the Legislature, cordially supported by the country, shall previously adopt measures to remove obstacles, which, without their interference, will now permanently keep the working classes in poverty and discontent, and gradually deteriorate all the resources of the empire.

Your Reporter has been impressed with the truth of this conclusion, by the following considerations:—

1st, That manual labour, properly directed, is the source of all wealth, and of national prosperity.

2d, That, when properly directed, labour is of far more value to the community than the expense necessary to maintain the labourer in considerable comfort.

3d, That manual labour, properly directed, may be made to continue of this value in all parts of the world, under any supposable increase of its population, for many centuries to come.

4th, That, under a proper direction of manual

labour, Great Britain and its dependencies may be made to support an incalculable increase of population, most advantageously for all its inhabitants.

5th, That, when manual labour shall be so directed, it will be found that population cannot, for many years, be stimulated to advance, as rapidly as society might be benefitted by its increase.

These considerations, deduced from the first and most obvious principles of the science of political economy, convinced your Reporter, that some formidable artificial obstacle intervened to obstruct the natural improvement and progress of society.

It is well known, that, during the last half century in particular, Great Britain, beyond any other nation, has progressively increased its powers of production, by a rapid advancement in scientific improvements and arrangements, introduced, more or less, into all the departments of productive industry throughout the empire. The amount of this new productive power cannot, for want of proper data, be very accurately estimated; but your Reporter has ascertained, from facts which none will dispute, that its increase has been enormous;—that, compared with the manual labour of the whole population of Great Britain and Ireland, it is at least, as 40 to 1, and may be easily made as 100 to 1; and that this increase may be extended to other countries:—that it is already sufficient to saturate the world with wealth, and that the power of creating wealth may be made to advance perpetually in an accelerating ratio. It appeared to your Reporter, that the natural effect of the aid thus obtained from knowledge and science, should be, to add to the wealth and happiness of society, in proportion as the new power increased, and was judiciously directed; and that, in consequence, all parties would thereby be substantially benefitted. All know, however, that these beneficial effects do not exist; on the contrary, it must be acknowledged, that the working classes, which form so large a proportion of the population, cannot obtain even the comforts which their labour formerly procured for them, and that no party appears to gain, but all to suffer, by their distress.

Having taken this view of the subject, your Reporter was induced to conclude, that the want of beneficial employment for the working classes, and the consequent public distress, were owing to the rapid increase of the new productive power, for the advantageous application of which, society had neglected to make the proper arrangements. Could these arrangements be formed, he entertained the most confident expectation, that productive employment might again be found for all who required it; and that the national distress, of which all now so loudly complain, might be gradually converted into a much higher degree of prosperity, than was attainable prior to the extraordinary accession lately made to the productive powers of society.

Cheered by such a prospect, your Reporter directed his attention to the consideration of the pos-

ability of devising arrangements, by means of which the whole population might participate in the benefits derivable from the increase of scientific productive power; and he has the satisfaction to state to the meeting, that he has strong grounds to believe that such arrangements are practicable. His opinion, on this important part of the subject, is founded on the following considerations:—

1st, It must be admitted, that scientific, or artificial aid to man, increases his productive powers, his natural wants remaining the same; and, in proportion as his productive powers increase, he becomes less dependent on his physical strength, and on the many contingencies connected with it.

2d, That the direct effect of every addition to scientific, or mechanical and chemical power, is, to increase wealth; and it is found, accordingly, that the immediate cause of the present want of employment for the working classes, is an excess of production of all kinds of wealth, by which, under the existing arrangements of commerce, all the markets of the world are overstocked.

3d, That, could markets be found, an incalculable addition might yet be made to the wealth of society, as is most evident from the number of persons who seek employment, and the far greater number who, from ignorance, are inefficiently employed, but still more from the means we possess of increasing, to an unlimited extent, our scientific powers of production.

4th, That the deficiency of employment for the working classes, cannot proceed from a want of wealth or capital, or of the means of greatly adding to that which now exists, but from some defect in the mode of distributing this extraordinary addition of new capital throughout society, or, to speak commercially, from the want of a market or means of exchange co-extensive with the means of production.

Were effective measures devised to facilitate the distribution of wealth, after it was created, your Reporter could have no difficulty in suggesting the means of beneficial occupation for all who are unemployed, and for a considerable increase to their number.

Your Reporter is aware, that mankind are naturally averse to the commencement of any material alteration in long established practices, and that, in many cases, such an innovation, however beneficial its tendency, cannot take place unless forced on society by strong necessity.

It is urgent necessity alone, that will effect the changes which our present situation demands; one of which respects the mode of distributing the enormous supply of new wealth or capital, which has been lately created, and which may be now indefinitely increased. To the ignorance which prevails on this, and other subjects connected with the science of political economy, may be attributed the present general stagnation of commerce, and the consequent distress of the country.

Your Reporter, undismayed by any opposition which he may excite, is determined to perform his duty, and to use his utmost exertions to induce the Public to take into calm consideration, those practical measures, which to him appear the only remedy adequate to remove the distress.

One of the measures which he thus ventures to propose, to let prosperity loose on the country, (if he may be allowed the expression,) is a change in the standard of value. It is true, that, in the civilized parts of the world, gold and silver have been long used for this purpose; but these metals have been a mere artificial standard, and they have performed the office very imperfectly and inconveniently. Their introduction as a standard of value, altered the intrinsic values of all things into artificial values; and, in consequence, they have materially retarded the general improvement of society. So much so, indeed, that, in this sense, it may well be said, "Money is the root of all evil." It is fortunate for society, that these metals cannot longer perform the task which ignorance assigned to them. The rapid increase of wealth, which extraordinary scientific improvements had been the means of producing in this country, prior to 1797, imposed upon

the Legislature, in that year, an overwhelming necessity to declare virtually, by Act of Parliament, that gold ceased to be the British standard of value. Experience then proved that gold and silver could no longer practically represent the increased wealth created by British industry, aided by its scientific improvements. A temporary expedient was thought of and adopted, and Bank of England paper became the British legal standard of value;—a convincing proof that society may make any artificial substance, whether possessing intrinsic worth or not, a legal standard of value. It soon appeared, however, that the adoption of this new artificial standard was attended with extreme danger, because it placed the prosperity and well-being of the community at the mercy of a trading company, which, although highly respectable in that capacity, was itself, in a great degree, ignorant of the nature of the mighty machine which it wielded. The Legislature, with almost one voice, demanded that this monopoly of the standard of value should cease. But it was wholly unprepared with a remedy. The expedient adopted, was to make preparations for an attempt to return to the former artificial standard, which, in 1797, was proved by experience to be inadequate to represent the then existing wealth of the British empire, and which was, of course, still more inadequate to the purpose, when that wealth, and the means of adding to it, had been, in the interim, increased to an incalculable extent. This impolitic measure involved the Government in the most formidable difficulties, and plunged the country into poverty, discontent, and danger.

Seeing the distress which a slight progress towards the fulfilment of this measure has already occasioned, by the unparalleled depression of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, and the consequent almost annihilation of the value of labour, it is to be hoped that the Government and the Legislature, and the enlightened and reasonable part of society, will pause while they are yet only on the brink of the frightful abyss, into which they are about to precipitate the prosperity and safety of themselves and the country.

The meeting may now justly ask of the Reporter, what remedy he has to offer, and what standard of value he proposes to substitute for gold and silver.

Before proceeding to this part of the subject, he begs to claim the indulgence of the meeting for occupying so much of its time, trusting that the intricacy, difficulty, and importance of the question, added to the daily increasing poverty and distress of the working classes, (going on apparently without limitation), and the consequent alarming and dangerous state of the country, will be accepted as some apology for him; and more especially when it is considered, that he is not advocating any private interest, but simply stating a case, in which the prosperity and well-being of all ranks in the community are deeply concerned.

To understand the subject on which your Reporter is now about to enter, requires much profound study of the whole circle of political economy. A knowledge of some of its parts, with ignorance of the remainder, will be found to be most injurious to the practical statesman; and it is owing to this cause, perhaps, more than to any other, that the world has been so wretchedly governed; for the object of this science is to direct how the whole faculties of men may be the most advantageously applied, whereas those powers have been combined, hitherto, chiefly to retard the improvements of society. Your Reporter, then, after deeply studying these subjects, practically and theoretically, for a period exceeding thirty years, and during which, his practice, without a single exception, has confirmed the theory which practice first suggested, now ventures to state, as one of the results of this study and experience, that the natural standard of value is, in principle, human labour, or the combined manual and mental powers of men called into action; and that it would be highly beneficial, and has now become absolutely necessary, to reduce this principle into immediate practice.

It will be said by those who have taken a superficial or mere partial view of the question, that

human labour or power is so unequal in individuals, that its average amount cannot be estimated. Already, however, the average physical power of men as well as of horses (equally varied in the individuals) has been calculated for scientific purposes, and both now serve to measure inanimate powers. On the same principle, the average of human labour or power may be ascertained; and as it forms the essence of all wealth, its value in every article of produce may be also ascertained, and its exchangeable value with all other values fixed accordingly; the whole to be permanent for a given period. Human labour would thus acquire its natural or intrinsic value, which would increase as science advanced; and this is, in fact, the only really useful object of science. The demand for human labour would be no longer subject to caprice, nor would the support of human life be made, as at present, a perpetually varying article of commerce, and the working classes made the slaves of an artificial system of wages, more cruel in its effects than any slavery ever practised by society, either barbarous or civilized. This change in the standard of value would immediately open the most advantageous domestic markets, until the wants of all were amply supplied, nor while this standard continued, could any evil arise in future from the want of markets. It would secure the means for the most unlimited and advantageous intercourse and exchange with other nations, without compromising national interests, and enable all Governments to withdraw every existing injurious commercial restriction. It would render unnecessary and entirely useless the present demoralizing system of bargaining between individuals, and no practice perhaps tends more than this to deteriorate and degrade the human character. It would speedily remove pauperism and ignorance from society, by furnishing time and means for the adequate instruction of the working classes, who might be rendered of far more commercial value to themselves and to society, than they have yet been, at any period of the world. It would supply the means of gradually improving the condition of all ranks to an extent not yet to be estimated. And as it would materially improve human nature, and raise all in the scale of well-being and happiness, none could be injured or oppressed.

These are some of the important advantages which would arise (when due preparation shall be made for the change) from introducing the natural standard of value, and abandoning an artificial one, which can no longer serve the purpose.

It now remains to be considered how this change can be effected without creating temporary confusion. To accomplish this desirable object, several legislative measures will be necessary. The first, as an intermediate and temporary one, to put a stop to the increasing pecuniary distress of the working classes, will be to relieve the country from the ruinous effects which have been produced by the various attempts to compel a return to cash payments; a longer perseverance in which is calculated to derange the whole of the existing social system. The attempt will prove as vain, as to try to restore a full grown bird to the shell in which it was hatched, or to make the clothes of an infant cover a giant; for the improvements of society have equally outgrown the late system of cash payments. Should the attempt be persevered in, no more wealth will be created, and much of that which is now considered wealth will be destroyed. A perseverance in such a course will compel the working classes to starve or emigrate, while the present higher orders will be left an easy prey to their enemies and to poverty. No real benefit could arise to any party from a return to cash payments, if such a measure were practicable.

The next step is, to adopt such measures as will permit the labouring unoccupied poor to be employed to raise their own subsistence, and as large a surplus for the infant, the aged, and the incapacitated poor, as their labour can be made to yield; the labourer to receive an equitable remuneration for the surplus he may create.

But the industry of the poor, thus applied, will

and still further to overstock the markets of the world with agricultural and manufactured produce, and in the same proportion, to decrease the *nominal or nominal prices* of both, and of course add to the public distress.

It is this view of the subject that has induced your Reporter so strongly to urge those who take a lead in the affairs of this populous and distressed country, to come forward, at this critical juncture to recommend to Government, and to petition the Legislature, to take into their most serious consideration such means as may be proposed, to remove the existing obstructions in the way of the general prosperity of the country.

It is the want of a profitable market that alone checks the successful and otherwise beneficial industry of the working classes. The markets of the world are created solely by the remuneration allowed for the industry of the working classes, and these markets are more or less extended and profitable, in proportion as these classes are well or ill remunerated for their labour. But the existing arrangements of society will not permit the labourer to be remunerated for his industry, and in consequence all markets fail. To re-create and extend demand in proportion as the late scientific improvements and others which are hourly advancing to perfection, extend the means of supply, the natural standard of value is required. It will be found equal to the important task which it has to perform. It will at once remove the obstruction which has paralyzed the industry of the country; and experience will prove, that this effect cannot be accomplished by any other expedient.

Your Reporter, having given the foregoing general explanation of the principles which his experience leads him to recommend for adoption to relieve the country from its distress and danger, will now proceed to a development of all the measures necessary to put these principles into practice.

It now remains that the principle should be generally explained by which an advantageous interchange and exchange may be made of the greatly increased products of labour, which will be created by the spade cultivation, aided by the improved arrangements now contemplated.

These incalculably increased products will render gold, the old artificial standard of value, far more unfit for the task which is to be performed than it was in 1797, when it ceased to be the British legal standard of value, or than it is now, when wealth has so much increased.

Your Reporter is of opinion, that the natural standard of human labour, fixed to represent its natural worth, or power of creating new wealth, will alone be found adequate to the purposes required.

To a mind coming first to this subject, innumerable and apparently insurmountable difficulties will occur; but by the steady application of that fixed and persevering attention, which is alone calculated successfully to contend against and overcome difficulties, every obstacle will vanish, and the practice will prove simple and easy.

That which can create new wealth, is of course worth the wealth which it creates. Human labour, whenever common justice shall be done to human beings, can now be applied to produce, advantageously for all ranks in society, many times the amount of wealth that is necessary to support the individual in considerable comfort. Of this new wealth so created, the labourer who produces it is justly entitled to his fair proportion; and the best interests of every community require that the producer should have a fair and fixed proportion of all the wealth which he creates. This can be assigned to him on no other principle, than by forming arrangements by which the natural standard of value shall become the practical standard of value. To make labour the standard of value, it is necessary to ascertain the amount of it in all articles to be bought and sold. This is, in fact, already accomplished, and is denoted, by what in commerce is technically termed, "the prime cost," or the net value of the whole labour contained in any article of value,—the material contained in, or consumed by,

the manufacture of the article, forming a part of the whole labour.

The great object of society is, to obtain wealth, and to enjoy it.

The genuine principle of barter was, to exchange the supposed prime cost of, or value of labour, in one article, against the prime cost of, or amount of labour contained in any other article. This is the only equitable principle of exchange; but, as inventions increased, and human desires multiplied, it was found to be inconvenient in practice. Barter was succeeded by commerce, the principle of which is, to produce or procure every article at the lowest, and to obtain for it in exchange, the highest amount of labour. To effect this, an artificial standard of value was necessary; and metals were, by common consent among nations, permitted to perform the office. This principle, in the progress of its operation, has been productive of important advantages, and of very great evils; but, like barter, it has been suited to a certain stage of society. It has stimulated invention; it has given industry and talent to the human character, and secured the future exertion of those energies which otherwise might have remained dormant and unknown. But it has made man ignorantly, individually selfish; placed him in opposition to his fellows; engendered fraud and deceit; blindly urging him forward to create, but deprived him of the wisdom to enjoy. In striving to take advantage of others, he has overreached himself. The strong hand of necessity will now force him into the path which conducts to that wisdom in which he has been so long deficient. He will discover the advantages to be derived from uniting in practice the best parts of the principles of barter and commerce, and dismissing those which experience has proved to be inconvenient and injurious. This substantial improvement in the progress of society, may be easily effected by exchanging all articles with each other at their prime cost, or with reference to the amount of labour in each, which can be equitably ascertained, and by permitting the exchange to be made through a convenient medium, to represent this value, and which will thus represent a real and unchanging value, and be issued only as substantial wealth increases. The profit of production will arise, in all cases, from the value of the labour contained in the article produced, and it will be for the interest of society that this profit should be most ample. Its exact amount will depend upon what, by strict examination, shall be proved to be the present real value of a day's labour; calculated with reference to the amount of wealth, in the necessities and comforts of life, which an average labourer may, by temperate exertions, be now made to produce. It would require an accurate and extended consideration of the existing state of society to determine the exact value of the unit or day's labour, which society ought now to fix as a standard of value:—but a more slight and general view of the subject is sufficient to show, that this unit need not represent a less value than the wealth contained in the necessities and comforts of life, which may now be purchased with five shillings. The landholder and capitalist, would be benefitted by this arrangement in the same degree with the labourer, because labour is the foundation of all values, and it is only from labour, liberally remunerated, that high profits can be paid for agricultural and manufactured products. Depressed as the value of labour now is, there is no proposition in Euclid more true, than that society would be immediately benefitted, in a great variety of ways, to an incalculable extent, by making labour the standard of value. By this expedient, all the markets in the world, which are now virtually closed against offering a profit to the producers of wealth, would be opened to an unlimited extent; and in each individual exchange, all the parties interested would be sure to receive ample remuneration for their labour.

Before this change can be carried into effect, various preparatory measures will be necessary; the explanatory details of which will naturally succeed the development of those arrangements which your Reporter has to propose, to give all the advantages

to the spade cultivation, of which that system of husbandry is susceptible.

The next question is, in what manner is this produce to be disposed of? Society has been hitherto so constituted, that all parties are afraid of being over-reached by others, and, without great care to secure their individual interests, of being deprived of the means of existence. This feeling has created a universal selfishness of the most ignorant nature, for it almost ensures the evils which it means to prevent. These new associations can scarcely be formed before it will be discovered that, by the most simple and easy regulations, all the natural wants of human nature may be abundantly supplied; and the principle of selfishness (in the sense in which that term is here used) will cease to exist, for want of an adequate motive to produce it. It will be quite evident to all, that wealth, of that kind which will alone be held in any estimation amongst them, may be so easily created to exceed all their wants, that every desire for individual accumulation will be extinguished. To them individual accumulation of wealth will appear as irrational, as to bottle up or store water in situations where there is more of this invaluable fluid than all can consume. With this knowledge, and the feelings which will arise from it, the existing thousand counteractions to the creation of new wealth will also cease, as well as those innumerable motives to deception which now pervade all ranks of society. A principle of equity and justice, openness and fairness, will influence the whole proceedings of these societies. There will consequently be no difficulty whatever in the exchange of the products of labour, mental or manual, among themselves. The amount of labour in all products calculated on the present principle of estimating the prime cost of commodities, will be readily ascertained, and the exchange made accordingly. There will be no inducement to raise or manufacture an inferior article, or to deteriorate, by deceptions practices, any of the necessities, comforts, or luxuries of life. Every one will distinctly see it to be the immediate interest of all, that none of these irrational proceedings shall take place; and the best security against their occurrence, will be the entire absence of all motives to have recourse to them. As the easy, regular, healthy, rational employment of the individuals forming these societies, will create a very large surplus of their own products, beyond what they will have any desire to consume, each may be freely permitted to receive from the general store of the community whatever they may require. This in practice, will prove to be the greatest economy, and will at once remove all those pre-conceived insurmountable difficulties that now haunt the minds of those who have been trained in common society, and who necessarily view all things through the distorted medium of their own little circle of local prejudices.

It may be safely predicted, that one of these new associations cannot be formed, without creating a general desire throughout society to establish others, and that they will rapidly multiply. The same knowledge and principles which unite the interests of the individuals within each establishment, will as effectually lead to the same kind of enlightened union between the different establishments. They will each render to the others the same benefits as are now given, or rather much greater benefits than are now given to each other, by the members of the most closely united and affectionate families. In their original formation, they will be established so as to yield the greatest reciprocity of benefits. The peculiar produce to be raised in each establishment, beyond the general supply of the necessities and comforts of life, which, if possible, will be abundantly created in each, will be adapted to afford the greatest variety of intrinsically valuable objects to exchange with each other; and the particular surplus products which will serve to give energy and pleasure to the industry of the members of each association, will be regulated by the nature of the soil and climate, and other local capabilities of the situation of each establishment. In all these, labour will be the standard of value, and as there will

always be a progressive advance in the amount of labour, manual, mental, and scientific, if we suppose population to increase under these arrangements, there will be, in the same proportion, a perpetually extending market or demand for all the industry of society, whatever may be its extent. Under such arrangements, what are technically called "bad times," can never occur.

These establishments will be provided with granaries and warehouses, which will always contain a supply sufficient to protect the population against the occurrence even of more unfavourable seasons, than have ever yet been experienced since agriculture has been general in society. In these granaries and storehouses, proper persons will be appointed to receive, examine, deposit, and deliver out again, the wealth of these communities. Arrangements will be formed to distribute this wealth among the members of the association which created it, and to exchange the surplus, for the surplus of the other communities, by general regulations that will render these transactions most simple and easy, to whatever distance these communities may extend.

A paper representative of the value of labour, manufactured on the principle of the new notes of the Bank of England, will serve for every purpose of their domestic commerce or exchanges, and will be issued only for intrinsic value received and in store. It has been mentioned already, that all motives to deception will be effectually removed from the minds of the inhabitants of these new villages, and of course forgeries, though not guarded against by this new improvement, would not have any existence among them; and as this representative would be of no use in old society, no injury could come from that quarter.

EXTRACT

FROM THE

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

HELD IN DUBLIN.

1823.

The materials required to produce real wealth are land, capital, labor, skill, industry, mechanism, a knowledge of chemistry, and of the other sciences and arts.

No one will suppose that, for many centuries, there can be any want of land to grow whatever can contribute to the enjoyment of man: or that as long as the individual can create much more than he wishes to consume, there can be any real want of capital: or, that while so many millions of human beings are so uselessly occupied as most of the labouring classes now are, or partially or entirely unemployed as so many are, there can be any want of labour—or that, considering the advanced state of the arts and sciences, and when all shall have the benefit of a scientific and useful practical education, there is any likelihood of a want of skill and knowledge in mechanism, chemistry, or any of the sciences or arts: or that, when all shall be trained to enjoy active pursuits, and to derive the full benefit of their own labours, aided by others, there can be any lack of industry.

But the new power which has been latterly obtained from mechanism and science, which is hourly increasing, and which may be extended without limit, may be so applied as to render any severe or disagreeable manual labour altogether unnecessary; for a proportion of physical exertion on the part of the working classes, not greater than is requisite to give them good health and spirits, will be more than sufficient, combined with scientific power properly directed, for all the purposes of society.

Fortunately, then, society superabounds in all the

materials which can be desired to give advantages to every human being, such as no one has yet enjoyed. Nothing more is now wanting than a knowledge of the means by which those materials can be combined and applied for the interest of all.

That a surplus may thus be created by every working portion of the human race, much greater than has ever yet been produced, no practical man can entertain any doubt. It is also evident, that, by the arrangements proposed, the working classes, or the actual producers of all wealth, will attain at length, their right place in society, and enjoy something like a fair proportion of the benefits which they produce so lavishly for others. All the valuable faculties, and the amiable dispositions of human nature, may thus be called into full action over the world by the right education and employment of every individual—and peace, order, and real virtue be permanently established among mankind.

The prospect before us is truly so great and glorious and delightful, that I feel some difficulty in turning away from the contemplation of it. I must, however, direct your attention to other views, though of a less inviting nature, that you may be enabled to understand, in detail, the practical measures by which you are to relieve yourselves from the poverty and ignorance, and degradation, under which your country has so long suffered.

You have seen with how much ease an abundant supply of all things may be now created for the use of man. But, according to the present system of the world, it signifies little how much is, or can be, created, unless reserving only a very little portion for ourselves, we can either force or cajole some parties, it matters not whom, whether friends or foes, to receive from us a large quantity of our most valuable productions after we have carried them many thousands of miles to their doors—and to give us in exchange for them, a small quantity of their least useful commodities; although, with a tenth or a twentieth part of all this cost and trouble, we could far better supply ourselves at home with articles to supersede these, of much greater intrinsic value. Thus, while each portion of the earth could be converted into a terrestrial paradise, by the well-directed industry of its inhabitants, annually creating an abundance for all, mankind exert far more industry and incur the most extraordinary risks, in the pursuits of a foreign commerce, which, when apparently the most successful, is the most injurious to them.

Neither is it sufficient for man, as he has been hitherto trained, instructed and governed, that he should possess the most ample means of creating real wealth—he must also have it represented by metals of little intrinsic value, of which a very small quantity, comparatively speaking, can be found, and of which it is not only difficult, but impossible for the greater part of mankind to obtain what is necessary for so irrational a course of proceeding.

From this cause have resulted the most complicated transactions of business, constituting what is called foreign and domestic commerce, or a general system of buying and selling, or exchanging productions for metals; by means of which, men seek to supply themselves, in the best manner, as they imagine, with all they want. This system, although it has ever been injurious to mankind, was yet endurable so long as manual labour remained of sufficient value to enable a working man to maintain his family in some degree of comfort, or as long as the supply of the wants of the world were less than the means afforded by the value of manual labour to purchase such supply. As soon, however, as scientific power, or the improvements, inventions and discoveries in mechanism and chemistry, and the arts, had advanced so far as to be applied to supersede manual labour, and were brought into direct competition with it, increasing the supply prodigiously on the one hand, and diminishing, on the other, the means of purchasing that supply—the system of buying and selling for metals became extremely inconvenient. It is daily increasing our embarrassments, and will soon be discovered to be so injurious to the interests of all parties, and so

destructive of the prosperity of society, that it must at length be abandoned, as being altogether incompatible with the new state of things which has arisen. Commercial exchanges, to the limited extent within which they will be useful, and required in a rational state of society, ought to be made through some convenient medium which would represent the real value, or the amount of labour contained in each article to be exchanged. For the very short period during which these exchanges will be necessary, a paper representative, or notes (prepared according to the plan lately submitted to the bank of England, by Applegath and Cowper,) representing any number of days' labour, or part of a day's labour, would render the use of gold and silver, except for foreign exchanges, entirely unnecessary.

The standard of value being labour, and the necessary preliminary arrangements being formed, notes representing labour would be given for every article when finished, according to the amount of labour, that may be contained in it, that amount being previously ascertained, and determined with reference to each article, by the parties who may agree to produce and exchange upon this simple principle. All bargaining, or desire to take advantage of each other, would at once cease, insincerity would no longer characterize the proceedings of commerce, every one's labour would easily supply him with the necessities and comforts of life,—poverty would soon be unknown,—the representative of wealth, while it would always be commensurate with the amount of wealth created, would actually stand for what it purported to do; the wealth in society, and the notes representing it, would be, at all times, equal in amount, and the security of the system might be of the most certain and complete description.

But as soon as this subject of wealth shall be fully comprehended, as soon as the direct means of producing, distributing, and consuming it, to the greatest advantage of all parties, shall be known—it will at once be perceived, that any standard of value, or medium of exchange, will be of very little use to society. All will feel a far greater desire to give than to receive; and all, in consequence, will readily obtain whatever can be desired, or wished in the state of society in which they will be placed.

Under these improved arrangements, or rather in this new world about to be created out of the old, to produce abundantly whatever can be of real use to man, will be but a sport and pastime—nothing more, in fact, than a pleasant exercise, and a most desirable means of enjoying the best state of health and spirits. Commerce, in the common acceptance of the term, will cease; and with it will be extinguished the vile spirit which the system has produced. If I am right, law will become entirely useless, fortunately for its professors and their clients. It has ever been a system of gross injustice, enabling the strong in wealth to oppress the weak in purse, and is the source from whence a multitude of bad and most injurious feelings continually spring. If I am right, wars will be at an end. The immorality, and the uniformly grievous consequences resulting from them, will become too glaring to have any support among rational beings, who understand the justice of kindness, and the overwhelming influence which it may possess over all that has life. If I am right, forms and ceremonies of religion will gradually diminish, until none, mere forms and ceremonies I mean—will remain in the world; for each individual who shall hereafter come into existence shall be more

To be continued in our next

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THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

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EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

(Continued from Supplement.)

divinely trained, educated, and placed in life, than any divines have ever heretofore been. In this manner, he will have, as he ought, a direct converse with his Creator, and be much more competent to instruct, than any of the teachers of past or present times. The knowledge of the Lord will thus, and thus alone, be made to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea; if you really wish for this happy period to arrive, you must exert all your faculties, to hasten the introduction, every where, of these arrangements, under which alone the prophecies can ever be fulfilled. See you not the signs of the times, when old things are about to pass away, and when all things are to become new? See you not an irresistible cause why this change must now be accomplished? Have you not seen, or if you have not seen, have you not heard of the misery, which these old things inflict upon the Irish peasant, and upon a large, a very large portion of human nature? And do you not discover, even by a mere representation of the new order of things, how speedily such a change will remove the evils of the old world, and render one and all heartily inclined to put away those abominations from among us, and to embrace a system which will ensure to all, advantages, such as none have yet enjoyed?

It has been told you that the change shall come upon you like a thief in the night; and who, even during the last night which has passed, dreamed or imagined that this change was at hand?—What power can now stay its course? What human being has an interest to put the slightest obstacle in the way of its instant and universal introduction? All governments must co-operate with their people in this great work, or they will no longer be of any use, but an evil in the world, and their power will be paralyzed, for human nature will cease to give them support in opposition to itself; yet, each of their subjects will be ready to lend them the most willing service to carry the proposed change into instant effect.

But will any objector to our views of human nature yet say—"this state of abundance, of improved health, and highly augmented happiness, will lead to so great an increase of population, that the world will speedily be overstocked with inhabitants, until at last we shall be obliged even to eat each other."

As long as the earth remains a desert for want of people—as long as science makes such rapid advances in giving man new aid to his natural powers—and as long as a thousand persons, out of the most miserable population now in existence, can provide subsistence amply sufficient for three thousand, we have no great reason, I think, to apprehend that evil will arise from any addition which it is possible to make to the present population of the earth. On the contrary, each child that may come into the world, will, it appears to me, be a

gain to all those previously in existence; and in consequence of improvements derived from science, the greater the number of people under the new arrangements, the less proportion of manual labour will be required from each, and the greater the choice every one will have of intelligent, kind, and affectionate friends.

The real gain and wealth of the world will then consist in the number of its inhabitants, and it will be time enough to think of redundancy of population, when it shall cease to be in our power to create a vast surplus of agricultural productions.

Do not the Scriptures command us to increase and multiply and replenish the earth? Have we done so? We have exerted ourselves with some effect to destroy and to desolate; but little have we done in the spirit of the scriptural injunction. During centuries past, the population of the world has been nearly as it now is, and the earth is scarcely less a waste than ever. It is better cultivated in some districts, while others, which were as the garden of Eden, and which teemed with inhabitants, are now almost abandoned by man; and his place is occupied by the beasts of the forest, or left wild as the desert.

MEMORIAL IN BEHALF OF THE WORKING CLASSES, PRESENTED TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA, IN 1818.

(REFERRED TO IN MR. OWEN'S SPEECH.)

THE Memorialist has devoted the last thirty years of his life to the study and practice of political economy, and by permitting practice in all cases to correct theory, he has attained the most important results for the well-being of society.

In consequence of the numberless blessings which the knowledge thus acquired is calculated to give to the inhabitants of every country, the Memorialist is desirous of making it known, in the shortest time, to those who govern the civilized world and to the public. He therefore presents memorials on the subject to the Governments of Europe and America.

The Memorialist is not influenced to this proceeding by partiality or prejudice for or against any class, sect, party, or country. He views the whole human race as men created originally with the same general faculties and qualities, though varied in degree, and trained by circumstances, over which society has now a complete controul, to despise, hate, and oppose each other even unto death, although the path is now clear, by which,

with more ease, society may train them to esteem, to love, and to aid each other.

Nor yet has the Memorialist been actuated to the conduct which he adopts, by a desire for wealth, for popularity, for honours, or for future fame; to him these already appear the playthings of infants.

But he is induced to act thus, because he can show the causes which perpetually generate misery in human society, and also develop the means, by which, without injury to any, those causes may be gradually, and, at no very distant period, effectually removed. To witness this change in part, or, if that shall not be permitted to know that it must soon commence and rapidly proceed, is his reward, and it is already secured to him.

Under these circumstances, the Memorialist claims not that kind of attention which is usually given to ordinary questions of policy; but he asks for the devotion of the minds of the parties whom he addresses, that they may comprehend subjects not yet open to common capacities, and which involve all the valuable interests of society.

For a period has arrived, in which a greater change in human affairs will be forced on the world than the world has yet witnessed; but in all its extent the change will be highly beneficial to every individual and to all states.

It is a period, when the errors which have hitherto perplexed mankind, are about to be unravelled, and in consequence, the obstacles which stood in the way of human improvement and enjoyment will be removed.

The immediate causes which made this change certain and necessary, are, the overwhelming effects of new scientific power and the rapidly increasing knowledge of all classes of men. The former will soon render human labour of little avail in the creation of wealth, while the latter will make evident to the people the absolute necessity, which has thus arisen for them to give a different direction to their powers, and will inform them also how the change is to be effected.

To this day, the means of consumption, or of obtaining the necessities of life, by the working classes, have been acquired solely through the medium of their labour, the value of which the new power has already much diminished. And the certain consequences of the undirected progress of this power will be to reduce the exchangeable value of manual labour, until it falls below the means of procuring a wretched subsistence for any large proportion of the working classes, while the remainder of them must be starved out of existence.

Such is the nature of the contest, which

already continued for some time, and which now exists in full activity, between scientific power and manual labour, between knowledge and ignorance; but no one, who comprehends any thing of the subject, can for one moment doubt the result.

It is presumed that the powers thus addressed cannot desire an increase to the misery of the people, while in consequence, new dangers to every state must continually arise on every side.

On these grounds solely, the Memorialist requests attention and co-operation.

He is now ready to communicate the full details of these important subjects to any or to all of the powers whom he addresses, that, if those details shall appear on examination to be derived from facts and experience, as he presumes they will be found, the requisite measures to stop the progress of the existing distress among the working classes may be adopted, by the respective governments, before the period shall be past when the combined extended sufferings and knowledge of the people, will permit the requisite time for calm deliberation.

The Memorialist adds an Appendix, which contains some of the general results which he has derived from long study, multiplied experiments on a large scale, and a personal communication with acute, intelligent, and enlightened men of all classes, sects, and parties, more varied and confidential than has ever perhaps fallen to the lot of one individual.

And thus circumstanced, he awaits the deliberation and reply of the power whom he has now addressed.

Frankfort, 20th Sept. 1818.

APPENDIX.

Containing some of the general results, derived from the Memorialist's long study and experience.

FIRST GENERAL RESULT.

That the period is arrived, when the means are become obvious, by which, without force or fraud of any kind, riches may be created in such abundance, and so advantageously for all, that the wants and desires of every human being may be more than satisfied.

In consequence, the dominion of wealth, and the evils arising from the desire to acquire and accumulate riches, are on the point of terminating.

SECOND GENERAL RESULT.

That the period is arrived, when the principles of the science are become obvious, by which, without force or punishment of any kind, the rising generation may be, with ease and advantage to all, surrounded by new circumstances, which shall form them into any character that society may predetermine; and if any defect shall afterwards appear in those characters, except what nature has made uncontrollable by human means, the cause will not be in the individuals, but it will be solely owing to the inexperience of the parties who attempt to put those invaluable principles into practice.

In consequence, the dominion of Ignorance, of Fraud and Violence, is also on the point of terminating.

THIRD GENERAL RESULT.

That it is the interest, and that it will soon appear to be the interest, of each individual, in every rank, in all countries, that judicious measures should be adopted, with the least delay, to secure these beneficial results in practice. It is however greatly to be desired that they should be carried into effect by general consent, gradually and temperately, in order that no party or individual may be injured by the changes which must necessarily arise.

In consequence, any attempts to stop or retard the introduction of these measures will be unavailing. Already the principles and consequent practice are placed effectually beyond the power of human assault. It will be found, that silence cannot now retard their progress, and that opposition will give increased celerity to their movements.

EXCHANGE OF LABOUR, AND THE MORNING HERALD.

ALTHOUGH we are perfectly well aware, that it is neither fair nor honourable for one writer to fasten upon a casual and unguarded expression of another as upon a delicious morsel, or to isolate a sentence from its connection, or to quibble upon a mere expression—yet the following observation in the leading article of the *Morning Herald* of Tuesday last, seems to us so preposterous, mischievous, and absurd, in one of those political lights which are placed aloft to form the opinions, and guide the movements of society, that we cannot suffer it to pass without quotation and comment.

"REAL WEALTH CONSISTS IN THE ABUNDANCE OF THE REPRESENTATIVE VALUE, NOT IN THAT OF COMMODITIES, WHICH FOR WANT OF IT (THE REPRESENTATIVE) BECOME UNEXCHANGEABLE."

That the representative of a thing is the thing represented, is one of those self-evident contradictions, into which it is difficult to conceive how any writer sober and sane could possibly fall. Like an Egyptian mummy such a declaration crumbles on the first exposure, and a puff of breath scatters its dust in the thin and empty air.

Again, "If trade were reduced to mere barter what is now civilized society would be reduced nearly to a level with savage life."

Now what is the inseparable concomitant of savagism? We unhesitatingly reply DESTITUTION. And what is the invariable attendant on civilization? Abundance, in proportion to the progress of that civilization, and the quality and neighbourhood of the soil upon which it has its seat. We have, in this country, abundance of every thing except money; and if there were more money, there would be greater plenty still. But the producers of this abundance must not, dare not, cannot, coin money; but they can make labor exchange notes by which they can dispense with money altogether. If they can do this, and we are satisfied that they can, are they not unwise to trouble themselves about money? A want of which makes many persons savage, cross, and sour, but barter, in which money is unnecessary, will make them cheerful, blythe, and kind.

A COLLECTOR OF CHURCH RATES, PUZZLED BY A DISSENTER.

LATELY at a small town in Hampshire, the collector of church rates, called upon a dissenter, who never went to church, for the amount of a church rate, when the following colloquy took place.

Dis. For what is the money which you are now collecting, under the name of a church rate, expended?

Col. Part of it defrays the expence of cleaning the church.

Dis. But I never dirty the church—what becomes of the rest of the money?

Col. Another part goes for the repairing of the church.

Dis. But I never damage the church. In what is the rest of the rate expended?

Col. The wine drank at the sacrament is paid for out of it.

Dis. But I never drank a drop of sacramental wine in the church in my life. Do these items that you here name, then, take the whole of the rate?

Col. The remainder is expended in paying persons for killing sparrows, which would rob the corn fields, gardens, and orchards, in the parish.

Dis. So then, you kill the sparrows because they are robbers? Now you are come to demand money from me, without any equivalent having been received, which is in plain round English—

robbery. Suppose that I were to kill you, how should you like it?

Col. Not much; but it is the law which demands the rate.

Dis. The law, indeed! Why this makes it ten times worse than ever—for the LAW which should protect me from all robbers, has turned robber itself!

[The collector could say no more; and all we would say is, that it is high time that this law, along with many others, was altered. Ed.]

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are indebted to Robinson Crusoe, Junr., for another Communication from the "Vale."

C. J. of Hackney is received, and will have our earliest attention.

Thomas Reynolds and Joseph Yates are in our debt.

We must trespass a little longer on the patience of some of our highly esteemed contributors.

The Letter (No. 7.) to Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, and Viscount Melbourne, is, through a mistake, necessarily postponed till next week.

The numerous applications for the continuance of the Conversations upon Communities, have induced us to defer the Leading Article, intended for this week, to the next, and to introduce the continuance of this useful and now most necessary Dialogue.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 28.

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

THEOPHILUS AND AMIDA,

RELATIVE TO AN ENTIRE NEW STATE OF SOCIETY.

T. SINCE we last met, I have been anxious for a renewal of our conversation relative to communities, for the subject is becoming every day more interesting to me, seeing as I do, that the existing system of society is shaken from its foundation, through all its ramifications, and that it is on the point of falling into general disorder. I must now acknowledge, that passing events prove the present system of the world altogether incompetent to give virtue or happiness to mankind; or, to admit of them becoming rational creatures.

A. I am gratified to discover, that you have become conscious of the fundamental errors on which the present system of society has been originally founded, and of the gross absurdities to which these errors have led the whole world in its practice. Until your mind had been expanded to perceive the ignorance and folly of the arrangements which men have contrived for their government, if such heterogeneous combinations of inconsistencies can be called government, I knew it would be useless to attempt to explain another system, derived altogether from principles in direct opposition to these errors.

T. Will you then, draw a contrast between the notions on which the existing system of the world has been formed, and the principles on which you

mean to erect another and a better system? The population of this, and other countries, must be deeply interested to learn this difference, because, by the comparison of them, a true estimate of both systems may be fairly made.

A. It was to this point I wished to lead your enquiries. Until you fully understand these fundamental differences, your mind will be perplexed, and in a state of mental confusion; no science can be understood without a clear comprehension of the data on which it is founded, without a knowledge of the first principles of mathematics, who can become a mathematician?

T. This conclusion is readily granted. You say your new state of society is one derived altogether from what you call the *science of society*. I admit, the science should be well studied, and ascertained to be true or false, before a sound opinion of its merits can be formed. Pray then, now explain the difference between the systems.

A. The old system of society is founded on the following erroneous notions, of the character of man; and the practices of the world have been formed in accordance with them.

1st. That human nature is what human nature ought not to be.

2nd. That men ought to feel according to certain notions, and to think according to other notions; and that, if they do not so think and feel, they ought to be punished, however incompetent they may be, to the one or the other.

3rd. That the character of each individual should be formed by precepts in accordance with these notions, and that they should have inducements given to them, by temporal rewards and punishments, hopes and fears affecting their eternal happiness or misery, to feel, think, and act, in obedience to these notions.

These fundamental notions on which old society has been erected, were imagined by men when they were the least experienced in a knowledge of facts, and have been applied to practice under every form and combination, and have produced error and evil continually, and made man more irrational than any of the animal creation.

The proposed new system of society is founded—
1st. Upon the knowledge of the fact, that human nature must be what the power that formed it has made it to be—that it is likely always to retain the same nature, but that it is capable of being made by a right direction from infancy, to become rational, to attain great excellence in all things.

2nd. That good dispositions, good habits, good health, great knowledge, and great happiness, may be secured to all individuals of the human race, provided they shall be educated and governed from infancy in accordance with the laws of their nature; that they shall be surrounded by external circumstances also in unison with those laws—and, that no circumstances controllable by man, shall be permitted to exist in the form of laws, institutions, or customs of any kind, in opposition to them.

Now here is the fundamental difference between the two systems—and, it is impossible that it can be wider or more distinctly marked. Virtue and vice according to one system, must be of a totally different character to virtues and vices in the other, and the practices of these two systems, must be of necessity, altogether opposed to each other.

T. Now, indeed, I begin to perceive the necessity of having the mind expanded according to your recommendation, to encompass the whole of society at one glance, and to acquire power to observe each part of this confused mass of incongruities, to trace them upwards to their origin, and downwards to all their future consequences. But how can there be different virtues and vices? I thought these were permanent, and fixed by our nature.

A. They are permanent and fixed by our nature, and when human arrangements shall be in accordance with human nature, then will virtue and vice be known, as virtue will then be its own reward, vice will be known in name only, for no motive to become vicious will exist throughout all the ramifications of human society, no more than exists in the society of all animals living according to their nature.

T. Pray explain to me the difference of virtue and vice in the two systems.

A. Virtue, according to the old system of society, consists in opposing the feelings and convictions of our nature—in hiding them, as far as possible, from ourselves, and, in deceiving those who are around us, with regard to both feelings and convictions. Vice, consists in speaking what we think, and in expressing what we feel. Truth of speech and action under the present system, are, therefore, the greatest vices that can exist. While, on the contrary, virtue under the new system, will consist in openly stating the feelings which our nature compels us to have for all things and persons, and the convictions upon all subjects which facts or imagination make upon our mind. Truth of speech and action under the new system, will consequently be the greatest virtue of our nature, and deception of every kind the greatest vice. The moral code of the one will be the opposite of the moral code of the other, and the two systems will lead to very opposite results, not only in morals, but in theology, politics, law, commerce, education, and domestic arrangements.

T. Then I suppose the communities which you contemplate will be formed to include the morals, theology, politics, law, commerce, education, and domestic arrangements of the new system?

A. If they shall not include all these, they will be of no value to society.

T. Then these communities are indeed something very different from the conjectures which individuals have always made respecting them; they have, in every case I believe, mixed them up in their minds with more or less of the old system of society.

A. Yes, and most erroneously. It is owing to this cause, that communities have never yet been commenced by their founder, either in this country, or America. He discovered, that in both countries, the minds of the people had been so debased by the individual selfish system, and, the fundamental errors on which the individual character, and human society had been formed, that he knew it would be useless to attempt an entire new system for forming the character of all individuals, and re-modelling society upon another base, until, assisted by facts and experience, he could convince the more intelligent part of the public, that the present system of society had nearly worn itself out, and that it must shortly, through its fundamental error, fall into irremediable confusion, and demonstrate to all, that the period for an entire change in the condition of the human race had arrived, a change from evil to good—a change that will soon prove most advantageous to all classes, in all countries.

T. I am highly gratified to have had this explanation, for my mind has been always confused upon the subject of communities; I never could discover how you were to unite the old and new principles in practice. This difficulty being removed, I am now, for the first time, prepared to consider your system in its true light; that is, as another condition of the human race, in which old things are to pass away, and all are to become new. Now then, you will, I hope, enable me to comprehend the whole change which you design.

A. I will fully open all my views to you in our future conversations—but the minds of all, and especially of the working classes, must be greatly expanded before they can comprehend the reasons for, and the extent of all the new combinations which I shall have to recommend for almost immediate adoption. Their present ignorance, violence, and presumption, all the necessary effects of their confined condition, greatly retard their attainment of the most useful knowledge.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

TO THE CHRISTIAN WORLD,

The only test of truth is consistency.

No one truth can be opposed to, or contradictory of any other truth.

Assuming that the Divine Being has given an oral revelation, in addition to the revelation of nature, these two revelations must of course be in agreement with each other; any interpretation therefore of the written revelation that is in opposition to the revelation of nature, or, in other words, to the evidence of our senses, cannot be a true interpretation.

All the facts which accumulated experience has furnished us with, prove that man is a compound being, formed of his original organization, and of the influence of circumstances which operate upon that organization; nothing exists in relation to man but these two combinations, and of these therefore he must be formed; he is completely therefore the creature of circumstances—first, of those which form his original organization, and second, of those which act upon that organization after it is formed, and therefore, except one or other of these two combinations of circumstances had been different to what they have been with respect to any individual, it is impossible that he could have been different to what he has been at any given time.

This is the revelation of nature with respect to man, the facts which are revealed to our senses; whoever therefore interprets the written revelation in such a way as to oppose these facts, which are beyond contradiction, manifestly makes the author of the written revelation oppose the author of the revelation of nature, and assuming these to be one, they thus make him contradict himself.

We urge then on the various Christian sects a reconsideration of their particular creeds, and we earnestly advise them not to continue to interpret the written revelation in opposition to the revelation of nature, attested by those facts which are incontrovertible; and we respectfully remind them, that there was a time when it was very commonly supposed, that the written revelation was opposed to the Copernican System; but facts are stubborn things, and though Popes raved, and the Church threatened, still the earth moved on, and the sun maintained his station, until at length it was discovered that the commentators were mistaken, and nature and revelation were in harmony on this point. So must it prove with respect to the nature of man; and he who continues to interpret the written revelation in opposition to the facts which experience and reflection have firmly established on this subject, while he may fancy himself the friend, he is really the greatest opponent of this revelation. It has been stated to us that there is an interpretation of the written revelation which is in perfect consistency with all the facts with which experience has furnished us in relation to man, and we earnestly recommend our Christian friends to adopt this interpretation; "it is hard to kick against the goads," truth must and will prevail, and he will prove to be its greatest friend who shall manifest its consistency, rather than he who contends for a written revelation, or an interpretation of it, that is opposed to the facts revealed to our senses. At present truth might well exclaim, "deliver me from my friends, I will deliver myself from my enemies." Those who are contending for truth without mystery, mixture of error, or fear of man, ye call infidels, whereas the real *in-fidel*, that is, the *unfaithful one*, is he, who professing his adherence to divine revelation, propounds, as its truths, doctrines which every enlightened and benevolent mind shudders to contemplate, and turns from with abhorrence; such are those libels on human nature, and on "nature's God," called "natural depravity," and "eternal punishment," doctrines which we fearlessly affirm have not the slightest support from any thing which is handed down to us as taught by Jesus of Nazareth or his immediate disciples; no, they are the weak inventions of the enemy, are supported only by ignorance, artifice, and fraud, and must disappear before that blaze of light which truth

ported by science and experience, is about to unfold to the world.

To those who are not system-hardened, who feel any desire to be delivered from that slavish fear which such doctrines are only calculated to generate and perpetuate, we say, examine the Rational and Social System of Society as propounded by Mr. Owen, and we are confident that you will find it to be the best exposition of practical Christianity; it is founded on that principle which your great teacher gave you as his new commandment, "love one another;" and it shows you how to carry this great principle into actual practice, instead of suffering it to continue as it hitherto has done, a "dead letter:" here then, you may find rest for your souls, and experience that joy and peace which the old and nearly worn-out irrational system cannot give.

I am,

Your friend,

AN ADHERENT TO DIVINE REVELATION.

RESISTANCE TO TITHES IN ENGLAND.

Sparks from the furnace which roars against tithes in Ireland, have fallen upon some combustible materials in the village of New Mills, in the parish of Glossop, in the county and peak of Derbyshire; and in contempt of the cold of that elevated region have kindled a flame. When the collectors of the small tithes for the Rev. Christopher How, vicar of Glossop, went lately into New Mills to collect his dues, all the people locked their doors, and no one answered the application of the offensive visitors. When they took with them peace officers, to the houses, and also the constable of the town, a disturbance was created, and they were equally unsuccessful in getting their demands; and the result has been, that a religion of "peace and good will," has set the clergyman against his parishioners and his parishioners against him, and several of them are bound over to appear at the litigious bar of the justices or the sessions: plaintiff, the clergyman—defendants, his congregation.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

A MAN IN DISTRESS.

SIR,—Will you, or some of your charitable readers, inform me how I am to avoid being hanged. At present I am sitting under the archway at Highgate, without a shilling, and no one will trust or employ me; I was lately discharged from prison under the "benefits" of the insolvent act, and my character is as bad as it can be. I am called liar, per urer, thief, &c. &c., and yet an honest man never breathed. If I refer to persons who know the circumstances, the uncontrollable circumstances, which have produced for me this badness of character, such persons say directly—"they don't like to interfere." If I refer to persons unacquainted with all the circumstances of my case, and who believe I am not so bad as represented, such persons very kindly say, "I was once a respectable, a very respectable man, but they have had no correspondence with me lately." If I refer to persons whom I have materially served, they at once either disown me, or "wonder at my impudence." If I apply for employment where I am not known, the people tell me I must have done something wrong, or I should stay at home; so, what am I to do? To be sure, I could easily form one link in a chain of references for swindling, but my unfortunate honesty would get me into scrapes, and hasten on that catastrophe I anticipate. I am in the prime of manhood, in excellent health, have had great experience, and could turn my hand to almost anything. I should like to be a porter if I could get an honest man to employ me.

I am, sir,

With much respect,

Your obedient servant,

TOM JONES.

Highgate Hill, July 19.

MORALS AND CONDUCT OF SOME OF THE NEW ELECTORS MADE BY THE REFORM BILL.

In the populous manufacturing town of Blackburn, in Lancashire, a number of these infant constituents having exhausted all the ale out of the large and brimming cans furnished by a generous candidate for the security of their votes and the honor of their representation, and becoming intoxicated thereby, proceeded to beat each others dizzy heads and inflamed faces with the empty vessels. And at Chelmsford, the county town of the agricultural district of Essex, some of the new constituents set such a high value on the precious boon for which such battles have been fought, such commotion of feeling, and stagnation of business created, that they refuse to pay one shilling the price of their registration! Do not constituents need reform as much as their representatives? And would it not be well if these constituents were reformed as early as possible?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

SIR,—To shew to your readers that a republican form of government is not conducive to the happiness of the governed, more than is a limited monarchy, I beg, through the medium of your very valuable paper, the Crisis, to call their attention to the following extract from the leading article in the American New York Mercantile Advertiser, of May 3rd, 1832.

"Another haul:—On Tuesday evening, Alderman Strong, of the 6th., and Dr. Rhineland, the Alderman elect of that ward, made a haul at the Five Points, accompanied by Mr. Merrit and other police officers. No less than ninety-five persons of all ages, sexes, conditions, and colours, were arrested, fifty-five of whom were sent to the penitentiary."

There can be little credit due to a any form of government that attempts to prevent a repetition of crime only through the mediums of precept, or punishment for crimes committed, inasmuch as they are both found to be inefficient for the purpose.

The happiness of a nation does not depend upon its form, but upon its system of government.

The system of governing, both in republican America, and monarchical England, is individual and competitive, and does not admit of any other practical arrangements for the forming of a good and virtuous character, than precept and punishment; so, that with public executions on the one hand, and religious ceremonies on the other hand, society is now, in both nations, replete with—

"Line upon line,
And precept upon precept."

The social and co-operative system which you so ably and perseveringly advocate, is the only system which can possibly admit of arrangements for forming the character to be virtuous, by giving to the individual the desire to be so.

I am, Sir,

With great respect,

Your truly,

W. H. STURGES.

Foxley Road, Kennington,
July 17th, 1832.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

EQUITABLE EXCHANGE BANK.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS
CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD,
KING'S CROSS.

AGRICULTURALISTS, Gardeners, Manufacturers, Provision Merchants, Factors, Warehousemen, Wholesale and Retail Dealers of all descriptions, Mechanics, and all others, who may be inclined to dispose of their various articles of trade and merchandise, in the only equitable manner in which men can mutually dispose of their property to each other, viz., its value in labour for equal value in labour, without the intervention of money, are requested to transmit their names and address, with a description of the kind, or kinds of property, which they desire so to exchange, to the Secretary of the Institution, Mr. SAMUEL AUSTIN, of whom, on personal application at the Institution, every information relative to the Equitable Exchange Bank, may be obtained.

* All letters must be post-paid.

ROBERT OWEN.

THE SIXTH SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the ASSOCIATION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE AND POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on MONDAY, 6th August, 1832.

ROBT. OWEN, Governor.

Tickets of Admission, Visitors 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 63, Barbican, corner of Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormand-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Easton-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

MILLINERY, DRESSES, AND CORSETS.

LADIES, desiring Novelties in good taste, are invited to visit the Establishment, 280, Regent-street, where they will find every Article at a low price, and made of the best materials.

FRENCH and ENGLISH CORSETS, of UNRIVALLED excellence, at very low Prices.

Ladies who may address Mrs. ALLSOP, from the Country or the Colonies, may rely upon having full justice done to their Commissions.

To those Ladies who have not yet visited the Establishment it may not be unnecessary to state: that its reputation rests upon its character for good taste, very moderate charges, and the honourable and liberal spirit in which it is conducted.

No. 280, REGENT-STREET, Three Doors from Oxford-street.

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THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 22.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE second anniversary of days memorable in Parisian records—the twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth of July, has just been celebrated in the restless metropolis of the French empire. From the then troubled sea of domestic politics Louis Philippe was washed upon the apparent rock of a vacant and popular throne. By him silence was restored to all that roared, and tranquillity to all that raged. In the unclouded presence of the sun, all the French in a moment of transport, rejoiced and were glad. They drew around them the sparkling eyes of surrounding and powerful kingdoms, and the perplexed and melancholy visages of neighbouring potentates, and kindred cabinets. The revolution was regarded as a daring, magnanimous, and happy event. In the first moments of ecstasy, they judged it to be a new birth unto righteousness; and distant nations also felt their common nature ennobled by an exploit, in the achievement of which they had no participation. With a strong arm, and a great soul, they struck a blow at their chain, which sounded through the world. It broke. They trampled its powerless links under their feet, and proclaimed themselves FREE! with the certainty also of being HAPPY, when they had disposed of their fallen sovereign and his detested ministers. But men have only yet DREAMT of happiness. How superficial were their judgments! how transient their exultation! how limited their foresight! The deep epidemic malady of their social system was not unseated, nor even disturbed. Indeed, how could it, when, notwithstanding their numerous attainments in physical science, they are, as a nation, in common with all other nations, as ignorant of Social Science, as they are of the animal, or mineral productions of the planets. Time, which proves all things, has demonstrated that their "glorious revolution" was not a cure for their complicated disorders, nor a supply for their numerous necessities. The patient changed her position, but retained her disease; dropped one form of evil, and took up another. A calm succeeded the storm; but gradually did the evils of the deadly disease of society COMPETITION, shew themselves. The people competing with the government, and the government competing with

the people; the latter striving for more liberty, and the former for more power, and what one was anxious to gain, the other was afraid to lose. The people, by the press, (their tongue) gradually denounced the government, and the government tried to tie that tongue, by fiercely prosecuting the press. During last year there were no less than twenty-four of these prosecutions. The same government also violated the national charter in calling out the troops during the late insurrection; in consequence of which, Polignac and his colleagues have petitioned for liberation, urging that they did no more. Several presses also were broke by government at the same time. Though diminutive in magnitude, and brief in duration, that insurrection agitated the empire; and the dissatisfied people, split into political parties, have both the will and ability to perpetuate the agitation. Afraid of tumult, the government judged it necessary on this celebration of the SECOND anniversary of that revolution by which the present head of that government was placed on his elevation, to assemble seventy thousand troops of the line, in or near the polished and festive capital. In witnessing public shews, horse-racing, theatrical performances, processions, and reviews, in which there was much more of parade than enthusiasm, the Parisians occupied the three memorable days. Twenty-four damsels, relatives of parties who fell in the bloody strife, were publicly married on the second of these three days, each presenting her husband with a dowry of twenty thousand francs, the gift of the nation. On each night the city was illuminated. The commemoration fortunately concluded without any serious breach of the public peace, but despite of all the diversion, which on French soil frequently grows close by the side of tragedy, the measures taken for safety, argue the belief of danger. People in danger, not from invasion, or pestilence, or famine, or earthquakes, but in danger from each other! and in danger at a time when every care and anxiety should be given to the wind! A time of public rejoicing for a recent event, emphatically designated "A GLORIOUS REVOLUTION"—"A NATIONAL GOOD!" How rational! How harmonious! How happy! Oh! Competition! Competition! Competition! how hideous are thy features! How numerous thy mischiefs! When shalt thou be hurled from the seat thou hast usurped, and thy prostrate body serve COMMUNITY for a step, in her ascent to thy throne! When shalt thou be seen writhing in agonies under her feet? Better to be thy foe in rags, than thy friend in robes. Better to be thy enemy at the bar, than thy advocate on the bench! Better, yea far better, to be a peasant in community, than a peer in competition!

GREAT NUMBERS OF ELECTORS DISQUALIFIED

FOR WANT OF MONEY TO PAY THEIR TAXES.

THE insufficiency of money to meet the increasing necessities of society is every day becoming more manifest; and the pressure of taxation to pay the interest of an enormous debt, which, but for money, could not possibly have been contracted, is cruelly punishing the people. Who would think that out of *twelve thousand* electors in the parish of Mary-le-bone, there are *six thousand five hundred* disqualified on account of not having paid their taxes due on the twentieth of last month. Finsbury district contains *twenty-two thousand* voters, out of which, for the same reason, there are *ten thousand* disqualified. In another of the London Boroughs out of *seven thousand*, there are, on the same account, only *two thousand* who can vote; and, in one of the Metropolitan parishes, out of *seven hundred*, there are only *one hundred and thirty* who can give any candidate their support. These statements appeared on report in the *Morning Herald* of Wednesday last.

No ignorance of this necessary qualification can be pleaded by the disqualified, since the greatest publicity was given to its existence; and the parties would, no doubt, strain every nerve, and ply every energy, to obtain the cash for the exciting and urgent occasion. But the cry in every person's mouth is, "that there is no money!" This is the cry both in town and country. These disqualifications may be expected to become general like the Cholera; and like that alarming malady to fall heaviest on the poor,—upon whom every weight finally falls. All are now becoming poor, except a few minions of fortune, who fatten on the sorrows of their fellow creatures, and add insult to injury. The money system is now beginning to tamper with the possibilities of human endurance, which is strung to the highest pitch. If these disqualifications be a few drops of that shower of blessings which Reform has in store, the poor will be benefited by that noisy measure with a vengeance. After thunder is the rain; but this rain if this be a specimen will not be drops of water to refresh—but of oil of vitriol to blister. It has evidently been playing with the poor whom it proposed to benefit. It has given them a qualification which they had not, and now it renders that qualification of no value, by requiring a qualification which they cannot obtain. It talked of relieving them of taxes; and now it cannot do that, without they first pay those taxes. What insult! What mockery! First to build up their hopes, and then to prostrate them in the dust. Thus are the indigent cajoled, and the superficial

deceived! Under the present system, money is power; the want of it, slavery all over the world. The most beneficial Reform for the poor and needy is the Labor Exchange Banks, in which business of every kind, and to any extent, may be transacted without money; and plenty of goods obtained wherewith to pay taxes.—*See Advert.*

TO THE READERS OF THE CRISIS.

"Behold I make all things new."

"Who among men, great Lord of all,
His brother to his bar shall call?
For modes of faith judge him a foe,
And doom him to the realms below!"

Birmingham, July 30, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,—Most reasonable men are now convinced that a great change is about to take place in the constitution of society, and that a change of some sort or other is absolutely necessary, the question is, how can such a change as will be beneficial to the people at large be effected? Some say, that a reformed parliament will do all that is needful by cutting down taxation, repealing the corn laws, and removing the impediments to free trade. Others recommend emigration as a means of relief; while others affirm that an alteration in the currency will prove the greatest good—but the fact is, that most, or all of these remedies, or others of a similar nature, have been tried to a certain extent at least, either in this or other countries, without having produced the anticipated result. Mr. Owen has now been before the world for a number of years, declaring the inefficiency of all these plans for the amelioration of the condition of mankind, and calling upon men to make trial of a system altogether different in its nature to those already established, and which he conceives is the only "Cordial Balm of Gilead." Strange it is, that the projector of improved infant instruction, for such is Mr. Owen, should have laboured so long, and till lately have received such little support. Strange is it, that governors and governed should say, we have tried this part of your new system, and find it to be excellent, far above our most sanguine expectations, but we cannot adopt your plans further, because they appear to us so very impracticable; benevolent we admit, but quite impracticable, contrary to all precedent, and moreover, *because you do not base it upon our religious opinions.*

Let me exhort the professed disciples of Jesus Christ, and the believers in divine revelation from God, to cast aside all bigotry and prejudice, to examine the present state of society in the most Christian kingdoms and empires of the world, to read the addresses of judges and magistrates on the fearful increase of crime, to reflect upon the alarming pauperism and wretchedness of thousands of our fellow creatures, who, in consequence of want of employment at fair remunerating prices, are actually starving in the midst of plenty. Let them reflect upon these things, and then ask themselves whether they are not imperatively called upon to make trial of that which has not been tried, and which may answer the desired end. Christians, and believers in the Scriptures, should be the last to reject the proposed plan because it is new, and appears likely to produce results altogether different from what has gone before. It is said, "*Behold I will create a new Heaven and a new Earth,*" and "*sighing and sorrow shall flee away.*" "*They shall not build and others inhabit; they shall not plant and others eat;*" with a variety of other passages, which declare that a state of the world of mind will be developed, and which will doubtless produce a corresponding effect in the world of matter. Again, religionists should be the last to reject the proposals of Mr. Owen, because he followeth not them; truth never did nor ever will, suffer from the light of investigation, it must rather come out of the furnace purified as silver seven times; I call upon my Christian brethren, and religious professors of all denominations, to act consistently, and put by the proposed new combination of circumstances, their respective systems to the

test; for I hold, that that religion is most in agreement with the declared will of God, which produces the greatest happiness to the greatest number, for the greatest length of time. By acting with Mr. Owen, and his immediate disciples, we are not required to surrender our opinions on matters of religion, nor should they be required to surrender theirs; therefore, "*If we cannot yet reconcile all opinions, let us endeavour to unite all hearts.*"

Believe me yours, in the good cause,
JOHN RABONE.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The "Jupitarians" in our next Paper.
Mr. Wilkins's Communication is in our possession, as is also that of H. D., of Holloway.

We are indebted to Mr. Corss for some very valuable information and remarks on Daniel O'Connell, esq., which we read at our Institution last Sunday morning.

The letter to the Rev. Mr. Howell, Ecopiscopal Chapel, Long Acre, is not of a kind suitable to our columns.

J. P.'s Dialogue between Mr. and Mrs. Lilly—the Answer to an Adherent of Divine Revelation—and R. A. are come to hand.

C. G., of Hackney, is unavoidably deferred till next week, as is also "A Convert."

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 4.

TO THE
SOVEREIGNS AND GOVERNMENTS,
AND
TO THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE.

I ADDRESS you now as an equal friend to both parties.

Your position is open and familiar to me. I distinctly informed you, in my memorial to the Allied Sovereigns assembled in Congress, held in Aix le Chapelle, in 1818, that the old system of society was nearly worn out, and that in its progress towards death, it would necessarily lead to the present difficulties and dangers between the governors and governed.

You are in direct opposition, and now almost in presence of each other, in hostile array. A long chain of circumstances have produced these events, and it is useless to find fault with them, or to blame any parties—they are passed, and it seems could not have been avoided—but what course would it be wise for both parties now to pursue?

The governments and aristocracy of Europe possess the old expiring power of society, and may, to a great extent, controul it for a short time, provided they can unite cordially among themselves; but the people are acquiring knowledge, which will speedily enable them also to unite and resist the power of the aristocracy, and to change altogether the present state of society. There will be, therefore, at no distant period, a union of the governments, aristocracy, and non-producers of value on the one part, and of the Industrious Classes, the body of the people generally, on the other part; and two most formidable powers for good or evil are thus forming.

The individuals composing these two parties, are placed under circumstances which lead them to think and to feel, that their interests are in direct opposition to each other, and perhaps a

general revolutionary war of opinion between them, may be forced forward, to their mutual loss and destruction, retarding the peace and prosperity of the world for a long period.

I now address both parties, to prevent, if possible this afflicting catastrophe. It is not—it cannot be for the real interest of either of you, that it should take place. Both, in fact, have but one and the same interest.

The world has heretofore been governed, by the comparative intelligence of the *few* keeping the *many* in ignorance; the few were themselves too ignorant of human nature, and of a rightly organized society, to know how to govern on any other principle. The people, the mass in both countries, HAVE BECOME too far advanced in a knowledge of facts, to permit themselves and children to be longer kept ignorant of the true principles of government, of the best mode of producing the most valuable wealth, and of distributing it, and of the proper arrangements to give the best character to mankind. The world cannot, therefore, be governed any longer through a *few comparatively intelligent* ruling the *ignorant many*. And the connexion of the few with the churches, or teachers of any theology, will hasten the downfall of both.

It is most desirable that the opposing parties should fully understand this new position in which they are placed; they may annoy each other to a great extent for some time, and perplex all the public and private proceedings of the civilized world, without benefit to either party. During these contests the non-producing class must continually lose strength, and the other in the same proportion gain it.

The opposition, however, between these two formidable bodies is useless and unnecessary, for both may obtain more by an entire change in the arrangement of society, than either can obtain by violence, however successful one party may be over the other.

That which may be effected by a solid and permanent union of interests, without delay and without bloodshed, or any vice promoted, is—

1st, To secure the present incomes of the non-producers of value for their own lives, and that of their children, until their habits can be changed, and made suitable to another and a better state of society, without opposition from their judgments or feelings, and, until all can be placed in a far superior situation for their health, satisfaction, and permanent enjoyment than their present condition admits.

2nd, To secure to the producers of value the most ample means of creating a new world of intelligence, wealth, and happiness, for themselves and their children, by the loan upon interest, of some of the surplus capital in the possession of the non-producers of value—which surplus capital would be greatly increased by the operations of the producers of value, and afford the means, without the slightest inconvenience, of giving the existing incomes for life to the non-producers and their children, who have been trained in existing habits and prejudices.

3rd, The injurious habits and prejudices of the non-producers and producers of value, ceasing with the present generation, all the succeeding generations would become joint partakers of the new world of wealth, intelligence, and happiness, with superior habits and manners fitted for the most improved state of human existence.

Now the great and important question for the consideration of all is—can a better arrangement be made than the one proposed? Knowing the present situation, power, and capabilities of the lower, middle, and upper classes, knowing also their respective feelings and prejudices, I am

fully prepared to say, that some such arrangement as the one proposed, is demanded for the safety and permanent improvement of all parties.

The upper classes may rest assured, that the lower classes will not much longer be soldiers or sailors except for *national* and *rational* purposes, and that they will require real knowledge and honesty in those who shall direct their affairs.

The middle classes may be equally assured, that their occupations of distributing wealth, and knowledge, will be superseded by other and very superior arrangements, carried into execution by the industrious, who will speedily acquire more knowledge than is now possessed by all the three classes.

And it is most desirable, that the working classes should know that they can accomplish all the improvements for themselves *much sooner and better*, aided by the practical knowledge of the middle and funds of the upper classes, and securing to the latter their present incomes for life, than if they made enemies of them, and attempted to accomplish the change in their condition by force and violence, and in opposition to the supposed interests of both these classes.

The power of society is, in fact, now pretty equally divided, between the working, middle, and upper classes, but it is daily becoming stronger in the two former, but especially in the first. There is, however, another division growing up, and which must shortly produce a material change in the affairs of mankind, and alter the whole system of society as it has heretofore existed; that is, the division between the producers of something valuable, and the non-producers of value. The power of directing human affairs is now, and long has been with the latter, but it soon must be with the former.

This division of the population will consist of the upper, and half of the middle class, for the first part—and of the lower, and half of the middle for the second part; and again their force will be nearly equal.

But the time is approaching when the lower classes will not act as soldiers or sailors for the non-producers, neither will they continue to produce wealth for them, or to serve them in the capacity of menial servants. And thus also, must an entire change be effected in the condition of the human race.

Again, the means of producing a superfluity of all wealth through the instrumentality of scientific power, not only without any degradation whatever of human nature, but under circumstances which will essentially improve and elevate it, greatly beyond any thing hitherto experienced, will of itself change the condition of mankind.

The alteration about to be made from the present absurd and irrational metal standard of value to the natural standard of labour, will also of itself produce an entire change in educating and governing men, and in forming public opinion. A human being that shall be trained and placed to be useless, will be esteemed worthless; and all non-producers of value, either physical or mental, will be useless and worthless.

Under these considerations, and now no human power can set them aside, it becomes at once the interest of the higher, middle, and lower classes, to stop all preparation for hostilities, and enquire what is best for each to do? What, in fact, is the real interest of each party?

I have told you, that I thoroughly know your positions—your strength, your errors, and your weaknesses. I have no interest in the success of one party over another, and I care not one straw for the favor or frowns of either. Your rewards or your punishments have no inducement or terror, to turn me one moment aside from pursuing the

permanent good and happiness of the human race.

It is with these feelings alone, that I now most earnestly recommend a treaty to be made, openly and fairly, between the present artificial division of society, that the benefits possessed by each may be enlarged for all—that the causes of the innumerable disadvantages suffered by all, may be withdrawn from each; that the new powers acquired from science, may be directed to insure the progressive rapid improvement of the human race, and to make their happiness sure for ever.

The means to affect this change are overflowing in every part of Europe, and the world. It is solely owing to the want of real useful knowledge on the part of the three great classes in society, that these means have not yet been applied to remove poverty and the ignorance which overwhelm the learned, as they are called, and unlearned; for, truly may be it said, we live in an age, when the blind are leading the blind to the very brink of destruction.

Believe me, for your own sakes, that the impending evils may be averted, and averted most beneficially for each individual of the three classes, and this scene of hostile feeling and vice, for such only it is, may be in a short period turned to one of mirth and gladness, over the civilized portions of the earth.

I have already given the world the Infant Schools, Equitable Exchange Banks, the Natural Standard of Value, and, ere long, it shall receive a new machine for performing, in a superior manner, all the business of human life, including—the wise creation of wealth—the best distribution of it—the most beneficial cultivation of all the human faculties and powers from birth unto death—and the rational mode of uniting, and directing, or governing the whole, to insure the happiness of all.

The Infant Schools, and the Equitable Exchange Banks, when conducted according to the original principles which the founder developed when he first publicly recommended their adoption, will, in their effect, prove to be the two greatest discoveries which have been made in modern times; but these are but small benefits, and mere preliminary measures to remove some evils, compared to the immensity of good which the new machinery for performing the whole business of human life, will be found competent to effect for the human race.

As by patience and perseverance the Infant Schools, and Equitable Exchange Banks, have been introduced to the public, in direct opposition to all the oldest prejudices of mankind—so, also, will be the introduction of the new scientific machines of society, which will overwhelm and supersede all the present incongruous arrangements, arising from the grossest ignorance in every department of the business of the world. Your theologies—your codes of law—your legislations—your mad warlike arrangements—your commercial affairs—your domestic habits and practices, and your artificial divisions of society, form one compound of as much absurdity, ignorance, and error, as, by any means human invention can contrive to force to adhere together. It is, indeed, now in a state of rapid decomposition, with such a power of repulsion among its particles that all the armies of Europe will fail ever again to unite. The decree has gone forth—*Let these elements of human society separate that they may be purified and combined anew, in order that, if it be possible, the active agency of the Universe may be glorified by the virtue and actual happiness of the human race, instead of its being disgraced by its present vice and misery.*

Your friend,
ROBERT OWEN.

London, August 1, 1832.

DEATH OF YOUNG NAPOLÉON—THE DUC DE REICHSTADT.

THIS young Prince, whose precarious existence has been a rallying point for a political party, and whose person might possibly have been, at some future time, seated on the throne of his father, died at Vienna, on the twenty-second of last month, in the palace of Schoenbrun, of a confirmed consumption. He is to be interred on the twenty-fourth instant in the Imperial family vault at Vienna, with all the honors due to an Arch-Duke. It has been deemed necessary for the preservation of the life of his disconsolate mother, to make preparations for her immediate removal to her own duchy. How soon is the line of Napoleon extinct! His soaring ambition to be the father of a long and unbroken line of monarchs, now trails its robes in the dust! Once, every thing; now nothing! What a lesson! While the earth opens to receive the son, the father seems to rise again from the dead, and stand upon his feet. His line is broke short! His only son is prematurely wrapt in the dark oblivion of the grave! His name is inextinguishable!

SINGULAR CONNECTION

BETWEEN

MICE, PIGEONS, AND MONKS.

DURING a severe scarcity of grain in France, previous to the revolution of 1780, when the state of the country was under the consideration of the legislature, an agriculturalist, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, gravely proposed, that mice, pigeons, and monks should be destroyed. The chamber was perplexed—the deputy explained. "The mice," said he, "rob us in the seed, the pigeons in the ear, and the monks in the sheaf."

OPENING OF THE LEICESTER AND SWANNINGTON RAILWAY.

WE congratulate our readers upon the completion of this undertaking, and its introduction to the world. It will augment the confusion of society, and add to its distress. It will press that distress into a smaller compass, which pressure will increase the evil and accelerate the cure. In superseding the labour of horses, the grass, hay, and corn on which they subsist will not be required, and the land on which these are produced; can be appropriated to the growth of food for man.

"The present line of railway commences near to the West Bridge Leicester, and takes a northwardly direction through a tunnel, more than a mile in length, in the parish of Glenfield; the rail then runs in a westwardly direction, by the side of the Ashby turnpike road, by Ratby, Newtown, Unthank, Desford, &c., and again bends northwardly by Thornton to Bagworth, and in its course branches out to the collieries of Lords Stamford and Maynard, and to various lime kilns. It was opened on the 17th of last month, the day being ushered in with ringing of bells, firing of cannon, and other demonstrations of joy. About ten o'clock the company, who were furnished with cards of admission, took their seats in the different carriages, when the engine was brought down and attached to the train, and the whole moved on at the rate of about five miles an hour for a short distance, and after having been brought back for the gratification of the immense number of spectators, the whole again advanced at a very rapid pace, amidst the deafening shouts of the crowds which lined the sides of the road. Soon after two, the party were again called together, and the carriages, with several loads of coals and stones attached, returned at the rate of 20 miles an hour."

Here is a power strong as a giant, swift as a horse, and tractable as a child! Thirty

ago, this combination would have been pronounced visionary. The two hitherto supposed incompatibilities of power and speed are united—the triumph of man is complete—and the engineer who sits behind the engine, & controuls and directs its movements, *sits on a throne more really powerful, and truly glorious, than any king has ever sat upon, in any part of the world, or at any period of time.*

LETTER—No. VII.

TO EARL GREY, LORD BROUGHAM, AND
VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.

MY LORDS,

Perhaps there cannot be a more conclusive proof of general distress, than the alarming extent to which the poor rates have latterly increased; and yet, how is this to be accounted for? During the same interval, knowledge has been more generally diffused than at any former period, and the productive power of the nation has been augmented to almost an indefinite degree. The fact is, that the individual system is not adapted to the present advanced state of society; for it is evident that the great majority of mankind have nothing but their physical strength upon which to depend for their livelihood, and in as much as almost every article can now be produced by means of machinery, the value of manual labour is considerably deteriorated. To relieve the existing misery, therefore, such an arrangement is necessary as will enable each individual to keep pace with the times, to derive a benefit from all national improvements, and to advance in knowledge and prosperity in proportion to the civilization of his country. These blessings, unattainable under any existing form of government, would of necessity flow from the principles of co-operation, the grand distinction between the two systems being, that in the one case each individual is opposed in interest to the rest of the world—and in the other, the whole world is interested in the welfare of each individual.

But it is said, that under the co-operative system men would refuse to work. To which it may be answered, that human nature will continue to be influenced by motives; and that as men are induced to work under the doubtful expectation of obtaining the assistance of others, so they will not become inactive when their doubts have vanished, and the reward of their labour is reduced to a certainty.

An observation, of itself sufficient to obviate the difficulty against which in my last letter I contended, is, that no stimulus to action is half so effectual as what is generally called *the force of public opinion*, or, in other words, *the love of approbation*; to this feeling we may ascribe the most splendid actions which have dignified mankind. Man can endure privations to almost any extent, undergo the fatigues of a campaign, and face even death itself, that whilst living they might enjoy the esteem of their comrades, and, that when dead, their memories may be honoured by their countrymen. But few can withstand the contempt of those with whom they are obliged to associate, and this will in part account for the effect of bad example. How many are induced to commit crimes, and to be guilty of actions, in opposition to their personal interest, at variance with the dictates of their better judgments, rather than encounter the ridicule and the sneers of their ill-judging companions! But if, even in the present state of society, such be the powerful effect of the opinions of others in the formation of each individual character, with much greater force would it operate upon the component parts of an intelligent and well-regulated community, where

every action would be known, and its merits duly appreciated. "If it can be imagined," says Dr. Johnson, "that there ever was a time when the inhabitants of any country were in a state of equality, without distinction of rank, or peculiarity of possessions, it is reasonable to believe, that every man was then loved in proportion as he could contribute by his strength, or his skill, to the supply of natural wants; there was then little room for peevish dislike, or capricious favour; the affection admitted into the heart was rather esteem than tenderness, and kindness was only purchased by benefits—but, when by force or policy, by wisdom, or by fortune, property and superiority were introduced and established, so that men were condemned to labour for the support of a few, then they, whose possessions swelled above their wants, naturally laid out their superfluities upon pleasure; and those who could not gain friendship by necessary offices, endeavoured to promote their interest by luxurious gratifications, and to create need which they might be courted to supply."*

Happiness is the professed end of all our actions—but, that men have hitherto proceeded upon erroneous principles in the pursuit of this blessing, is a matter of daily experience, and has been generally admitted by all who have considered the subject. In point of value, what can equal the enjoyment of health? And yet will it be denied, that men are perpetually undermining their constitutions for the sake of obtaining individual wealth, which, to a reflecting mind, is known to be of less importance? It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that man should fail in attaining happiness, since, from the very nature of the competitive system, they are induced to seek it where it is not to be found; the example of Sir Samuel Romilly, and of the late Lord Londonderry, afford us striking illustrations of this position. Had these distinguished individuals declared, upon the commencement of life, what constituted the summit of their ambition, the one could scarcely have aspired higher than to attain the office of Attorney General, the other to be the most distinguished courtier of his age, and leader of an English House of Commons. Their desires at length were gratified. But, after the one had tasted the sweets of place, at a time when the eyes of his party were directed towards him, and his professional knowledge might have justly entitled him to the highest office open to the ambition of a British subject: when, also, the other was in the plenitude of his power, in the full enjoyment of his greatness—they afforded the world a convincing proof of the inadequacy of the most exalted rank and station, to render life even tolerable. It will be no answer to say, that their domestic misery ought not in justice to be ascribed to their public exertions, but to other circumstances altogether independent of them; the above argument will still hold good. Those who advocate equality of rank, are content with showing, that happiness is altogether unconnected with personal distinctions. Shakspeare, who read the thoughts of men, and whose penetrating genius could fathom the innermost recesses of the heart, makes Wolsey declare, that "too much honour is a load would sink a navy." It does good to no one. It excites the pride of those who possess it—the envy of those who do not.

I have the honour to be,

My Lords,
Your Lordships' most obedient,
Humble Servant,
PHILANTHROPOS

London, 10th July, 1832.

* Rambler, No. 104.

[Letter VIII. in our next.]

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

EQUITABLE EXCHANGE BANK.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS
CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD,
KING'S CROSS.

AGRICULTURALISTS, Gardeners, Manufacturers, Provision Merchants, Factors, Warehousemen, Wholesale and Retail Dealers of all descriptions, Mechanics, and all others, who may be inclined to dispose of their various articles of trade and merchandise, in the only equitable manner in which men can mutually dispose of their property to each other, viz., its value in labour for equal value in labour, without the intervention of money, are requested to transmit their names and address, with a description of the kind, or kinds of property, which they desire so to exchange, to the Secretary of the Institution, Mr. SAMUEL AUSTIN, of whom, on personal application at the Institution, every information relative to the Equitable Exchange Bank, may be obtained.

* * All letters must be post-paid.

ROBERT OWEN.

THE SIXTH SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the ASSOCIATION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE and POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on MONDAY, 6th August, 1832.

ROBT. OWEN, Governor.

On this occasion there will be
A CONCERT AND BALL;
BETWEEN WHICH
An Address will be delivered by the Governor.

Tickets of Admission, Visitors 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner of Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormand-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street, and 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

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THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 23.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

DESPERATION AND SAGACITY OF THE TORIES.

TORYISM is now fainting, drooping and dying. Smelling bottles, cordials, and medicines, are in great requisition for the emaciated patient. Two leaders of this faction, Sir James Scarlett, and Lord Stormont to wit, candidates for the representation of the ancient city of Norwich, have, under the pressure of their necessities, and in the exercise of their sagacity, issued the following address to the ladies of Norwich, acknowledging their influence, and invoking their aid.

TO THE LADIES OF NORWICH.

"None but the brave deserve the fair."

"If ever the sweets of social virtue, the warmth of honest zeal, the earnings of industry, and the prosperity of trade, had any influence in the female breast, you have now a happy opportunity of exercising it to the advantage of your country—your cause. If ever the feelings of a parent, wife, sister, friend, or lover, had a sympathy with public virtue, now is your time to indulge the fonder passion. If ever you felt for the ruin and disgrace of England, and for the miseries and deprivations of the obnoxious Reform Bill, you are called on by the most tender and affectionate tie in nature to exert your persuasive influence on the mind of a father, brother, husband, or lover; tell them not to seek filial duty, congenial regard, matrimonial comfort, nor tender compliance, till they have saved your country from perdition!—posterity from slavery! History furnishes us with instances of female patriotism equal to any in the page of war and politics. Oh! may the generous and beatific charms of female persuasion prevail with the citizens of Norwich, to espouse the cause of real liberty—of

"STORMONT AND SCARLETT."

CIVIL WAR AT CLITHEROE, IN LANCASHIRE.

WHILE the Portuguese propose to decide by the issue of a physical and bloody contest, whether Don Miguel or Don Pedro shall hold the staff of the ruler in his hand, the inhabitants of the ancient borough of Clitheroe, in Lancashire, have been bumbly imitating their conduct, touching Mr. Fort and Mr. Irving, as to which shall have the honor of their representation in a reformed parliament.

"Last week the partisans of Mr. Irving a Tory, and those of Mr. Fort, a Whig, candidates for the representation of Clitheroe, came into bloody collision. The whigs would not allow the tories to make, with Mr. Irving at their head, a public entrance into the town—an uproar ensued—the military were sent for by two clerical magistrates, and in the strife between the soldiers and the mob, thirteen persons were dangerously wounded."

What little importance is to be attached to names. The Whigs here were the aggressors! Why could they not let the Tories peaceably enter the town, to which they had as great a right as the Whigs? What a low state of intellect, and a high state of tyranny does this display! We say high, because it is seen, and not for the first time, with the liberal Whigs. Mankind trouble themselves about names—lay great stress on names! Let them look at things, and assist us in destroying that serpent—COMPETITION, which poisons every thing, and which has stung to death the happiness of the world!

AFFECTING CASE

OF

SEDUCTION AND SUICIDE.

ANOTHER SPECIMEN OF THE WORKING OF THE OLD SYSTEM.

Miss Sarah Sheffield, a fine young woman, eighteen years of age, daughter of Mr. James Sheffield, of Water Lane, Fleet Street, London, terminated her miserable existence last week, by taking an ounce of oxalic acid. She had been seduced about two months since by Henry Sheffield, a young man, her first cousin, under a promise of marriage. She left her father's house in company with her lover, and for a few weeks the parties resided together at No. 9, Great Arthur Street, Goswell Street. Shortly after they had repaired thither, she urged upon her seducer the performance of his promise, when he coolly disregarded her urgency and his honour, and threatened to abandon her; she was then with difficulty prevented from cutting her throat. Being now deceived by her seducer, disapproved by her friends, and shut out by her father, her mind became distracted—this failed in producing the slightest effect upon the obduracy of Henry Sheffield. On Thursday week, she swallowed an ounce of oxalic acid in his presence, and when the symptoms of the working poison began to shew themselves, Sheffield evinced the greatest apathy; and, in the hearing of the agonies, and the dying exclamations of his victim, took up his hat, and cruelly walked out of the apartment, leaving the doctor and her together. She died on the next morning, and the issue of the inquest was, "That the deceased took poison in a state of insanity, produced by the bad conduct of Henry Sheffield."

Our hand trembled, and our heart bled, while we copied this report for our paper. Youth, beauty, purity, and promise, covered with a pall, and wrapt in a gloom which no ray can ever pierce or cheer!

On the grave of Miss Sheffield no flower will blossom; and over her ashes no memorial will be raised; her infamy will fester, and her name rot! Such a fate is sufficient to draw tears from eyes as dry as dust, and to move hearts as hard as stones; and, according to one of the principal morning journals, it has produced a great public impression. But the waters of sympathy are soon licked up by the fires of indignation, and our feeling burns as though enraged with fresh fuel, against the existing blind, false, vicious, and execrable arrangements of society, in which such characters as the youth Sheffield are daily produced in considerable numbers; and in which such victims as the girl Sheffield, in numbers affecting and appalling, are irresistibly reduced to the dreadful alternative of prostitution or self-destruction!

This young man, who has in all probability been baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, received a christian education, and perhaps been confirmed by some one of the twenty-four Right Reverend Fathers in God laying consecrated hands on his head, has proved like too many other Christians, HOLLOW, UNFEELING, AND UNGRATEFUL. And what but such characters, in a greater or less degree, as long as the crop must in kind correspond with the seed, can be expected, when the education of the country is POSITIVELY ERRONEOUS; and certainly without intention, and perhaps without suspicion, ABSOLUTELY VICIOUS? It proceeds on the ground, that persons can and do form their own character; HERE IS ITS ERROR; and it places pupils to compete with each other in a strife for its empty distinctions, or substantial emoluments; HERE IS ITS VICE. These artificial rewards, and added to them, artificial punishments, arise out of a persuasion of merit and demerit; which arise out of the belief, that persons have a controul over their own actions, feelings, and thoughts; when in reality every person acts, feels, and thinks, just as he is acted upon. These rewards and punishments induce children, when truth will not serve, to deceive, in order that they may obtain the one and avoid the other; and competition renders them SELFISH, INDIVIDUAL, AND UNFEELING. And, as ceremony is too deceitful an article to traffic in when matters are serious, we hesitate not to declare, without either calumny or boasting, hesitation or fear, that deceit and selfishness, are really taught in every school in the kingdom.

Thus we may almost assert, that undesignedly men are made selfish and deceitful from the swaddling band to the shroud; from the dawn of reason to the darkness of death! Hence the swarms of ordinary deceivers, and the number of gay seducers, such as Henry Sheffield, which greatly infest, while they chiefly compose society; mischievous alike in their torpidity and animation; infecting where they move, and destroying where they repose. Oh tempora! Oh mores! Light

candle and search for a thorough honest man! where is he to be found? No where. And how can it be expected when deceit is taught in schools, and truth pronounced a libel in courts of justice. Yea, "the greater the truth, the greater the libel!"

We will now take the present system of society on its own principles—we have hitherto been arguing on our own.

In Christian theology, men, and Henry Sheffield amongst the rest, are taught that the woman is the weaker vessel by the first of the Apostles, St. Paul, to wit; and in Christian society, of which Henry Sheffield was, and is a member, they act on this faith with a witness, by stabbing that weakness with a dagger, instead of protecting it with a shield! And when this weakness through which the female fell undermost in the struggle of mind with mind, pleads eloquently, yea demands forgiveness, all are inexorable and deaf—friends, acquaintances, relatives, and parents, and the seducer himself, like the deaf adder, his vile representative, closes his ear, his heart, and his hand, and either gives another harlot to the living, or another corpse to the dead. On the contrary, the seducer, who by parity of reason is the stronger vessel, and upon whose guilty head all the punishment should descend, runs no risk but a legal one, which is not very great, since "the glorious uncertainty of the law" is a standing toast at the bar; and the publicity of legal proceedings are painful to the wounded feelings and retiring shame of the injured party, who is not so soon debauched in mind as she is dishonoured in person; and who retains her nature, though she has lost her virginity. What a palpable and pernicious contradiction is this even in the crowd of others by which old society is disfigured and disgraced, that the comparatively innocent is punished, and the positively guilty escapes! Of the existence of this contradiction no intelligent man is ignorant, and to its removal no honest man can be opposed.

Here is a very case in point. In this enlightened, advanced, and pious land, where there is law for most things, and justice for very few—where, if the youth, Sheffield, had been convicted of stealing a sheep, or picking a pocket, he would have been transported or imprisoned—or, if a publican, and convicted of selling a pint of ale to a thirsty person during church time—or, if a barber, and convicted of shaving a man in the same hallowed hours—he would have been fined; but, while he has blood upon him, while he is in reality a murderer—who has in truth murdered not the old, the decrepid, the deformed, the odious, the hostile, or the unknown, which would have been heinous—but, the young, the beautiful, the affectionate, and the captivating of that sex, which is the best gift of nature to man—a lovely female, attired in the rich wardrobe of nature; who, confiding in his honor surrendered to him *her own*, and who, by gratifying his desires, had demands on his gratitude; and yet, for this murder, in which exaggeration is unnecessary and extenuation impossible,—for this debasing, dire, dreadful, and deadly deed he escapes untouched by the police, and uncondemned, yea, unnoticed by the law!!!

Should the friends of the seduced have money wherewith to avail themselves of the law, by what rule are the damages to be estimated? By what standard of value in money, are unutterable anguish, raving, and distraction to be calculated? Against what weights are the ashes of the dead to be balanced? And what security is there that the seducer may not be far distant when the trial comes on? He cannot be imprisoned—and, while the law can give her friends no pretended redress even, except they have money, and her seducer has money, and he waits the issue of the trial—if they were to usurp its place and revenge themselves, it would pounce upon them for the act!

Powers of nature! principles of reason! retributions of justice! blushes of shame!—where are ye? Where is your residence in the nineteenth century? If ye can hear my feeble voice, hasten! fly! to the assistance of an insane and suffering world!

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Amongst our receipts of the week, we are indebted to "Frederick Bate," & "the person who asked the question at the Sans Souci."

"John David Jones," "J. Cooper, and William Johnson."

"Fanny's" Stanzas are in our possession.

Robinson Crusoe's wish shall be complied with.

We have so many communications from correspondents, such important matters of our own, and such little room in our paper, that our friends must not imagine that their communications are disregarded or rejected, because they are not immediately inserted.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 11.

The great powers of the world are at peace; the means of producing prosperity throughout all nations have increased in proportion to the increase of population, and to the discoveries and inventions in the arts and sciences.

Yet, owing to some cause unknown to, or unacknowledged by statesmen, the prosperity of the industrious classes has long been on the decline, the safety of the upper, or non-producing classes, has continually diminished, and the dissatisfaction of all classes has attained an alarming extent to those who govern the most powerful empires.

It is evident, therefore, that errors of great magnitude exist among all nations; that those who have hitherto governed mankind by coercion, through wars and misery, are incompetent of themselves to lead them by reason to prosperity and happiness, and that the old notions of governing are no longer applicable to the altered circumstances of the population of the civilized world.

"Divide and conquer," has been the maxim upon which all rulers have hitherto governed, and they have pushed this principle until it can no longer be continued. Men have discovered the advantages of union, and they must now have all their arrangements new modelled, to be in accordance with the altered condition of their minds and feelings.

Thus an entire change in conducting human affairs is demanded, and made still more necessary by the rapid progress of science, and the general extension of knowledge.

But who is to effect this great change for the happiness of mankind?

The reply ought to be, "the intelligent and well disposed of all classes." These parties ought now to unite for their own safety, and for the well being of all.

It may be asked, what will they unite to do? To secure riches, and knowledge, and good feelings to all. How is this great good to be effected?

By a course of proceeding altogether different from that which has been hitherto practised over the whole earth. But who can carry this change

into execution? Either the existing governments, aided by the people, or the people aided by the governments—both parties are necessary to a speedy, permanent, and happy change, and those who desire to widen the differences which exist between the various classes, are the worst enemies of the human race.

But what practical measures are necessary to effect this change.

The people must, in the first place, be placed under circumstances by which they can relieve themselves from the poverty, in which they are most unwisely allowed to remain; and, perhaps the best preliminary mode to commence this change, will be by the establishment of Equitable Exchange Labour Bazaars; the natural standard of value, labour, to be made the practical standard; and, by each portion of wealth being made to represent itself, by notes expressing its value in labour.

These Bazaars, or Banks of real wealth, will not only regain for the industrious the former value of their labour, physical and mental, but they will gradually remove the cause of poverty, and secure to them the full value of their labour.

The great increase of wealth which will thus arise, will diminish the motives which now excite to crimes against existing laws, improve the feelings of all towards each other, and prepare the way for the adoption of efficient measures to remove the cause of the ignorance which now pervades society, and which generates all vices and bad passions.

In the next place, new arrangements must be formed, to give from infancy a very superior character, compared with the present, to the whole population. Unless the government adopt decisive measures to form this improved character, and thereby remove the cause of ignorance and poverty, and insure sufficient wealth for all, it will become the obvious interest, and the imperative duty of the people, to effect both these primary, and most necessary changes, for themselves.

It is, however, most earnestly recommended, that these changes should be brought about in such a manner that, if possible, no parties should experience even temporary evil during their progress; but effected they must be, and that soon, either by the government and people united, or by the people—the former is greatly the most to be desired.

The depression and degradation of the industrious classes, by the artificial methods in practice to keep them in ignorance and poverty, are quite as injurious to them, as an actual scarcity of wealth, or even a famine, for many of them perish for want of food to support life, while abundance pervades the land.

Thus a great mass of the population of the earth is in poverty and misery, while a small portion is overwhelmed with much wealth; and there is, of necessity, a continual contest between them, which destroys the happiness of both parties, and keeps the world at war—and, consequently, in crime and misery; while the production of wealth is also, thereby greatly limited, and much of the wealth produced is wasted, and often wilfully destroyed.

Those who reflect, apart out of the vortex of human passions and prejudices, perceive that this mode of proceeding is grossly irrational, that, to speak honestly, it is no better than rank insanity on the part of those who thus govern, or who are thus governed.

All greatly desire to be wealthy.

All equally desire to be happy.

All may be easily made wealthy.

All may be easily made happy.

Yet is the great mass of the population of the world poor and wretched, and none are as happy

as all ought to be and might be. Upon these most interesting subjects, the population of various countries have been made to receive the most erroneous notions, and to act accordingly.

They have been taught that metal money which has been made by accident to represent real wealth, is wealth itself, and that real wealth is not wealth, until it can be so represented. Thus have men's minds been made an heterogeneous mass of confusion; their ideas relative to wealth especially, have been perplexed, inconsistent, and irrational.

The time has arrived, when, through the regular course of natural events, an entire change in the sentiments of mankind on these subjects is about to take place:

When what is the most valuable wealth will be ascertained.

When the best mode of producing and distributing this wealth will be made known.

When the true or natural standard of value will be introduced into general practice.

When real wealth will be made to create an honest and equitable circulating medium, co-extensive with, but not to exceed its own amount.

When the means of removing the cause of all bad passions and vices will become familiar to every one, and be easily applied to practice upon the most extensive scale.

When the means of ensuring the most desirable dispositions, the best habits and manners, and the acquisition of the most useful and valuable knowledge will be made evident to all, and be systematically carried into execution.

And when the means of securing the most permanent happiness to all will be plainly developed, and be universally approved and adopted.

UTILITY OF THE CRISIS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I have taken in regularly from the first number, your excellent work the "Crisis," which I have read over and over with the most serious attention, and confess myself a complete convert to your new system of society; I feel very desirous of assisting in the grand work, but I am so situated, that my whole time is occupied in a business the most disagreeable, and, in too many instances, highly injurious to society. I have been in the public line nearly ten years, but I should feel heartily glad to get out of it; I have a good business, and have realized money by it, but the line of life is truly disgusting to a reflecting mind, and the scenes which continually present themselves to myself, wife, and children, are really too bad to express here.

Avarice forms no part of my constitution, or I should remain where I am—but, Sir, I should feel greatly obliged if you would suggest how I could provide for my family in a comfortable way if I dispose of my business; I have property, and should like to enter into any business congenial with your views, by which, with industry, I could support my family. I am in good health—age 32.

With the multiplicity of your business, if you could spare a few minutes to answer my earnest request, and advise and direct me how to become a useful and beneficial, instead of a useless and injurious member of society, I should feel ever grateful, and remain, Sir,

Your's, with great respect,

A CONVERT.

July 31, 1832.

* * * The writer of this letter may apply any day at our Institution, where we will give him all the information in our power.

DEPUTATION OF IRON-MASTERS, AND HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS.

FROM the Morning Herald of Thursday last we learn that a deputation of ironmasters, from the Staffordshire and Shropshire districts, had an interview with the ministers the day before. The following sentiment of the deputation, as expressed to the ministers appears to us worthy of extraction:

"The deputation strongly urged upon Earl Grey and Lord Althorp their opinion, either that the gold standard, or the social system, one or the other must give way; as from their personal knowledge, the privations of the working classes were now of a character and extent too severe for much longer endurance."

Over "the gold standard" the government can exercise but very little controul indeed, and the people none at all. The money value of this metal must, as long as it is regarded of any value, be regulated, like that of any other commodity, by its plenty or scarcity. But what power can exert itself over this plenty or scarcity? Man cannot grow gold like he can grow vegetables, nor breed it like cattle, nor multiply it like he can his own species, and hence he is hemmed up within the bounds of his present dilemma. Produce, over which he has controul, is to be distributed by means of a medium over which he has no controul at all. He has not only run his head against the wall, but, as Sheridan said, "built the wall against which he has run his head." Common sense would say, let the medium through which your produce is distributed be equally controulable with the produce itself. Let it rise as the produce rises, and fall as the produce falls; enlarge it as it enlarges, and contract it as it contracts. Can this be done with gold? Gold, which we must fetch from another and a distant country—and gold, which if subjects possessed they durst not coin! Labour, which is the only standard of value, that is the time which different commodities occupy in their production, is the only test of their worth, and Labour-exchange Notes, as the representative of that worth, should be the only circulating medium.

DISSATISFACTION WITH MR. OWEN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—For the first time I visited your Institution last Sunday. As an individual, who, if he knows any thing of himself, believes he is free from any strong feeling of attachment towards any system, religious or political, and disposed to think favourably of yours, I trust to your impartiality to give insertion to a few remarks on what I there saw and heard.

Some of the opinions broached, did, I must confess, very much surprise me; I could hardly believe I was listening to a "rational" philosopher; they seemed to belong to some uninformed and wild enthusiast. For instance, that "so long as the present monetary and religious systems continue, it is impossible that a man can be honest." Did Mr. Owen really mean what he said, and deliver this as a well considered and deliberate opinion? Does he, the candid and benevolent philanthropist, as he is usually represented to be, mean to put forth the monstrous notion, that at the present moment there does not—nay, that for the last eighteen hundred years, there never has existed—one truly honest man? Is he himself an honest man? Yes, or No—may I beg of Mr. Owen to answer this plain question? If in the negative, then out of his own mouth he stands condemned as one whose opinion of his fellows is not worth much: if in the affirmative, then what, in the name of common sense and common decency we to think of the man who has the assurance publicly to avow, that he, of all men living, is the only one fairly entitled to the character of an honest man?

"Who made thee a judge," and whence did he acquire a patent to infallibility? Certainly, Mr. Owen's tone throughout his discourse, would lead me to infer that he imagines himself altogether superior to the rest of the community—a sort of demi-god on the earth—and all people besides little better than idiots or lunatics.

Mr. Owen designated his disciples "a choice few." Of their choiceness an unprejudiced man must form but a strange opinion, when he heard them cheering vociferously a sentiment which declared that the whole civilized world is destitute of common sense and common honesty. Were themselves included? In their opinion, perhaps, not; but, even then, to well-informed, benevolent minds, such a sentiment, one would think, must produce feelings of deep regret, rather than be received with loud clappings.

Mr. Owen declared that the ministers of religion were too prudent—too cunning (that was the word) to attend his meetings for discussion. Was this insinuation worthy of him who boasts of endeavouring to "unite all hearts?" Did he mean—I know not that his words will bear any other meaning—that the public teachers of religion, from interested motives, profess and teach doctrines which they know will not bear the test of examination? I am not a religious professor, but I can no more suspect them, than I do Mr. Owen, of such baseness.

No one is more ready than I am to concede to Mr. Owen, or to any one else, his undoubted right to proclaim what he sincerely believes to be truth. But, admitting a man's right to a particular course, we may still question the wisdom of his putting it in practice. It is Mr. Owen's prudence that I cannot but impeach; and I hope he will pardon me for expressing my deep regret that he should risk the advantages which I believe might result from the adoption of this social system, by mixing it up with subjects with which it has no possible connexion, and which renders it impossible for sober-minded men, whether believers or unbelievers in revelation, to co-operate heartily with him, or even to attend his lectures, without having a feeling almost of disgust excited.

C. G.

Hackney, July 24th 1832.

* * * This Letter was replied to by Mr. Owen in the first Sunday morning's Lecture that he delivered after it was received.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

THE DOCTRINE OF ACCOUNTABILITY, IN THE PLANET JUPITER.

SIR,—As the wisdom of mankind has discovered 1st, That every human being forms its own organization.—2nd, That it determines of what parents, at what periods, in what country, and in what class of society it pleases to be born.—3rd, Seeing it chooses the parents, whose religious opinions, are most consonant to reason.—4th, As the child, determines the circumstances, by which it shall be surrounded from birth to maturity, which, with its original organization, together form its character.—5th, Seeing that it possesses the power to form, or change its belief at pleasure, that its conviction of any truth depends upon its will.—6th, That its affections are so under the controul of the will, that it can love or hate at pleasure.

Seeing, Oh ye Ephesians! that no man can deny these things, for it is well known to you all, that the beautiful image of Diana (the lovely, faultless form of present society) came down from heaven—that all is founded on the preceding facts, from which results inevitably, the glorious doctrine of man's accountability.

To this doctrine may be traced, all the brotherly love, all the toleration of religious opinions in society, (we never imprison those who differ from us, but we pray for them who despitely use us) 'tis owing to this that we never hear Christians speak ill of each other, no slander, no backbiting,

and none making a gain of godliness. In trade, all so honest, so upright, no man cheating, defrauding, or taking advantage of the ignorance of his neighbour; lying, is not even thought of. No clashing interests in this christian land, but all, in imitation of the primitive Christians, have united labour, and united expences, living as brethren, and eating their bread with thankfulness. Such are the admirable consequences of the doctrine of free will, which, taken for granted, accountability must follow as its consequence.

All the arrangements of society, and all our laws, are founded on this doctrine. As the degraded part of mankind, called the poor, choose the circumstances of both ignorance, poverty, &c., which determine their characters, it is perfectly right—only just—that they should be punished, for breaking laws, founded on this principle alone; *their accountability is clear!*

But if in any other planet, say the planet Jupiter, it should please the great power that rules the universe to form men, differently from us, and that if he should make it a law of *their* nature, that no Jupiterian shall form any part of his organization, that he shall not have the power to determine of what parents, at what period, in what country, in what class of society he shall be born—that he shall be as unable to settle what religious faith he will be pleased to have instilled into his infant mind! instead of the power we favoured mortals have to form, or change our belief at pleasure, and determine our convictions by volition, and controul our feelings, or change them as we will; the poor Jupiterians, on the contrary, shall “be compelled, by his original constitution, to receive his feelings, and his convictions, independently of his will. And his feelings, or his convictions, or both of them united, shall create the motive to action, called the will, which shall stimulate him to act, and decide his actions.”

Bound by such unerring, uncontrollable laws of nature, what would be the conduct of these Jupiterians? Discovering the overwhelming power of circumstances in determining the characters of all, would they not so adapt their plans of education as best to suit the differing organization of each individual? And as these Jupiterians would not expect to gather figs, where they had planted thorns, they would not surround the greater part, or any part of their population, with poverty, as a mode of preventing theft, and producing happiness. Nor would they permit one man to put the hard labour of 10,000 men into a strong box and lock it up, whilst thousands of his fellow men were in a state of famine. Perhaps the Jupiterians might think it wiser, that all should be employed a little, enough for health, than that some should be eaten up with ennui, whilst the great mass were little more than beasts of burden. Now, these inhabitants of the planet Jupiter, would never punish, or reward any man for his particular religious faith, as then, no man would give himself his convictions, but be compelled to believe, according to the strongest evidence presented to his mind—the conviction being an *instinct of his nature*. And, as with them, *love* and *hatred* would not depend upon the individual, but upon the effects produced on his feelings, by the lovely, or other qualities, of the object loved, or disliked. Therefore, in forming their laws of marriage, they would hardly oblige each person solemnly to declare in the temple of their God (what would be out of his power) that he will continue to love, any object till death—and they might think it wiser, that two persons made wretched by their union, (after every means had been tried in vain to reconcile them) should separate, than continue to plague each other, through the whole period of life.

As with these Jupiterians, no man would form any part of himself, and as the circumstances in which society placed him would form his character; as all of them would be influenced to action, by the strongest motive presented to his mind, and never by the weaker, they would so surround individuals from birth, with circumstances favourable to the formation of the best of characters, that at length,

only good characters would be formed. And as each one would be trained to act, agreeably to the laws of his nature, and feeling that all were compelled to act from the strongest motive, they would no more dream that the Jupiterians were *accountable*, or *responsible*, for their convictions, their feelings, or consequent actions, than the numerous other creatures, who act also according to their nature, and were formed by the same great author and ruler of all worlds.

AGRICOLA.

Islington, June 4, 1832.

(From the *True Sun* of Tuesday, August 7, we extract the following.)

SOCIAL FESTIVAL OF MR. OWEN'S INSTITUTION, GRAY'S INN ROAD, KING'S CROSS.

Last night the members of “The Association of the intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes,” celebrated their sixth general social festival at the Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross. A numerous and respectable company, which had assembled by nine o'clock, listened to the vocal and instrumental performances with which the diversified and successive festivities of the evening commenced with great apparent pleasure. Mr. Owen, the Governor of the Institution, then proceeded to address the assembly on the present anomalous condition of society, and the causes and cure of those anomalies. Dancing began after the delivery of this address, and one o'clock only put a termination to the festivities. The object of these monthly festivals, is to create good feeling amongst persons of all classes and distinctions, by bringing them in friendly contact, and embuing them with correct sentiments and a benignant spirit. The rooms in which these periodical recreations, intercourse, instruction, and enjoyments transpire, are splendid, capacious, and highly suitable to the purpose, and the perspective of the promenade is very imposing.

ORIGINAL SIN. TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I think you said that you believed, that from the state of original sin in which man was, or rather is, he cannot be expected to be even better or happier than he is at present—that his condition of original sin would always present an unconquerable obstacle to his existing peaceably and happily together in community, as one of a great family.

You will, I think, agree with me in the meaning of the term ‘original sin’; *original*, means from the beginning; *sin*, means evil, wickedness, badness: by the term, therefore, ‘original sin,’ is meant evil, wickedness, or badness from the beginning.

Now, with regard to this quality of man as derived from the account given by Moses, we have nothing whatever to do, inasmuch as that account has for a long time been disproved, and is now considered either as a figurative history of the first ages of the world, or as a traditionary relation of the Jews, except by those who keep their eyes closed against facts in order not to set aside pre-conceived notions. But with “the original sin, inherent business, innate wickedness,” &c. &c.; which many excellent and highly-gifted persons believe, however derived, to belong to human nature, I cannot be allowed, nor must I allow myself to deal so summarily.

Evil-doing and wretchedness abound over the face of the earth—but let us not accuse our beneficent Creator with being the cause of this. No! man is himself the cause. And how is the cause? The religious man has been instructed to say, “by their fruits ye shall know men; the heart of man is filled with evil continually; there is none good, no not one.” In obedience to the precept, “prove all things,” let us ascertain how far these assertions can be supported.

Let every man lay his hand upon his heart, and let him ask whether it has not throbbled with the purest delight when he has done good to a fellow creature—when he has conferred a happiness upon

another; with what pleasure do we not contemplate the character of a benevolent, good man! But, would you, who say your heart is filled with evil, would you press the hand of a man stained with crime, and greet him as a brother? Do we not shudder instinctively at the recital of the enormities we occasionally hear of? Have we any sympathies or fellow-feeling with those who oppress and do wrong to their fellow men? Is it not true, that not only do we abhor evil, but we shrink from those who do evil; that not only do we love good, but we love those who do good. Our hearts acknowledge and respond to every virtuous action, and are repugnant to every vicious and injurious one: but, if the heart of man really were desperately wicked, and prone to evil, would he not seek after and hurry into crime—would he not make vice and crime the chief and prime object of his life.

You may here ask, “how then is it, that there is so much of evil, and consequent wretchedness, in the world, at the same time that all have an innate love of good, which one would think, ought to insure general happiness?”

It is the desire of happiness, that has hitherto produced its opposite—misery.

However ardently a man may wish for the happiness of all his fellow creatures, yet the desire for his own individual happiness is still stronger, as, in the same degree, the instinct of self-preservation dominates over the impulse of preserving another.

It may be easily conceived, that as want, from whatever cause arising, came to be known, that men, taught by what they had suffered, would provide against its future occurrence. This might have been done by individuals, or by numbers collectively. When want came to be felt again, self-preservation would urge those who had not made provision, to get it from those who had; and these, from the same instinct, would struggle to keep it to themselves. Hence, first arose the miseries attendant on fighting, or war. These miseries cannot be said to have sprung from any inherent badness in

(To be continued.)

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

EQUITABLE LABOR EXCHANGE.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD, KING'S CROSS.

AGRICULTURALISTS, Gardeners, Manufacturers, Provision Merchants, Factors, Warehousemen, Wholesale and Retail Dealers of all descriptions, Mechanics, and all others, who may be inclined to dispose of their various articles of trade and merchandize, in the only equitable manner in which men can mutually dispose of their property to each other, viz., its value in labour for equal value in labour, without the intervention of money, are requested to transmit their names and address, with a description of the kind, or kinds of property, which they desire so to exchange, to the Secretary of the Institution, Mr. SAMUEL AUSTIN, of whom, on personal application at the Institution, every information relative to the Equitable Labour Exchange, may be obtained.

All letters must be post-paid.

ROBERT OWEN.

Printed for, and published by, the Association of the intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by Strange, Paternoster-Row; Berger, Holywell Street; and Purkiss, Wardour Street; and may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 24.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

THE HARVEST.

FROM all quarters we gather that the present crops surpass both in quality and quantity the average harvest of the last five-and-twenty years. This is cheering, as far as it shews the inexhaustible fertility of nature; and yet, plentiful as the present harvest is, comparatively with other harvests, it is but poor compared with what it might have been made under spade cultivation. We have no doubt but that it might have been increased fifty per cent. by this means; and if rail roads were as general as they might be made, the land which they would open to the growth of corn, by superseding the labour and use of an immense number of horses, would be very great. The present plenty is, however, exhilarating; but the fear, the persuasion, that its distribution will be so unequal amongst the various classes of society—that those who have contributed the most to its production will have the least of its proceeds—and that to the lot of numbers very little indeed will fall—overshadows the mind with gloom, and damps the feelings with chill. The song of the ploughman as he made his furrows—the standing corn bowing before the breeze, and falling under the sickle—the shout of the reapers' harvest home (if these songs and shouts are still continued) have lost much of their power to charm, that to us they resemble music to one who is tortured by the gout, and fantastical diversions around a dying bed—they seem out of place and out of tune. The peasant lads with their rattles, and the scarecrows with their deformity, protecting the grain from the hungry birds, are as frightful as scarecrows, and as much to be feared as the present artificial institutions of society. The plough boys, and which prevent hungry men and women from honestly satisfying their natural appetites; and the murderous gun, which is also a protector, and which sometimes severely punishes the feathered depredators, is emblematical of the law, which pounces with its fangs upon the hungry of mankind, who shall prefer stealing to starvation, and who had rather live than die. Indeed, such is the individual and unfeeling state to which we are brought, that protection is not kindness but selfishness; it is the kindness of the vulture to the lamb, which covers while it devours its prey; which hovering in mid air, and dispersing the kites and lesser birds of prey, protects the innocent victim from all talons but its own. There is one depredator, whom no scarecrow can terrify, nor gun deter; no argument can convince, nor rattle annoy, and that is—the tithe collector. The small robbers

who sing for what they have, and give before they take, are disposed of without ceremony; but the great robbers steal with unconcern, and consume under protection. They are about, however, to put a stop to these robberies in Ireland, and it is high time they did, both there, and every where else. The gleanings of harvest resemble in number the few clear and correct thinkers which there are in society; and the short, plentiful, and dry stubble reminds us of the mass of mankind, who are as great in numbers, as short in intellectual stature, and as juiceless in real liberality, as the dryest, and shortest, and most plentiful stubble which can any where be met with.

Deep gloom has long settled upon the agricultural interest, and the only light, if light it may be called, which has attempted to irradiate it, has been the blaze of hay stacks, corn stacks, bean and clover ricks. Disastrous light! Terrible, but hitherto undestructive illumination! Not the light of reason, but the blaze of passion, around which the insect minds of ignorant men have circled and circled; then rushed into it only to be consumed! What a distressing and alarming state of things! poverty, perplexity, and madness, in a population which increases every day five hundred in number, according to the last census—men who have heat without light; goads, but not reins! Stung and stinging! The agriculturalists are amongst this unhappy and pitiable description; a kind of men who are much more simple and submissive than the more knowing people who compose the manufacturing districts. And yet these peasants, naturally peaceful as their fields, and bland as the sheep which they pasture and shear, have lost their tameness, and been roused into ferocity, under the present state of things! And what else can be expected, when those who feed others are starving—when the king lives by the field, while the labourer starves upon it—and, if the hungry labourer should rebel, the king sends a judge to try and punish him for the act! With what unutterable anguish and indignation do we swell and burn, when we know, that in the midst of plenty, there is a scramble to live—in the granary of the world we have numbers crying "for bread"—nature's breasts are full, while those of many other mothers are empty; and while nature furnishes and demands labour, art ties the hands of the labourer behind him. What a predicament are we in! We want more produce, and could produce more; but we dare not, lest we should lower the value of that produce which is already in existence! Thus the river of nature's bounty is dammed up by artificial restrictions; but it will soon burst them and regain its own embankments. These dams cannot resist the steady and increasing pressure much longer.

Men have been at infinite pains to render themselves ridiculous and miserable! With a tithe of

their pains, to place society under, fresh and fundamental arrangements, they might be happy. The materials are good, but the architects are bunglers. Men must be soon burnt or starved out of the old system. This is their position, and we rejoice at the fact, that their misery consists in what they cannot retain, their happiness in what they cannot avoid.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

THE Kendal Co-operative Society held their 3rd Annual Meeting at Mr. Stainton's, White Lion inn, Stricklandgate, on Monday evening week, when upwards of 120 persons sat down to tea and other wholesome refreshments. The room was neatly decorated with the sweet flowers of the season, and some devices expressive of the object of the meeting, calculated to inspire harmony and christian good will. Mr. George Gaskell was called to the chair, who, after tea, during which kindly feeling seemed to animate each breast, and glow in every countenance—addressed the assembly in a humorous and appropriate manner, which was well received. He was then followed by Mr. Thomas Hirst, of Huddersfield, (the zealous and able apostle of the Co-operative Associations, and a friend of "Temperance Societies") who in a very forcible and lively manner called upon the meeting—the husbands—wives—brothers—sisters—cousins, and all, to enlist under the co-operative banners. At half-past six the meeting was adjourned to the Primitive Methodist Chapel, where Mr. Hirst entered freely into the principles and objects of mutual co-operation, for meeting the great and growing distresses of the working classes; and to counteract the pernicious, and, in his opinion, degrading tendency of the workhouse system of pauperism. His lecture lasted upwards of two hours.

NEW CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

FROM the Report of the Commissioners for building new churches and chapels, we learn that one hundred and eighty-eight of these edifices are now erected; and that they are capable of accommodating two hundred and fifty-seven thousand, seven hundred and twenty-eight persons, in which number, is accommodation for one hundred and forty-two thousand, one hundred and twenty-one poor persons. Nineteen churches and chapels are now building; and nineteen more are in contemplation. And what does all this cost? And who pays for it? are questions which force themselves upon the consideration of an impoverished and sinking people. In reply to the first question we learn that Exchequer bills to the amount of one million, four hundred and forty thousand pounds have already been issued. And as to the second question, "who pays for all?" we say the productive classes; for none else, in reality, have any thing to pay with;

—a very satisfactory reason for their paying nothing. If those persons, who build churches and chapels really paid for them, no one could complain; but when others, who have built their own places of worship, and others, of which there are numbers who worship intellectually in that superb temple—the universe—which nature has created, thinking that they cannot build one so good or so large, and that, even if they could, it would be folly to build, since there is one already built, when these are compelled to pay also, it is hard and unjust. When the temple of Solomon, in which the gold of Ophir reflected its splendour, the cedars of Lebanon emitted their fragrance, and the sycamores of the vale discovered their beauty, was built, the contributions of the people were all voluntary. We have heard it assigned as a reason, that if the payment was not compulsory, there would not be near a sufficiency of funds. This we verily believe. But what must be the effect of this compulsory payment upon the minds of the people? Why, to alienate them from the church, and to create dissenters; and to compel them to pay towards the church when they want what little money they have for other purposes! And what need was there for these churches and chapels? Are the old ones so full that people are seen standing around the doors? Are the police necessary to keep order in those thronged assemblies? Have the people petitioned for fresh accommodation in worship? It is a notorious fact that in London there are not a dozen churches which are well attended; numbers are the mere shells of worship; and in the country there are abundance of those edifices in which there is great plenty of room. It would be well if the commissioners had said, in addition to the number of persons which these new churches will contain, how many there are who attend them! If the one million, four hundred and forty thousand pounds, had been appropriated to the purposes of the poor and needy, in making fresh and fundamental arrangements for their good, it would have been both more religious and more politic. Talk to the poor who want bread that there are free seats for them at church! They ask for food, and government give them stones! They want employment on the uncultivated lands of the country, and government give them churches!

BIRMINGHAM VESTRY MEETING.

On Monday week an unusually crowded Public Meeting was held in St. Martin's Church, Birmingham, for the purpose of passing the estimates for the current year, and granting the present church and chapelwardens a levy—the rector in the chair. Out of eleven speakers, there were only the rector and churchwardens who supported the levy! Mr. Pare, a very zealous and useful co-operator, Secretary to the London Congress, greatly distinguished himself on this occasion in a speech of great pith and point, against compulsory payment for the support of any religion. The discussion was what is called stormy, and under these religious storms, the peaceful fruits of charity and love, uniformly and necessarily perish. The rector left the chair, and his place was supplied by the Rev. S. F. Morgan. The levy was decisively refused, and in its room a petition to Parliament, deprecating the principle of compulsory payment to the support of the Established Church *unanimously* adopted. The following item is all of this valuable document for which we have any room:—

“That your petitioners have been long oppressed with the payment of sums levied as Church rates, to defray the expenses attendant on the performance of divine worship, in the churches and chapels belonging to the Established religion; which payment, as your petitioners are mostly Dissenters, they consider unjust.”

Let every place follow in the steps of Birmingham, and these Church rates will be levied only on those who attend her worship.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

As we never advertise any work which we have not read, and not having read the poem on “Equality,” the author will know the reason why his advertisement does not appear. We wish him to send us a copy.

W. Maccappin and I. P. are in our hands.

The Letter to Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, and Viscount Melbourne, has been omitted this week, through an oversight. It will appear in our next.

Robinson Crusoe, junr., just came to hand when we were going to press.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 18.

WHY is the British public so vulgar and so ignorant, so clamorous for what they call their rights, and always so much disappointed when they obtain what they ask? These are important questions, and the true answer to them will remove many formidable difficulties in the way of national improvement.

The British public, like all other people, are made to be what they are through the instruction which they receive by precept and example.

The British public receives its instructions from the two houses of parliament, from the universities, academies, and other seminaries of learning, so called, from the pulpit, from the bar, from public meetings, and very essentially from the daily and weekly newspapers, and other periodical publications.

These notions instilled into our minds from infancy, have made us the vulgar, ignorant, irrational beings that we are, full of the most opposite and contradictory notions, and overflowing with our own importance, as though we possessed all knowledge and goodness.

Now, when we calmly reflect upon the mass of words used in parliament, in the so called seminaries of learning, in the pulpit, at the bar, by the periodical press, and at the innumerable public meetings which are held in the country; we cease longer to be at a loss to account most satisfactorily for the folly and absurdity of the modern British character, and for the gross ignorance and irrationality which pervade all the practical proceedings of a people thus instructed.

We have for some time calmly attended to these public transactions, analyzed them into their component parts, investigated them to their original foundation, compared them with each other, and traced their effects upon the whole compound of the heterogeneous mass of society which they have formed; and the aggregate of society is thus before us as the map exhibiting the good, bad, and indifferent at one view.

The good occupies a very small space, the indifferent somewhat more, and all the remainder is bad indeed. No wonder that Great Britain

appears to strangers to be a compound of contradictions, and to natives an inexplicable mass of inconsistencies, errors, and evils, more especially to those who have spent much time in vain attempts to unravel these mysteries. We are a nation full of riches, and of all the materials to increase this wealth without limit, and yet we are a people suffering all the evils of poverty. We are a nation possessing all the means that can be desired to disseminate, in a short period, throughout its whole population, the most valuable truths, the most useful knowledge, the best manners, and kindest dispositions, while these invaluable means are actively employed to keep the great mass of the people in the most vulgar and degrading ignorance, and to fill the minds of the remainder with useless learning, or errors that lead to the most disastrous consequences in practice.

Yes! the power to put Great Britain and Ireland into a state of considerable improvement, perpetually advancing as the knowledge of the people shall be made to increase, exists at this moment to an extent never before possessed by any government and people. This power is sufficient, if properly applied, to remove the vulgar ignorance and error now so prevalent in both islands, from the whole population in less than two years, and in less than five years, the whole people might be made affluent, honest, humane, and well behaved, or, in other words, rich and rational.

But the speeches in parliament, the instruction in the universities, and seminaries of learning—the discourse in the pulpit—the proceedings at the bar, the party writings in the newspapers, and other periodicals, the speeches made at public meetings, will not effect the change, should they be continued as heretofore in many centuries to come. The instruction thus given to the public is a mere mass of words, like the doctrines of the political economist, having no beneficial practical effect, but rather tending to plunge society deeper and deeper into error and misery, increase the opposition and competition between individuals, sects, and classes, and still further confound and perplex the human mind.

Another and a very different course ought to be now adopted, if any real good is to be obtained for the human race. Some parties must open the path to real knowledge, and in defiance of all existing prejudices, place important truths upon important subjects before the public. We fear few have yet been trained to be competent to this task, and fewer still possess sufficient love of human kind, to risk their immediate interest or standing in society, by making the attempt.

We have undertaken the task, and we will persevere in the good work, until society, in spite of itself, shall be relieved from its vulgar notions, and mental darkness.

We will declare the reasons why the British public is so vulgar and so ignorant; so clamorous for what it calls its rights, and so disappointed when it has obtained those rights for which so many sacrifices were made.

The British public has no wise and experienced instructors either in or out of parliament. None who know for what to ask, or how to apply what they obtain.

Were the instructors of the people well informed and rational, they would soon teach the people to understand their real interests, enable them to apply in a proper manner, and with irresistible influence, to the government, for what was necessary to insure their prosperity, and induce both so to act that mutual confidence should arise between the people and the government,

and a perpetually increasing prosperity would be the necessary and happy result.

The people then want the resources of this mighty empire, to be applied in the best manner, for the benefit of the whole population, without reference to any rank or description.

To effect this object, the energies of the people and the fertility of the soil, must be brought into action.

The spade cultivation should be introduced instead of the plough, that *all* the working population may have immediate employment. All the consequent changes from the plough to the spade cultivation should be at once made; these changes should be effected by the parishes under the direction of an efficient board of practical men appointed by parliament or the government.

The natural standard of value should be made to supersede the present most defective artificial standard.

The existing insufficient and insecure circulating medium, should be exchanged for one that can be made to increase or diminish, precisely as real wealth is made to increase or diminish.

By these means the whole population may be, without force or fraud, well educated, and beneficially employed. The pecuniary means to execute these changes may be obtained without the slightest inconvenience to any one. And necessity now renders this peaceful change, or a revolution of violence, inevitable. But ere long none will be found to fight in support of the old errors of society.

Has the present administration the wisdom to discover its real position, and the moral courage to act in accordance with the new circumstances which have arisen in this country, and which are rapidly extending over Europe?

If it has we offer to develop measures the most ample and certain, and yet most easy of practice, to remove the ignorance and poverty which now, to the disgrace of all parties, overwhelm this rich and powerful country.

REVIEW.

The Circulating Medium, and the Present Mode of Exchange, the Cause of Increasing Distress among the Productive Classes. And an Effectual Measure for their Immediate and Permanent Relief, pointed out in the Universal Establishment of Equitable Exchange Banks, in which all the Business of Life may be transacted Without Money, By a Co-operator. Some of these Banks are already Established in London; an account of their Mode of doing Business, their Operations, and Success, is here given. Strange, Paternoster-row; Berger, Hollywell-street, and Purkiss, Wardour-street. 1832. Price Twopence.

We had intended a longer review of this pamphlet, than our limits will allow. It proposes first, to enquire into the causes of our present distress, and which it states to be, the two following:—

"I. The circulating medium being inadequate to the distribution of the Produce of the Labour of one of the great divisions of society.

"II. Such portion of the produce that is distributed, is conducted in such a manner, that the producers lose half their produce, or labour, in the transaction."

Having done this in what appears to us a very satisfactory manner, the author then points out a prompt and permanent remedy, in the Universal Establishment of Equitable Labour Exchange Banks. He powerfully illustrates the construction, operation, and success, of these banks, by giving the history of that which has for some time been established at the Gothic Hall. We recommend this work to all our readers, as giving much information in a small compass, and being well calculated to further the immediate and general establishment of labor banks.

APATHY OR POVERTY OF THE NEW ELECTORS.

We have always held out, both in speaking and writing, that the Reform Bill would be inefficient in promoting not only what we conceive to be the real interests of the community, but its own object, and so it proves. What say the following facts?

"It appears that up to the present time only about one hundred persons possessing freeholds in this town have applied to register their names as voters for the East Riding" (Yorkshire).—*Hull Packet*.

"So backward are those entitled to qualify as electors that only about two hundred and fifty schedules have yet been taken out, and of these not one half are returned; when voters ranged from one thousand to one thousand seven hundred, purchasers were found; but purchasers now hang back when the price is only half a crown."—*Paisley Advertiser*.

And in Edinburgh a week ago, out of twelve thousand voters, five hundred were all that had qualified.

If these things are so while the bill is fresh, what will they be when it becomes stale. The fact is, the people to whom the elective franchise has been extended, are in such low intellectual cultivation, in such great poverty, and so dependant, that Reform to them resembles a tree presenting its fruit to men who have no hands; or if they have, those hands are tied behind them. The new electors want something, and must have something very soon much better than Reform. They want a Revolution, a peaceable, enlightened revolution in all their habits of thinking; in all their modes of transacting business; in all their social arrangements. That revolution is now advancing; it casts its shadow before it. There is now a struggle between error and truth; misery and happiness; and as in nature it is always coldest and darkest when night and morning, darkness and light are conflicting for mastery; such also is this pinching, this punishing time.

VAUXHALL FAIR, AND THE LADYE CHAPEL.

A STRANGE coalition! but no less strange than true. During the Thursday and Friday of last week, a fair was held at Vauxhall Gardens, for the professed and avowed object of raising money to complete the erection and embellishments of the Ladye Chapel. Several persons of distinction honoured the fair with their attendance, and assisted the funds of the chapel with their money. It is somewhat strange that the church which renounces, at least in words, the "poms and vanities of this present evil world," should become their patron; and that a fair at Vauxhall Gardens, a place certainly not celebrated for its piety, should be set on foot by the church! This is not going hand in hand with the world as formerly, but arm in arm! It is a renunciation of "poms and vanities" in an Irish fashion, in which she renounces most things, except *tithes*. The thing however, has answered; and while the pliability and contradiction of the church have been shewn in the coalition, the funds of the temple have been greatly increased by the indulgences of sense, and the exhibitions of vanity. Such acts as these, however, must shake the church in the estimation of the philosopher, and lower her in the eyes of the people. She cares nothing for the people, that is evident; and it will soon be equally plain that the people care nothing for her!

PROVINCIAL DISTRESS.

(*Birmingham Herald*, July 7, 1832.)

"We are sorry to observe from the country papers, that although in one or two instances there is an increase of employment in the manufacturing districts, yet the most severe distress prevails, generally, amongst all classes throughout the country. The condition of the labouring part of the population seems to be peculiar. They are not absolutely without food, and barest articles necessary for existence; but the miserable support which they receive is not more than just sufficient to sustain life, and is purchased by unremitting and painful toil. Their state of poverty is not such as to prompt them to break out into the excesses of violent commotion. The evils which surround and afflict them are as a corroding canker, which is steadily, but not less rapidly consuming or laying prostrate all their physical and mental energy. It is that paralysis of excessive suffering, which precedes either the sullen abandonment of despair, or the desperate struggle for a change; and is the more dangerous, as it does not appear on the surface, but lies deep in the heart of society."

To which we may add, that our own personal observations have satisfied us, that the feeling of despair, and recklessness of consequences, is mainly caused by the neglect of those who ought to be their protectors, instead of which, the ignorant farmer, and the landowner, treat their wishes and wants with contempt, contumely, and scorn:—as though they the workmen did not belong to humanity.

ON THE AFFLUENT OR UNPRODUCTIVE CLASSES,

AS THEY AFFECT THE ARTS, &c.

GODWIN, in his "Enquirer," has, with an acute philosophy, sufficiently exposed the gross, but very popular error, that the rich pay for all the benefits they may receive from the labours of the industrious classes. For, as there is absolutely no other real wealth in the world but the *labour of man*, and as, the rich never labour, how is it possible they can render an adequate compensation in return for the labour of others? What is called wealth, as he truly observes, is nothing more than a power vested in certain individuals, to compel other individuals to toil for their exclusive benefit. There is, however, another consideration attached to the subject which I am not aware Mr. Godwin has deigned to notice, it is this—that though we may repeatedly issue our protest against the privileges conferred upon the wealthy, who refuse to labour, yet loudly demand as their lawful inheritance, the exclusive enjoyment of labour's choicest products; yet, without this same indolent and voluptuous class of persons, civilization, after all, could never reach any great elevation; I mean as far as the more liberal arts are concerned, and which may be said to constitute and include all the superior comforts and luxuries of life: a matter of the last importance, certainly, if the interests of the idle voluptuary alone, were only worthy of our consideration.

If the toiling mechanic, the ingenious artizan, and the accomplished artist, who, conjointly, may be said to produce all that is reckoned valuable in highly civilized and fashionable life, had only their own fancies to please, or no other end in view in their labours but their own individual convenience, alas, how very few master pieces of art or luxury would there be, to attract the gaze, or gain the plaudits of the connoisseur! We should then, I conceive, never see the stately palace arise, rich in architectural and sculptural ornament—the extensive park, with its smoothly gravelled walks, and artificial cascades, and other adornments, would never invite the light and graceful step of the fashionable and indolent—we should neither have scientific strains of harmony to fascinate our ears, costly apparel to decorate our persons, nor luxurious viands to pamper and deprave our natural appetite!

We may clearly perceive if we deliberately reflect, that to bring works of difficulty to any kind of perfection, in the first place two conditions are

necessary, namely, that there should be one party exclusively to invent or direct, and another party whose province should be solely to execute: for who could ever be so mad, or at least so imprudent, as to think of joining the inventor and executor in his own person, and thus to lay out a plan of almost endless toil for himself? But this is not all, for in order to thoroughly promote the invention or execution of things that include in their arrangement what may be termed a high degree of art or luxury, it is also necessary that persons should be found, who, by their wealth, or the power vested in them, are enabled to seize, as it were, on all the superlative good in existence—in other words, there should be those who make enjoyment their only study and occupation. To such alone, are stately mansions and all the rest of what is called splendour necessary, because such splendour exactly accords with the nature of their perceptions, or their pampered mode of being. They, then, may be said to be the exclusive promoters of all the varied magnificence which civilization so constantly engenders; or at least, it is plain, that in all this same magnificence, there is no other end to be observed in view, than their sole happiness and accommodation.

As for the perpetually employed and industrious artisan, who, with the labour of his hands, and the sweat of his brow, produces all that is reckoned rich, rare, or wonderful; alas! his habits must have totally unfitted him for any enjoyment in his own productions; his purpose and his mode of being, is not to live himself to pleasure, but only to labour in order that some few others may! But it must however be admitted, that the most persevering and ingenious artisan, from the very nature of things, could never exert his talents as he does now to the uttermost, were the only end he had in view his own future comfort, in being himself the possessor of his own productions: there certainly is that love of ease naturally inherent in man as would make such a self-intended application of his strength and talents completely irksome to him; and he would be inclined to think, though foolishly, certainly, that with regard to the providing a future comfort with the suffering of present pain, (for labour is a species of pain), it might well be said that the remedy would be worse than the disease. We may conclude then, that were that order of persons, who now, by the institutions of civilized countries, are privileged to live for the purpose or enjoyment alone, to go out of fashion and decline, that the power of inventing and producing luxuries, (which term may be said to include all the higher productions of art,) would soon become relaxed, and at length wholly extinct, because no longer in requisition. But for the rich, and the liberal arts, at least, would fail: and where shall we presume to draw the line that separates them from the necessary? The necessary arts of life, we know, are few and simple.

I do not intend by the above to advocate the cause of the wealthy, in other words, of the indolent and luxurious; far be it from me; but it must be evident to the philosopher, who traces things to their source, that a high state of civilization, (which has always been a matter of popular commendation), is necessarily made up on one side, of a degraded slavery and privation, and on the other, of an unbounded arrogance and luxuriance; and that when we would advocate the cause of the general happiness in a people, we must be prepared and content to see the institutions of a country suffer what is called a *retrogression*, but which, in reality, must prove to be a state much better suited for human beings. The gross amount of happiness, may, perhaps, under any institution, be nearly the same; the only difference is in the distribution of it: the perfumed atmosphere of the GILDED PALACE, may perhaps neutralize the infected air that issues from a thousand filthy hovels—a few superlatively happy MINIONS OF FORTUNE, may perhaps counterbalance and make up for a multitude of miserably degraded creatures; but, still, the philosopher and true philanthropist, perceives approaches towards political perfection, only in the comparative equality of

a people, and must, perforce, give his final sanction to that system or polity, which will insure "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

D. DICKENSON.

City Road, June 19, 1832.

* * This writer evidently does not understand the affluent state in which these new arrangements will place society, and the facility with which it will furnish all classes, to obtain every thing which human nature can require.

THE VALUE OF LABOUR.

(From the Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator.)

The working classes have no idea of the real value of their own labour. When a man has done a week's work, and received his wages for it, he thinks he has received the whole value of his work: but this is by no means the case. He has not received above one twentieth part of the real value. He has made a bargain with his master, that he will give a week's work for a certain sum of money. Whether this be much or little, it is called, vulgarly, the value of work. But this is merely a common phrase. It is a very indefinite one, and from long habit, has become confounded in the minds of the working classes, with the whole value of the work done. If wages were the whole value of the work, how could the master take the work to market, sell it for more money than he gave for it, and grow rich upon the profit, while the workman grows poor upon the wages? This would be impossible. Therefore it is evident that the workman does not get the whole value of his work; and it is also evident that if he did he would grow rich, just as the master does.

In the days in which we live, many persons have amused themselves with making calculations about the share which the workman gets of the produce of his labour. These calculations are very laborious and troublesome to make, and are liable to a great deal of uncertainty and inaccuracy. But they all prove one thing very clearly, viz., that the wages which a workman receives, are only a very moderate portion of the value of the work done by him. We believe that the idea is quite new to the working classes. They think that their wages are the whole value of the work which is done by them. This is their great mistake; and it arises from their ignorance, of which it is the natural consequence. They know nothing, and learn nothing, but how to work hard, and how to spend their wages, in what they call self-enjoyment. What becomes of the work they have done, the corn they have grown, the manufacture they have made, the houses they have built, they never think about. When they walk about the streets, they never reflect that they built all the houses; all the carriages and waggons that they see; and made all the clothes and fine dresses that people wear. They imagine, somehow, that the masters who employed them, and paid their wages, made all these things, and that the wages paid to them, were a sort of act of kindness, and liberal generosity; the wages are paid to workmen just as parish allowance is paid to paupers, not because they have a right to them, but because the masters are kind enough to do it, upon some good or religious principle.

All this arises from their ignorance, or want of reflection; from their not asking themselves how it is, that they who do not work grow rich, while those who do work grow poor. If they would only ask themselves this one very simple question, and search about till they find an answer to it, they would discover the secret, and learn how to grow rich, or at least independent, like many of their masters, and like all those who are called the upper classes.

It must be so, and could not be otherwise; for all the wealth of the world, that ever did exist, or ever will exist, must necessarily be produced by the working classes, and by them alone. Wealth consists of food, clothes, and houses, principally. These, and every thing else, must be made by the workman.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

EQUITABLE LABOR EXCHANGE.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD, KING'S CROSS.

AGRICULTURALISTS, Gardeners, Manufacturers, Provision Merchants, Factors, Warehousemen, Wholesale and Retail Dealers of all descriptions, Mechanics, and all others, who may be inclined to dispose of their various articles of trade and merchandise, in the only equitable manner in which men can mutually dispose of their property to each other, viz., its value in labour for equal value in labour, without the intervention of money, are requested to transmit their names and address, with a description of the kind, or kinds of property, which they desire so to exchange, to the Secretary of the Institution, Mr. SAMUEL OWEN, of whom, on personal application at the Institution, every information relative to the Equitable Labour Exchange, may be obtained.

* * All letters must be post-paid.

ROBERT OWEN.

PUBLIC MEETING.

A PUBLIC MEETING will be held at the Institution of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road, on Wednesday, 22nd August, at Twelve for One o'clock, to take into consideration the Report of the Committee appointed at a former Public Meeting, held to consider the best mode of establishing Equitable Labour Exchanges, to remedy, as far as is practicable, the want of beneficial Employment, arising from an artificial and false standard of value and the deficiency of the present imperfect circulating Medium; and also to consider the practicability of establishing these Equitable Exchanges in every Parish throughout Great Britain and Ireland, to put an end to Pauperism, at present so alarmingly on the increase.

August 15.

ROBERT OWEN.

A REFORM REJOICING DAY FOR CO-OPERATORS.

A GRAND CO-OPERATIVE FESTIVAL will be held on MONDAY, 20th August, at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road.

The Amusements will consist of

A CONCERT AND BALL;

Several Members of Co-operative Societies will take Part in the Concert, assisted by some Eminent Professional Gentlemen, who have liberally tendered their Services for this Evening.

In the course of the Evening

Mr. Robert Owen, will deliver an Address,

Tickets of Admission, Visitors 3s., and Members of the following Co-operative Societies Half-price, may be had at the Institution, Gray's Inn-road; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street; 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields; Gothic Hall, New-road.

Ten, Coffee, and other Refreshments, at very moderate charges, will be supplied in the Eastern Corridor.

The Doors will be open at Seven, and the Concert commence at Eight precisely,

N. B. Labour Notes taken for Tickets.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BROWN, Holywell-street; and PURKISS, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer, Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 25.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

LETTER—No. VIII.

TO EARL GREY, LORD BROUGHAM, AND
VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.

MY LORDS,

Having endeavoured to explain the philosophical principles upon which the system of co-operation is based; having shewn that natural motives might with advantage be instituted for artificial rewards and punishments; that human nature is inclined to activity, rather than averse to labour; and that, in a well adjusted community, poverty, together with its concomitants vice and crime, could not possibly exist; it only remains for me to remove an error into which many have fallen, namely, that Mr. Owen has already made experiments of his doctrines at New Lanark and elsewhere, and those experiments have failed. In what manner so unjust a report gained currency, whether it be attributable to the folly of some, the design of others, the ignorance of many, or to the prejudice of all, it were needless to enquire. But never was there a grosser misrepresentation. The entire system of Mr. Owen has at no one time been practically developed. Under circumstances the most unfavourable, portions of it have, indeed been acted upon, and the results of these partial experiments have more than realized the most sanguine expectations of its most enthusiastic admirers.

What are the principles for which Mr. Owen contends? They are capable of a twofold division. First, that portion of them which refers to the formation of character; and, secondly, that which comprehends the creation and distribution of wealth.

With regard to the first, he maintains, that man is a creation of circumstances; that his character is formed for him; and that in proportion as the circumstances by which he may have been during the whole period of his life encompassed are favourable or unfavourable, in the same proportion will the individual be a good or bad member of society. Now, one of the favourable circumstances, without which it is impossible to form a

perfect character, is, that the whole community should enjoy a complete emancipation from all fear of poverty; a sure provision for themselves whilst living, and a certain maintenance for their offspring when, through death or accident, they are bereft of parental support. This he says, can alone be accomplished by means of an enlightened co-operation, the groundwork of which, except as to natural distinctions, consists in an equality of rank, and an equitable enjoyment of mutual productions.

How, then, could this system be reduced to practice at New Lanark? The Establishment over which Mr. Owen presided was a cotton manufactory: it was conducted upon the old plan of the world: the workman shared not in the produce of his toil: and the many laboured to augment the comforts of the few. All that the great philanthropist could effect, he did accomplish. When he commenced his exertions, he found "distrust, disorder, and disunion; and he wished to introduce confidence, regularity, and harmony. He, therefore, began to bring forward his various expediences; to withdraw a few of the unfavourable circumstances by which they had been hitherto surrounded, and replace them by others calculated to produce a more happy result. He did not lose his patience, his temper, or his confidence in the certain success of the principles on which he founded his conduct. These principles ultimately prevailed; the population could not continue to resist a firm well-directed kindness administering justice to all. They, therefore, slowly and cautiously began to give him some portion of their confidence; and, as this increased, he was enabled more and more to develop his plans for their consideration."

"The effect of such behaviour," we are informed by the impartial editor of his proceedings at Dublin, "towards those who earned for Mr. Owen all the comforts, enjoyments, and riches, which he possesses in this life, was, as might well be supposed, most singular and unexampled. Whatever came under the head of good, shewed itself at New Lanark, and whatever merited the name of bad, rapidly disappeared from that happy village."†

I have the honour to be,

My Lords,

Your Lordships' most obedient,

Humble Servant,

PHILANTHROPOS.

London, 10th Aug., 1832.

* Report of Mr. Owen's Proceedings at Dublin. Introduction, p. 15.

† From the same, p. xxxvi.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our Correspondents must excuse our customary Notice.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 25.

PUBLIC MEETING.

EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

PUBLIC MEETING AT THE INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD.

On Wednesday last a very numerous meeting, composed chiefly of the productive classes, was held at the above named Institution, to receive the Report of the Committee, appointed at a former Public Meeting to investigate the Principles upon which the proposed Equitable Labour Exchange was to be founded, and to report thereon.

At One o'Clock,

On the motion of Mr. MURPHY, Mr. OWEN took the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN opened the business of the Meeting by stating the object for which it had been called, and reading the handbill announcing the meeting. The first step in the proceedings of the day, he then said, would be the reading of the report. As it was a meeting of business entirely, order must be kept; but freedom would be allowed to every individual to make any remarks bearing on the subject, that he might think proper.

He then called on the Secretary, Mr. NASH, to read the Report, which we give entire.

REPORT.

Your Committee appointed at the Public Meeting, held in this place on the 16th of July last, to consider the important Resolutions adopted at that meeting, and to report thereon, have given their most serious attention to the extensive and important subject, of the establishment of Equitable Labour Exchanges, and in their deliberations they have availed themselves of the power, confided to them, by you, of adding to their numbers several persons, who, in their judgment, appeared likely to assist them in the fullest investigation of all the circumstances connected with the necessary

steps, for carrying your Resolutions into effect, and the probable results of their operation.

Your Committee have had several meetings, and have divided themselves into sub-committees; the deliberations of which sub-committees they have carefully revised.

Your Committee first considered the present circumstances of Society, in reference to the necessity of introducing such an important change in our commercial arrangements as the plan now under investigation must produce; and they find by the enquiry that an ill-fed, ill-clothed, and uneducated producing population exists in the magazine of wealth and knowledge, of every description, which this country boasts of, and is admitted by all to be a fact, too palpable to require confirmation, and which is too melancholy to call your attention to, without presenting at the same time some mode of removing this great and rapidly increasing evil. It is also equally true, that to the foreigner and casual observer, the present system of society presents a gigantic phantom of prosperity: with its aristocracy revelling in the most splendid luxury; its gentry living in easy affluence; its shopkeepers surrounded with superabundant stores of every article that can administer to the comforts or luxury of man; its warehouses breaking down with goods of every description; its docks and rivers filled with ships loaded with the produce of foreign nations; and its workshops filled with every machine for assisting the production of human labour, and withal so inefficient as to require the most exhausting exertions of the persons employed, for a period much longer than can be endured with safety to the human existence. The first anomaly which presents itself in this view, is the wretched appearance of the operatives; who, upon enquiry, you would be told are dissipated, vicious, and depraved, by nature and habit, and would only be as much worse, as the indulgence of the animal passions could make them, if they obtained still greater wages than from the work they perform appears to be their lot.

With this view the casual observer is satisfied; congratulates himself on his own superior advantages; deprecates the existence of so much vice and misery; and selfishly offers a tribute of thanks to this benevolent creator of the universe.

To the reflecting mind it occurs that out of the immense population of the British Dominions, he has seen but a small proportion, and that they appear to occupy the whole of the land and its produce. He is then led to search for the remainder of the community and finds them in a state of wretchedness, misery, and degradation, beyond endurance, and sinking rapidly into decay. He is then led to enquire of the manufacturer, how it happens that his workmen are so laboriously employed, while there are so many thousands of artisans unemployed and ready to assist them; and he is informed by the manufacturer that he gets so low a price for his goods, that he can scarce afford an existence to the few hands he employs, to direct and manage his warehouses. The merchant too tells him he has so many goods in his warehouse that he cannot dispose of them; that he sends them to foreign markets, and brings home in exchange, the produce of other countries, which also fills his warehouses, while the wants of his neighbours are still unsatisfied;—but they have no money to purchase with. Thus while the wants and necessities of some are unsatisfied, others who possess the means of relieving them, are impoverished by the possession of that wealth.

He next applies to the shopkeeper, who tells him that with all his knowledge and skill in availing himself of the necessitous circumstances of the manufacturer, buying cheap and selling dear, he is unable to pay his rent and taxes, and that his life is one continuous round of the most anxious solicitude. He is then led to contemplate the condition of the upper classes, and he finds them writhing under the satiety of enjoyment, of unhealthy luxury, and apprehension that the time is fast approaching when they can no longer obtain from the disorganized resources of the country, the continuance of their supplies.

He next enquires of the legislator, what he has done to avert these manifold evils in their progress, and finds, that he has been constantly actuated to protect individual property, and to advance the cause of suffering humanity, with a view to which he has made immense volumes of laws, separately to protect the rights of all classes.

A slight review of which, presents the direful effect of their combined practical results, that those only who work shall starve, for the effect of all our property laws is to secure, first to the non-productive classes a full share of the wealth produced, and to those operatives who are prevented from becoming producers, a pittance frequently not sufficient to secure them from actual starvation. The whole of which is taken from the wealth produced from the few who are usefully employed, which reduces the amount of their produce below the means of existence.

With a full view of these revolting circumstances your Committee have pursued the enquiry how they are to be removed, with the most patient and impartial investigation, and so satisfied are they with the results of their research that they are now enabled, with the most confident anticipation of securing immediate practical benefit to the productive classes, and the ultimate renovation of the frame work of society, to recommend for your adoption a plan of such vast importance;—which consists briefly in affording an opportunity for the producers to exchange mutually the wealth which they produce.

This important object it appears to your Committee is of easy accomplishment, by the establishing of Equitable Exchanges of labour for equal value of labour, which they recommend you to commence forthwith in this Institution. The only difficulty in doing which appeared to your Committee to be the want of money capital, to furnish the means of putting this powerful engine into motion. They have, therefore, considered the lowest amount of capital which would suffice for this object, which it appears to them should not be less than £2000 though it would be desirable, if possible, to make the sum much larger, which sums it appears to your Committee could not be raised among the Industrious Classes without the assistance of the capitalist; they therefore, considered the best mode of obtaining such capital upon terms calculated to advance and secure your interests; to protect which your Committee first, adopted such rules and regulations, as were most likely to prevent the persons who may advance the necessary capital from obtaining an undue influence in the management of the Exchanges; and they then proposed to borrow of such persons only as were willing to conform to the Rules as adopted. And your Committee have now the satisfaction of reporting to you that their applications have been so far successful, that they are already in possession of the names of persons who will subscribe to the amount of 1,000*l*.

Your Committee have now only to request your co-operation to make success certain, for which purpose it is essential to dismiss all motives of individual interest from your Exchanges which should be made at the actual cost price of the material, with the value of the labour added to it. By so doing, you will all be great gainers; for though at first it may appear you are sacrificing a profit which you have been in the habit of sometimes getting, you will save in every exchange an equivalent amount of profit; and the result of such a system will be to place your wealth before the public in a position that will induce them to bring their money to deposit for your notes, as soon as it appears to them that they can, by so doing, purchase the articles you manufacture, and which they require, at a less profit than they can obtain them for under the present arrangements of dealing, which is the certain road to ultimate success; for though nothing is more clear than that the necessary exchanges of wealth may be most beneficially made without a metallic currency, it is at the same time equally certain that while the monetary system exists, and taxes are paid in specie, that you must possess yourselves of money to enable you to do without its use; for it

is at present the key to the land on which you must be in common with the various manufacturers, direct your labour.

To accomplish this great and desirable object requires no plotting or planning, nothing is necessary, or will succeed, but plain honesty and truth; and when you understand this maxim, and act upon it, all the opposition which can be directed against your operations, will but advance the progress of your improvements, with an accelerated power beyond calculation (cheers).

Mr. MURPHY moved the first resolution. He said it was merely a matter of form,—it was the reception of the report. He trusted that the result of this meeting would be the benefit of the working classes. It has been by small means that great objects have been obtained. Two thousand pounds he said, were now necessary to commence; but he hoped the time would come when money would be unnecessary (applause.) He then enlarged on the evil of money. He was anxious to give the Labour Bank a trial, though he was not so positive regarding its success as many were. (cheers).

Mr. BRABY seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously amidst great approbation.

Mr. SAVAGE moved the second resolution, which was,

"That an Equitable Labour Exchange be now established in this Institution upon the principles recommended in the Report."

He said at former meeting he was but a young scholar; but now he more thoroughly understood the subject. He was anxious to give his attention to anything that would ameliorate or prevent poverty. It is now admitted by those who misrule and misgovern us, that distress is universal; and it is equally plain that they are incompetent to their task. Over production and over population were what they could not reconcile; they could not get over this difficulty. The productive classes must do this for themselves (great applause.) The gentlemen who had drawn up the Report had buried all their minor differences, and had agreed upon recommending for trial the measure now proposed (cheers); and if it should fail, they would meet together and try to establish something else (cheers.) The first thing the Committee did was to ascertain how far the measure was legal, and he had the happiness to say that there was no existing law to oppose them (hear, hear.) It is proposed that the capital should not be less than £2000, composed of shares of £20 each. The government would be purely elective. Publicity was also to be given to all the transactions of the Bank in periodical public accounts (cheers.) The managers must be honourable men, or else they would be no better than the miserable governors who now misgovern Europe. (cheers.) Though there were difficulties, perseverance and experience would overcome them all. If the governors and directors should have recourse to any little petty tricks, those tricks would do them more injury than they possibly could injure the association. The Committee had considered whether this measure could be made a parochial measure; but they had found that could not be. They had, therefore, determined to do it themselves (cheers); and if it answered, such institutions must become universal (great cheering).

Mr. O'BRIEN seconded the resolution with great pleasure, because he was assured that there was no risk in the undertaking. It was equitable. He then adverted to the two great causes of distress; the law took a great portion from the productive classes of what they produced—four-fifths of the wealth of this country was consumed by those who produced nothing—one-fifth was left for the producers! (hear, hear.) This proposed measure would peaceably and certainly do away with all the unproductive classes (cheers). He then explained the mode in which the exchanges of the bank would be transacted, and enlarged on the suitability of the labour note. The labour bank would answer all the purposes of banker, wholesale & retail dealer, & pawnbroker (hear). The bank must be

very extensively stocked, or else its operations would be limited and the value of the labour notes would be diminished (hear, hear). He then descended on the great necessity of agricultural produce, and the necessity of supporting such an institution on a large scale. The people must do something for themselves, government could do nothing; and it mattered nothing to the people whether they were governed by whigs or tories, if they could not have their proper share of what is produced (cheers). Sir Robert Peel had said, in an unguarded moment, "I wish the working classes would take their own affairs into their own hands." They were now going to do so (cheers). He hoped that the government would only let them alone, and let them assist themselves. At a public meeting recently held in behalf of the slaves in the West Indies, he had the presumption to interrupt the proceedings of the meeting, by stating that white slaves here were worse off by far, and of less value than black slaves were; for, while a black slave was worth 80*l.*, a white slave was worth nothing, yea, 30*l.* less than nothing, for 30*l.* was given now to send white slaves out to Canada; yea, while living, he who was worth 30*l.* less than nothing, when dead would be worth 10*l.* for dissection (great cheers). The measure now proposed would silently and peaceably, and certainly, revolutionize society, and gradually do away with non-producers of all descriptions (cheers).

The resolution was then put, when Mr. LYON said, that he had given the equitable exchange banks every consideration, and though he saw some difficulties, he thought every man should support it, because he believed it would overcome all difficulties (hear, hear). He then referred to what had been said by Mr. O'Brien on West India slavery, when some person called "Question," he then fell back on the question, and said, that he hoped the undertaking would be successful.

Before the resolution was carried, Mr. OWEN said, that the labor notes might be at a discount, at par, or at a premium, according to the principles on which they proceeded (hear). The second resolution was then carried unanimously.

Mr. SAULL moved the third resolution.—"That, The names of persons desirous of becoming members of this Association by deposits of twenty pounds each, be now received." He rejoiced in the growing union of monied men, and of those who had no money, and at the good feeling which was shown in the meeting (cheers). He then referred to the motto of "The Crisis," which told with considerable effect. He then said, that an opinion now seemed to prevail amongst the aristocracy, that they alone were born to consume the fruits of the soil (hear). He then referred to the indigence of the peasants and the manufacturers, and deeply sympathized with their sorrows, and was anxious to devote all his energies to the prosperity of this equitable exchange (cheering). It was a determination of the Committee not to take any interest on the profits of this bank, but to let the profits accumulate for the purchase of land for the employment of the productive classes (great cheering).

Mr. AUSTIN seconded the resolution, and said, that they should depend much on the co-operation of the members of this Institution, who had been long trained in these principles. This was a proud day for co-operators (cheers). Mr. O'Brien had said that one-fifth of the produce of the country was all that fell to the lot of the producers; he believed that one-fiftieth was much nearer the truth (hear). No objections were insurmountable (cheers).

The resolution was then put, when

Mr. OSBORNE supported it in a neat, short, and appropriate speech, in the course of which he said that the proceedings of this institution were looked to in order to give a tone to the proceedings of others. He was a carrier by trade, and he knew that his fellow-workmen had, during the last ten years, expended more money in endeavouring to oppose the reduction of wages, than the amount of all the capital of their masters (hear, hear).

There were not more than five or six hundred of the trade in London, and they at one time had £3,000 in the banker's hands subscribed for the support of those who lost their employment by refusing to work at a reduced rate of wages. But he was sorry to say that the brewers were the bankers, and between the brewers and the publicans the whole money was spent in any thing but an application to the objects for which it was raised.

A person here rose and asked some questions which Mr. Owen answered.

Mr. CLEAVE then rose and enlarged on the slavery of the productive classes of this country, which he said was not to be compared with foreign slavery. Domestic slavery was ten times worse (cheers.) He then referred to the agricultural produce being in the Labour Bank; and then urged upon the meeting the necessity and advantage of diffusing "The Crisis," whose principles alone could secure the universal establishment of "Equitable Exchange Banks," (cheers.) He then adverted to "Working Unions," and said that the Manchester "Spinners Union," he was informed by the secretary had expended £70,000 in a few years in assisting the men in holding out against their masters (hear, hear), and urged the appropriation of the monies of the working classes, to the establishment of these "Equitable Exchange Banks," (cheers).

Miss MACAULEY was then introduced to the Meeting amidst very great applause and said that she was part proprietor of an Equitable Exchange Bank. She felt it her duty to address and excite her own sex. She said that moral courage was now wanting; and that female exertion was now wanting. She enlarged very eloquently on this subject, and her remarks met with great approbation. She said that tradesmen now took the Labour Notes, and that they had offers of provisions.

The Resolution was then carried unanimously.

The Rev. THOMAS MACCONNELL, moved the fourth resolution,—

"That, The first Meeting of the Members of this Association be now called for Wednesday evening next, at 7 o'clock precisely, to elect the officers of the Association."

He then quoted the following extracts from the Times of Monday, relative to the Bank of England:—

"Questions which it was intended to put to Mr. RICHARD PAGE, with the answers which would have been given.

Question 1.—Do you consider it expedient to renew the charter of the Bank of England?

Certainly not. The Bank of England is the greatest public nuisance that ever existed in this or any other country: and indeed our whole scheme of currency would disgrace an idiot. Our metallic currency is founded on absurd and contradictory principles: our paper currency is fraud and illusion. In short, if all the bad systems of currency which have ever existed were gathered together, and a lottery made of them, and that it should be one of the conditions of this lottery, that the worst system should be considered as the highest prize, our's would undoubtedly be the highest prize. For though, from time to time, and in various parts of the earth, the people have been plundered by specious schemes of currency, yet no where have such ravages been committed as in this country.

By the middle of 1825, the bank had created upwards of sixteen millions of false capital. This coining of counterfeit money on the part of the Bank of England, led to a similar coining by the country bankers, who, during the years 1824 and 1825, manufactured about six millions of base counterfeit money; and so that by the middle of 1825 the creation of spurious capital amounted altogether to upwards of twenty-two millions,—a thing unheard of in the history of any currency in the world, at least since Law's famous Mississippi scheme."

He then recommended, for further correct information on the subject, a pamphlet entitled "The Circulating Medium and Labour Exchange," which he said was excellent, and which had been exten-

sively sold. Its motto was "What must I do to be saved?" He replied, "Believe on the Equitable Labour Exchange Bank and thou shalt be saved." (cheers.)

Mr. DEMPSEY seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously.

Mr. STYLES moved the fifth resolution;—"That the Books of Subscription shall remain open until Twelve o'clock on Wednesday next, when they will be closed until the elections are over, and the business commenced."

He then stated that the following trades had been enrolled as depositors at the Institution, Gray's Inn Road:—

Seven shoemakers, four tinmen and copper-plate workers, one coach-spring maker, five silk-weavers, three engravers and copper-plate printers, one cotton-stocking weaver, two gold and silver beater, one last and boot-tree maker, one warehouse-man, two coopers, two bookbinders, two hatters, twenty-seven tailors, eleven straw-bonnet makers, one engineer, one marble chimney piece manufacturer, twenty cabinet makers, one accountant, one butcher, twelve carpenters and joiners, three stone masons, one smith, one upholsterer, one currier, one brush and broom manufacturer, four dress makers, four printers and booksellers, two stay-makers, four wood turners, five carvers, one poultry, butter, and feather-bed manufacturer, one ladies' teacher, one potatoe merchant, four sawyers, one mathematical instrument maker, one pastry cook, one ready-made linen manufacturer, one working jeweller, one wig maker, two undertakers, three french polishers, two children's frock and cap makers, one baker maker, one fancy stationer, one chair maker, one chair and furniture japanner, one ginger beer manufacturer, two painters and glaziers, one drug manufacturer, one saddle and harness maker, one hair and clothes brush manufacturer, one saddle-tree manufacturer, one paper hanging manufacturer, three bankers, one silk, cotton and woollen dyer, one picture dealer, one artificial flower manufacturer, one brass-finisher, one bricklayer, one cheesemonger and grocer, one coal-merchant, and one nurse.

Mr. RYLAND seconded the Resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. NASH moved the sixth Resolution,—

"That, The present Committee be requested to make the preliminary arrangements for receiving goods on the 3d of September next, as stated in the Prospectus, and to take the entire management of the Exchange until such time as the Directors and Officers of the Association can be appointed according to the Rules and Regulations adopted."

Mr. POWELL said, It appeared that they were compelled to apply to capital for the means of destroying capital itself. They complained of the influence of capital in depressing the labouring classes, and yet they were about to raise up a new capital and a new set of capitalists from amongst themselves—a capital, too, which they did not want the assistance of, and attended with the worst concomitant of capital—that of requiring its interest to be paid by the industry of the working classes. Surely this was highly inconsistent (cheers). Their Committee told them that they required a capital of two thousand pounds in order to commence their scheme. This might be; but why, after they had obtained two thousand pounds in money, should they create new creditors on the labour of the depositors, by allowing every man who brought in £20 worth of goods to become a proprietor, and to demand interest for his capital? It should be remembered that they did not require this capital; it was of no assistance to them. The current expenses of the Institution would be provided for by a small reduction from the produce of the sale of the articles; and why should they thus unnecessarily allow a new and increasing debt to be imposed on them, which would entirely swallow up their profits? Let them imagine their Society in full operation, and meeting their current expenses by the small deductions before mentioned. Suppose ten or twenty individuals should come with £20 worth of goods, and say, now we claim to be admitted proprietors; what would be the effect?

Why, that a further reduction must be made from the produce of the sale of their goods, in order to meet the interest demanded by these new capitalists (hear, hear); and the greater the number that came forward in this manner the greater would be their loss (hear, hear, hear, hear). He differed with them in many points; but he wished them well, and was anxious to see them consistent with their own principles (cheers). He was afraid that many particulars of the scheme had been ill or hastily digested. It was proposed that a valuing Committee should fix a value on the goods brought into the Exchange, and issue notes for the amount of the value fixed. But the goods that would be worth one pound to-day, might be worth two pounds next week, or only ten shillings; the value was constantly fluctuating. Such also was the case with agricultural produce, for which their notes must be exchanged. The labour notes, therefore, afforded no fixed standard; and though they might be just representatives of value to-day, yet it would be far otherwise to-morrow. He thought these objections had not been sufficiently considered, and begged to press them on the attention of the Meeting.

Mr. OWEN explained. It was true that Labour Notes would and ought to destroy money; but for some time capital would be wanted to purchase land, on which to employ the surplus labouring population. Capital was also wanted in addition to the profits of the Bazaar, to obtain raw material for the working classes, and to give them a superior education—the other objections he answered before.

Mr. POWELL reiterated his former objections.

Mr. ELCOT asked, how they were to get provisions?

Mr. OWEN said, that in a few months they would have a full quantity of every thing that was necessary.

Mr. BRABY then seconded the Resolution, which was carried.

Thanks were voted to the Chairman, and the Meeting separated about half-past Five.

“ We have read the Report of our Meeting in the *Morning Chronicle*; and the leading article in that paper on the subject of Equitable Labour Exchange. To us it is very clear that the author does not understand the subject; and he has also, unintentionally, no doubt, misrepresented what Mr. Owen said on occasion of the questions.

NEW ELECTORS AT BRISTOL.

WE have always said that before the people could realize any social or political advantage for themselves, their intellectual and moral character must be raised. They must be educated in correct principles, and then virtue of every kind will be the happy result. The following fact says as far as fact can speak, that we are correct.—At Bristol, last week, there was what is called a “Reform Dinner,” when between four and five thousand of the new electors sat down. After a little time a scene of confusion and riot commenced, which was disgraceful. The precise and immediate cause of this disturbance we do not know; but the real primary cause was the low intellectual and moral condition of these disorderly persons. One person was wounded, and Mr. PROTHEROE, one of the members for Bristol, who thought he could quickly still the tempest, soon found the storm to be his master. Whether these wanted a reform in the dinner we do not know, but sure we are that those *who dined*, required a reform; not a political, but an intellectual—a moral reform; a reform which no act of parliament can secure, and none of the present institutions of society effect.

DIFFERENT OPINIONS IN SOCIETY ON THE SAME SUBJECTS,

WITH THE CONSEQUENCES, CAUSES, AND CURE OF THAT DIFFERENCE.

EVERY public measure in this country being supported by public opinion, and all serviceable measures being grounded on correct opinion, the variety of opinions which now exists in society all of which cannot be correct, one only of each sort can be right, and all of which may be wrong, whether considered as a philosophical or practical subject, is a matter of no ordinary interest and importance. For the sake of expediting public business, a MAJORITY of opinions settles the disputed points; the less that majority, the more impolitic is it considered to press the point—if it be big with importance, the nearer to unanimity it comes, the more is it esteemed; unanimity is a charming word, and a charming thing; but how very seldom is unanimity, or any thing near unanimity attained! We are now about to enter into the subject of “the variety of opinions,” with a view to shew how unanimity may be established on its ruins. Such a subject cannot be investigated without patience, or decided upon without deliberation. It being now generally admitted that no man can be forcibly deprived of his opinion, and that every man has a right to the expression of his opinions—exciting circumstances—general education—multiplication of books—enlarged freedom of speech, and a press comparatively free as the wind, and unfettered as the wave, have each contributed their quota to the general stock of public opinions, for the public weal. Perhaps never in any former period of our eventful history, did this land more abound with various floating and sinking opinions and plans than it does at this moment. If money were only as plentiful as opinions, stagnant commerce would heave and move from the bottom of her dull, cold, and silent depths, and pour forth in ten thousand channels, her useful and refreshing stores to the needy children of men, like the logs frozen earth and water, give up, and flow forth at a general thaw. But money is scarce while opinions are plentiful, of which we have almost as many as there are individuals, and as great a variety, as there is of human voices, faces, hand-writings, gait, weights, names, statures, pursuits, characters, and habits! What living, moving shoals! What darkening, buzzing, stinging, swarms! As the unknown depths of the sea are full of all manner of aquatic living things of all sizes, shapes, colours, structures, properties, and habits, which can and which cannot be described and classified, rioting in unlimited freedom, coming in frequent contact, tumbling over, and living upon each other, so the public mind is full to overflowing of all species and shapes of opposite opinions, upon all subjects above, around, beneath, within, without, before, or behind mankind. But to speak to the purpose on this bewildering and increasing variety of opinions, which some may think analogous with the ceaseless variety which pervades all the productions of universal nature, we must adopt the method of naturalists with animals, botanists with plants, and conchologists with shells, viz. CLASSIFICATION.

We shall point first, to the conflicting sentiments afloat relative to government in all its ramifications. Secondly, to articles of religious faith. Thirdly, to public men and measures. To these we limit ourselves.

First, GOVERNMENT. In the department of civil government, where we should least expect it, owing to its being of older date than the hoary-headed pyramids of Egypt, what a vital stirring, variety of conflicting opinions! Monarchical,

To be continued in our next

ADVERTISEMENTS.

CO-OPERATION.

Just published, price 2d.

THE ARTICLES OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL CO-OPERATIVE LAND ASSOCIATION. Sold by J. Brooks, Oxford-street; Hetherington, 13, Kingsgate-street, Holborn; I. Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; Watson, 33, Windmill-street, Finsbury-square; at the various Co-operative Stores, and Exchange Bazaars, and at 109, Cromer-street, Gray's Inn-road, where the Association meet every Sunday, p. m. at 3 o'clock.

J. EDMONSON, Secretary.
W. CAMERON.

FOOD FOR LABOUR.

ABLE-BODIED MEN OUT OF EMPLOYMENT, and disposed to work for their living, may find a vent for their labour capital, by applying to E. J. LANCE, Land Surveyor, Lewisham, who employs men in agricultural pursuits in Surrey; some married couples are wanted,—those men will be preferred who can dig, and have been used to farm work, or who can saw, chop, and can execute other handy craft work. All applications by letter must be post-paid.

Tradesmen, provision dealers, disposed to supply the colony with the necessary articles of food for six months, will be treated with, by addressing as above; those dealers will be preferred who will take in return the farm produce, which will consist of corn, more particularly barley and rye, potatoes, carrots, mangle worsel, calves, pigs, poultry, eggs, honey, ware, butter and cheese, hops, camomile, poppy heads, and herbs.

A Water Carriage passes from London to the Land.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

EQUITABLE LABOR EXCHANGE.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD, KING'S CROSS.

AGRICULTURALISTS, Gardeners, Manufacturers, Provision Merchants, Factors, Warehousemen, Wholesale and Retail Dealers of all descriptions, Mechanics, and all others, who may be inclined to dispose of their various articles of trade and merchandize, in the only equitable manner in which men can mutually dispose of their property to each other, viz., its value in labour for equal value in labour, without the intervention of money, are requested to transmit their names and address, with a description of the kind, or kinds of property, which they desire so to exchange, to the Secretary of the Institution, Mr. SAMUEL AUSTIN, of whom, on personal application at the Institution, every information relative to the Equitable Labour Exchange, may be obtained.

All letters must be post-paid.

ROBERT OWEN.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BEAGAN, Holywell-street; and PURKISS, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 26.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

THE GOLD WATCH.

A GOLD WATCH is generally regarded as a very valuable appendage to a lady's side. It combines embellishment with utility in happy proportions. It bespeaks rank and consequence. What lady yet ever forgot her watch? And how many ladies, who cannot procure a *gold* watch (for a silver one they would not wear) envy those who show these splendid appendages, and hate the grandeur by which they feel themselves so thoroughly eclipsed. I have now a lady's gold watch in my hand. Its case, its face, its fingers, its seals, its key, its chain, are all of burnished gold. I open it, but I find that its works, without which the case, though richly and elegantly chased, would be but a mere shell, the fingers stationary, and the figures useless, are not of gold but of BRASS;—such as candlesticks, fire irons, kettles, and pans are made of. Gold is not sufficiently good for the works. I look further and ask what the main spring, which puts all the works in motion, and which is concealed amidst what it moves, like many great persons are in mean actions, and I find that this main spring is made of IRON! Which then is the most valuable, gold or iron? Or brass or iron? IRON excels them both; iron then is the PRECIOUS METAL; the MOST precious metal! And yet it is regarded and branded as a BASE metal! It does not sparkle to the eye; it does not make melody to the ear. This gold watch, with BRASS works and an IRON main spring, is an emblem of present society. Its face represents the present superficially splendid and tranquil aspect of society underneath which so much sorrow and evil, energy and talent, are at work. Its seals, embellishments, and devices of gold, assimilate the aristocracy. Its fingers symbolize the master spirits of the age, which point the public eye to the hour of day. Its works of brass are the middle classes; and its main spring of iron, in obscurity, and never thought of except when it wants wind-

ing up, or when it is disordered or broke, represents the industrious classes, which move and nourish all, without which all other classes could not go on, but would rust in inactivity; and whose labour is wound up with weekly wages; the value of which labour is also like that of the iron main spring, concealed and forgotten, except when it gets into disorder, and endangers the working of the social machine.

THE BANK OF ENGLAND AND THE LABOUR BANK.

THE reign of mysteries is now rapidly drawing to a close. Like convicted criminals they must be taken to the place from whence they came, and from there to the place of execution. It has come out in the investigations of the Committee, that the capital of the Bank is only NINETEEN millions sterling instead of THIRTY which was expected. Bank stock fell $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in consequence. Every thing is falling, because it is false, founded on error, and worn out by time; our system is the *SAVE-ALL* into which all must drop, and in which all will be secure. It appears from the opinions and evidence of Mr. Richard Page, "that the Bank of England is the greatest public nuisance that ever existed in this or any other country; and that our scheme of currency would disgrace an idiot." Government appears to have acted upon this opinion, as far as it affects the Bank; for they have hesitated to renew the charter. He, the said Richard Page, further states, "that by the middle of 1825 the Bank had created sixteen millions of false capital, and that country banks, treading in her steps, swelled it in the same year, to the alarmingly round sum of twenty-five millions! What a system of banking which requires and admits of such creation! Where such creations are possible,—which creations are however paradoxical, since it is the creation of a non-entity! a nothing!—worse than nothing, a delusion!

In our Labour Bank the wealth there deposited and stored will create its representative the Labour Exchange Note. We shall have no inducement or occasion to issue notes to procure wealth; because we can get abundance, not of artificial, but of real wealth, without these notes, since the country is full of real wealth, and only wants channels digging through which it can flow, which real wealth consists, not in money, but in what we can eat, drink, wear, &c. We shall have this wealth first, and then issue the notes afterwards. Our

bank notes are not issued to *get* wealth, but merely to *represent* it. Ours is not a money speculation; but a mere simple commercial exchange, effected through notes without money. We do not in words promise to pay on our notes, but we shall pay without promising. Our notes, are not money credit, but orders for goods; and while all other Bank notes are substitutes for money, and signs of poverty, because they bespeak want, and the more there are of them in circulation, the greater the poverty:—ours are the signs of wealth; and the more of them there are in circulation, the more riches there are in the Bank. We need no Charter, dread no investigation, and fear no run; all we require of the people is to support us, and of government to let us alone.

TITHE COLLECTION IN IRELAND, WITH THE AID OF THE MILITARY.

THE appropriation of a tenth of the produce of the earth to the support of the clergy is now becoming, every day, more and more objectionable. People are beginning to perceive, that it is not the farmer which pays the tithe, as they thought formerly, if they ever thought at all upon the subject; but that all who work and *eat* pay tithe.

The tithe, however, is not paid to the labourers in the church, but to the loiterers. Labour, both in church and state, seems to have been grievously underrated. Lumber seems to have been much more valued than furniture.

"To satisfy the ecclesiastical claims of the Rev. Arthur Preston, two troops of the 5th dragoons, three companies of the 66th foot, and one hundred of the Kildare constabulary, were drawn up in battle array, at Kilmeague, in the county of Kildare, on the 21st ult., around the pound in which the property seized was kept in custody, and the claims of the clergyman were satisfied amidst the execrations of the peasants." Dragoons called in, or rather out, for the support of the religion of the meek and lowly Jesus of Nazareth, which has "peace on earth and good will towards men," for its motto! Force called out to support a religion, which appeals with its evidences to the understanding, and declares that its seat is either in the heart or no where! And all this done under a ministry, who, when they were out of power, eloquently pleaded for liberty of conscience! Mr. now Lord Brougham, uttered a very emphatic declaration, at Glasgow, when he was installed Lord Rector;—viz. "That no man was accountable for

belief." By this they are making the peasants and farmers of Ireland accountable with a witness; for, after having accounted to their own priests for it, they make them accountable to another church; accountable, not theologically, but arithmetically; viz. in the *tenth*: or, to speak in the way of trade, in pounds, shillings, and pence.

POPULATION OF LONDON IN 1603.

CAPTAIN JOHN GAUNT, F.R.S., describes London, in 1603, as "a head too big for the body." We may say now of this head, that its locks are bleached white by age, that its eyes are dim to all that is good, and that its ears are heavy "to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely." In fact it has the water on the brain. He, Captain Gaunt, goes on to state, "that the passage of Ludgate Hill was a throat too narrow for the body." We have often wished that the streets in a town or city, could grow in size with the place, as the throat, arteries, and veins of the body grow in size with the body itself.

He further states that "The increase of the population of the ninety-seven parishes within the walls, since the commencement of the regular bills of mortality, was not discernible, except where great houses, formerly belonging to noblemen, had been converted into tenements. All-Hallows-in-the-wall had been increased by the conversion of the Marquis of Winchester's, Alderman Freeman's, (now Freeman's court), and Lamott near the Exchange; Earl of Arundel's, in Lothbury; Bishop of London's palace; Lord Rivers's house, Savage Gardens, Tower Hill; as also of Duke's-Place, and several others." How greatly has the population of the metropolis increased since that period! Now it is computed at *two millions*! And yet it contains but about half the population of proud, polished, imperial Rome, when she was guarded by the valour, guided by the counsels, embellished by the genius, and enriched with the spoils of the Cæsars. The most difficult problem to solve in the social science has been to settle how many individuals could reside together on a given spot, with the greatest advantages and the fewest evils. Laborious research and persevering investigation have decided that the number ought not to be less than *fifteen hundred*, nor more than *two thousand*. We live in the midst of *two millions*! Is it surprising, then, that we should see such numbers of bad characters! Such unhealthy residences for the poor! Such painfully and dangerously crowded streets!

Such dense and unhealthy fogs! Such a deceptive aspect of outward splendour, which has the singular glitter that belongs to putrefaction! Such bubbles blown and bursting on this great ocean of existence! Such chicanery and swindling! Tides of wealth rolling along our streets, while *rills* of competence do not find their way into many of our alleys! A vast forest of errors and mischiefs are seen waving in dark and rank luxuriance, furnishing coverts for all manner of diversified evils, which are daily rampant amidst the severities of the law, and the persuasion of the gospel! Amidst this there are innumerable exhibitions of skill and industry and mistaking charity, which shew the capabilities of intellect and feeling in man. And yet men, invulnerably ignorant and incorrigibly obstinate, are building houses on all sides! Upon the reluctant fields encroachments are daily making; the reign of smoke and the dominion of buildings are hourly increasing their boundaries. In some spots of our earth, men are crowded and huddled together disorderly; in other spots the juices of uncultivated and unoccupied nature waste themselves in giving, bloom to the furze, sting to the nettle, prickles to the

briar, and poison to the hemlock! When will men become rational, and suffer other arrangements to supersede the present? Who that thinks at all, does not feel ashamed when he thinks, that our globe as she pursues her course through all the signs of the zodiac, shews to the inhabitants of the planets amongst which she travels, what simpletons she is loaded with, what sufferers she bears?

CASE OF SOLDIER SOMERVILLE.

WITHOUT entering at all into the merits and minutiae of this exciting case, which are now completely before the public, and upon which the public will pronounce judgment, we must make it pay the toll of instruction as it passes. It is one of the opening signs of the times;—a straw thrown up which shews the way of the wind. This transaction teaches us how feverish and irritable the public mind is now to all which passes under the eye of its observation, or falls within the range of its knowledge. Thirty years ago, when we were attending to the concerns of other nations, and neglecting our own, such a case would have been as unnoticed as the fall of a leaf in the forest. Now it has excited the *nation*; and excited it more than the stone did, which was thrown by Dennis Collins at his Majesty's head, on Ascot Heath! This single circumstance says a thousand things. It has let light in on what before was in darkness; viz. the feeling between the army and the people, and the people and the army. It has also shewn that the reign of mystery is coming to an end. The veil of the covering which has been spread over the face of things, is now to be removed; every thing must be above boards. Secrecies of all kinds must be traced through all their winding mazes, detected in their lurking places, dragged out of their refuges, and held up to the public gaze!

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A great press of business relative to our newly established Labour Exchange, necessitates us to dispense with our usual Notices to our kind Correspondents, whose communications are in our possession. We must request them to consider the size of our paper, and to condense their articles accordingly. The interest and success of "The Crisis" must consist in a variety of well-written, well-digested, closely-concentrated articles, founded upon, or illustrated by, Facts, which supply no materials for controversy. A column and a half of our paper is as much as any article on general subjects ought ever to occupy.

We refer our Readers to the Advertisement of our Seventh Social Festival.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1.

INVITATION TO THE POLITICAL COUNCIL OF BIRMINGHAM.

Bolt Court, 19th Aug. 1832.

GENTLEMEN.—I read in the *Birmingham Journal*, that you have had a discussion on the MONEY AFFAIR; and, in the report of it which I have read, it is stated that, "Mr. Charles Jones spoke in refutation of Mr. Cobbett's doctrine on the currency, and insisted that Mr. Attwood had been the true prophet upon this subject." I am not to take this report as being a correct account of what Mr. Jones said; but the effect is the same; it has been sent forth from Birmingham that Mr. Jones has refuted my doctrine, and that Mr. At-

wood is the *true* prophet, and that I am the *false* one. Therefore I hereby give an invitation to the *Council* in a body to meet me, and discuss with me this great question, before the faces of the people of Birmingham. Life and health permitting I will be at Birmingham on *Tuesday* next the 28th day of August; and if any body at Birmingham will provide a suitable place, and issue notices accordingly, the price of admittance being one shilling, one-half of which to be received by me, I will be there, ready to go to the place so provided, on the 28th, at any hour in the evening, and to discuss this question with the Council. There must be a place suitable for my sitting down while my opponent or opponents are talking, and I shall want no other conveniences or accommodation. I am ready to argue this question with Mr. Jones and Mr. Attwood, the great talents of both of whom I am ready to acknowledge. I am ready to argue it with the whole of the Council, or with any body else. I will open the discussion myself; or they shall open it, if they please. If they open it, they shall be entitled to a reply; if I open it, I shall expect the same indulgence. We ought, in order to place the matter fairly before our auditors, to have the question or questions clearly stated beforehand. If this be done (and done it must be, indeed), our auditors will clearly understand us; and in that case, I am sure that they will hear with patience, and decide with impartiality. Mr. Attwood, Mr. Jones, and as many others as they please, may speak on that side, one after the other; and nobody but myself shall speak on my side. But, they are all, to speak *consecutively*, and not some of them before I have spoken, and some of them after. I intend to be at Manchester on Thursday, the 30th of August. That which I am now writing will reach the Editor of the *Birmingham Journal*, or Mr. Jones, on *Tuesday*, the 21st inst. I shall set off from London on Saturday, the 25th. Now, if these gentlemen prefer it, we will debate the matter in London, on Friday, the 24th; and if they will write to me so that I can get the letter on the 22nd, I pledge myself to have a place prepared for the purpose. I request one of these gentlemen, or some friend at Birmingham, to be so good as to write to me on the 22nd or 23rd, to let me know the decision of these gentlemen as to this matter. I am quite in earnest myself; but I am not unaware of the possibility of these gentlemen may thinking me *beneath their notice*. If that should be the case, the question between us must remain where it is, I having the satisfaction to know that I have done all in my power to bring it to a fair issue.

I have written to a friend at Birmingham to inquire whether this invitation be accepted; and I have requested him, if he find that it is *not* accepted, and that a place will not be prepared for the discussion, to get a place for me, that I may have an opportunity of addressing the people of Birmingham upon this important subject, with regard to which we must all come to be of one mind, or else no great good can arise out of this Reform of the Parliament. I beg him to secure a place, however small and inconvenient, so that it be in *Birmingham*, for I cannot rest easy under this *imputed refutation* of my doctrines, which I know to be sound, and which I know *must prevail*, or that the country never will revive again, never will emerge from the ruin and misery into which it has been plunged by Pitt, Addington, Grenville, Perceval, Jenkinson, Peel, and their stupid and conceited co-operators.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

MR. COBBETT AND THE CURRENCY.

In reply to Mr. Cobbett's challenge, received this day, presuming that all parties are agreed upon the fact, that the principal part of the present distress among the industrious classes in England, is occasioned by Peel's Bill of 1819, and by the monetary measures adopted before and since in connexion with the Bill.

It is then agreed that Mr. Thomas Attwood and Mr. Charles Jones shall discuss with Mr. Cobbett the following question, viz. :—

Whether it is best for the safety and welfare of the nation to attempt to relieve the existing distress "by an action on the Currency," or "by an equitable Adjustment of the Taxes, Rents, Debts, Contracts, and Obligations, which now strangle the industry of the Country."

The discussion to take place in Birmingham on Tuesday the 28th inst., at four o'clock in the afternoon, at Mr. Beardsworth's Repository.

A Chairman to be appointed by mutual agreement.

Mr. Attwood to open the business, and Mr. Jones to be allowed to speak next; Mr. Cobbett is then to explain his views. After which, Mr. Attwood is to be allowed the right of reply; which reply is to close the discussion.

The Chairman is then to put it to the meeting to decide, which is the most eligible plan of proceeding.

No person to be admitted to the meeting without the payment of One Shilling, agreeably to Mr. Cobbett's proposition. The receipts to be divided as follows, after paying the expences of the meeting:—One-half to Mr. Cobbett, and the other half to the "distressed sand-wheelers of Birmingham."

In thus accepting Mr. Cobbett's challenge, Mr. Attwood and Mr. Jones leave it to Mr. Cobbett's discretion to decide whether, at the present period, it is desirable that that portion of the public, who are now agreed upon the great truth that the general distress is occasioned by monetary measures, should be exposed to the risk of being divided by a discussion as to which species of remedy is preferable, instead of being kept united to exert their combined strength to the utmost in the ensuing elections, against that corrupt or ignorant party who have always persisted in maintaining, either that no general distress has existed, or that such distress has not been occasioned by monetary measures.

THOMAS ATTWOOD,
CHARLES JONES.

Birmingham, Aug. 22, 1832.

Now, this is as it should be, men who have thought much upon national affairs, agree to meet in a friendly manner to discuss the truth of the principles, and the value of the practices, which, with the knowledge they possess of the subject, they deem the best means to save this country from the ruin in which it now is; for, truly, no people, having acquired such powers to produce permanent and continually growing prosperity, were ever before in such a wretched and miserable condition. No country can be worse governed than the empire of Great Britain is at this moment; and, as a proof of it, there is more misery and discontent among its population than is to be found among any other people in the world, whatever may be the ignorance or despotism of its government.

Those individuals who really desire to benefit mankind, and who have no personal ambition in view, will be willing to submit their principles and plans to the most open and full discussion of their fellow-subjects; and also, after such discussion to agree to lend their aid to promote any general plan that shall be agreed upon to be the best for the common good of all. It is with this view that the Governor of the Institution of the intelligent and well-informed of the Industrious Classes, has invited Messrs. Attwood, Jones, and Cobbett, to a discussion in London, of their respective plans for the amelioration of the population of both islands.

If other parties have any feasible rational measures to propose, let them also bring them before the public in like manner, at a proper time, that they may undergo a fair and dispassionate discussion.

LORD BYRON A SUPPORTER AND ADVOCATE OF OUR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

THE new system of society is built on necessity. This is its foundation. All its arrangements are based upon it, and the golden chain of consistency binds the whole together. The noble poet, Byron, to wit, was a thorough necessarian.

In "Lara" he has these lines :

"Why did she love him? Curious fool!—bestill—
Is human love the growth of human will?"

In the tragedy of the "Two Foscari," he thus speaks :

"——— Nothing rests
Upon our will; the will itself no less
Depends upon a straw than on a storm;
And when we think we lead, we are most led."

A VIEW OF THE NEW SYSTEM OF SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

"Why is not Man a God, and Earth a Heaven?"—
POPE.

SIR.—As, weary with the labours of the past day, I was about to sink to repose, my thoughts turned, as they very frequently do, upon the merits of the system you advocate. Each beauty of the new system passed in succession before my mind, followed by its corresponding evil in the old. I contemplated the religions of the one, and the truth of the other; the despotisms of the one, and the democracies of the other; the confusion, inaptitude, and absurdity of the one—the order, design, and intelligence of the other; the hypocrisy and suspicion of this—the candour and frankness of the other; the cares and anxiety, which attend alike poverty and riches, in this—the ease and contentment attending the abundance of the other. "O, high and holy day," I mentally exclaimed, "hasten thy joyous approach! Harbinger of the happiness of the human race, draw near! O rulers of the earth, when will ye provide for your own safety, in expediting the happiness of the hundreds of millions who now groan under the evils of ignorance and poverty, amidst the most abundant means of producing intelligence and wealth! Rulers of the world, save yourselves! for, whether you will or not, the day of the triumph of humanity swiftly approaches. Yes, I am ignorant, vicious, impoverished, and miserable; my children, perhaps,

surely my grand-children, shall be wise, virtuous, wealthy, and happy. Glorious prospect! Amidst the moral darkness which surrounds me, the light of the new system diffuses over my soul complacency and hope. Buried in thoughts such as these I at length sank to rest; but, such was the impression this subject had made upon me, my mind continued to pursue it, long after my body was overcome with sleep. I stood, methought, upon a mountain's lofty brow; the bright moon rose in majesty above me, and thousands of stars spangled the blue vault of heaven; around and beneath me fair spring sent forth her brightest sweetest beauties; the industry of man seemed to have been inspired with the efficacy, harmony, and benevolence of creative power. Before me rolled a river wide and deep; its gardened banks bore witness to the fertility it distributed. Seven beautiful palaces crowned the distant hills, or reared their turrets, silvered by the moon, on the well cultivated plains. The sweet song of the nightingale was heard among the trees—the high priest of a thousand grateful sacrifices. All that could please the sense, all that could elevate, expand, and invigorate the mind; all that could rouse the best feelings of human nature; all that could fill the heart with exquisite delight, seemed to be assembled here. Still gazing with unwearied eye, on this fair paradise, my attention was caught by a motion amongst the trees, it was a young man who having gained the summit, stopped, with his back to me, whom he had not perceived through the foliage, seemingly to admire the liveliness of the scene. "Oh! is it possible," exclaimed he, in loud soliloquy, "oh! is it possible, that there have been ages in which the human race have universally believed the Great Animator of these glories, to be an angry and revengeful God? Is it possible, as I have heard, that men have destroyed other men, for whom the laws of nature had created opinions and feelings different from their own, and appealed to the Mover of an Universe such as this, to justify their miserable deeds! Can it be that they have adored a Being whom they averred to revenge on His creatures in eternity, what Himself had caused in time!" He paused; and, as he ceased to speak, he turned and discovered a countenance of (to me) unearthly beauty and majesty. His eye was undimmed by care, poverty, or disease; his brow was unruined by suspicion, dissimulation, or discontent; his cheek bloomed with youth and health; his form was as nature had created it, firmly beautiful. Intelligence and virtue sparkled in his eye and smiled upon his lips. "Strange as it appears to me," resumed he, "when conversing with the history of the dark ages, that men possessing, from nature, the same faculties and feelings as the happy beings around me, should profess principles and follow practice so palpably absurd and so miserably iniquitous. Much have I wondered when hearing of their youth untrained, or trained in vice and folly, and of their priests, then religionists, accusing the God of the Creation with having made man essentially wicked; of their kings and political economists at one time struggling to heap upon themselves an additional charge of the cares and miseries of millions of men; at others, meeting in great and solemn council, daily for months, and annually for centuries, to ameliorate the affairs of mankind, ever leaving them at least as bad as they found them; of men's whole lives spent in one heart-melting struggle to obtain and secure the means of living, and that amidst the greatest abundance of every necessary, comfort, and luxury; of the best feelings of the human heart sacrificed to this wretched system; of fraud and violence, suspicion and dissimulation engendered by it; of man opposed to man, and nation to nation; of plague and pestilence laying waste the earth, even amidst the knowledge of the causes which produced them, and the means of removing these causes; of their religionists again ascribing them to the anger of the Mover of all things, and crying aloud to the inhabitants of the world, to seek for his pardon for having acted as his laws had caused them to act. Oh! how blest

and I that I was born in an age wherein men have learned to be wise; when the ever increasing millions of the earth enjoy ever-increasing happiness. Already has our Council said to me, and my eighteenth year has but just completed its circle: 'No longer are your productive exertions necessary for the security of the community in which you live. By the wise application of the experience of past ages you have been enabled to produce more wealth than you can consume by the unbounded enjoyment of it during your future life. We impose on you no duty but the fulfilment of the bliss-breathing wishes of your own heart; we bind you by no laws, but the benevolent laws of your nature which bid you find your greatest happiness in the increasing happiness of your brethren of the human race. Eager in pursuit of knowledge pursue it as far as your inclinations lead you; dive into the depths of the ocean; descend unto the caverns of the earth; study the productions of earth's surface: rise above the clouds and acquire knowledge of the phenomena of heaven; learn the laws that guide the distant spheres—the suns of other systems—the life of distant space. Insatiable being take thy fill!

To be continued in our next

PROCEEDINGS AT OUR INSTITUTION.

On Thursday evening the discussion on the standard of value in the "Equitable Exchange Bank," was resumed and postponed. The Rev. Thomas Macconnell commented upon the leading article of the Morning Chronicle of that day, on the Labour Exchange Banks, and succeeded in pointing out the ignorance and contradictions of the writer. On Sunday last, to very crowded auditories, the Rev. Thomas Macconnell lectured in the morning, and Mr. Owen in the evening. They will lecture at the same times on Sunday next (to-morrow). On Wednesday evening the proprietors of the Equitable Labour Exchange Bank, met to choose officers by ballot. The following gentlemen were declared by the scrutineers to be duly elected to the offices specified:

ROBERT OWEN, GOVERNOR.

Trustees.—ROBERT OWEN, JOHN DEMPSEY, AND JOS. DAVIS STYLES,

Directors.—SAMUEL AUSTIN, JOS. DAVIS STYLES, JOHN SAVAGE, JOSEPH NASH, AND JOHN PETERS.

Council.—JAMES BRABY, WILLIAM DEVONSHIRE SAULL, SAMPSON MORDAN, JOHN DEMPSEY, CHAS. TIFFEN, THOMAS ALLSOP, AND ROBERT WOOD.

* It will be seen by our advertisement, that the Exchange opens for deposits, on MONDAY next.

DIFFERENT OPINIONS IN SOCIETY ON THE SAME SUBJECTS,

WITH THE CONSEQUENCES, CAUSES, AND CURE OF THAT DIFFERENCE.

(Continued from Page 100.)

aristocratical, democratical, and mixed! In church government—Episcopacy, Presbyterianism and Independency have each their numerous, honest, and steady adherents. In military and naval discipline, severity and kindness, a rule through the fears or the understandings of men, have each their advocates and practitioners. In the legislature there are opposite opinions on the subject of flogging in the army; on the punishment of criminals, on church establishments, a reformed representation, &c. &c. In the training up of children, which may be called domestic government, some govern through fear, others through kindness; some are for great restraints, and others for no restraint at all. Some for a

decidedly religious education, others are for leaving this matter to the judgment of their children when they are competent for its exercise; there is an endless diversity! Who can tell which is right? We think they are all wrong!

Secondly, RELIGION. Diversity of sentiment is a weed of quick growth, and plentiful crops in the soil of revealed religion. There are four great divisions of revealed religionists in the world, viz. Christians, Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans, which are again divisible and sub-divisible into unnumbered and innumerable less divisions. We now speak only as to the Christian sects in this country, of which there are—Unitarians, Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Calvinists, Methodists, Primitive Methodists, Ranters, General Baptists, Particular Baptists, Scotch Baptists, Brownists, Calvinistic Methodists, Jumpers, Cameronians, Killamites, Huntingdonians, Jerusalemites, Swedenborgians, Moravians, Southcottians, Muggletonians, Bible Christians, Millenarians, Lutherans, Unknown Tongues, &c. &c. all of which are agreed that Christianity is the only true religion, yet all differing with each other as to what Christianity is; a point which we should have supposed would have been settled before they became believers at all. They do not burn each other as they did formerly, leaving all burning for another world, yet they denounce each other as heartily as ever! When will the sword of theological controversy be sheathed? Or, rather, when will the sword be broken, and the scabbard thrown away? All these different sects can not be right! What a task to be compelled to wade through the water, weeds, mud, mire, and reptiles of their merits and demerits! Which is right, and which is wrong? Who can tell?

Thirdly, PUBLIC MEN AND MEASURES. What a harassing variety of opinions are now in circulation on public men! Some thinking some of the leading Tories sagacious; others thinking that they are simpletons—some thinking them honest men, others thinking them knaves—some thinking them angels, others thinking them devils—some thinking they have great abilities, others thinking they have no abilities at all. And, as to public measures, how numerous and opposite the opinions which now obtain, as to the cause of our universally acknowledged national difficulties! Some say, that a return to cash payments is the cause. Others, with equal positivity assert that it is owing to machinery. Others again lay it at the door of over population, and others place it on the broad shoulders of omnipresent taxation. Others go deeper, and assert that competition is the baleful source of all evil, and that out of community there is no political salvation. The clergy say, it is owing to the sinful habits of the nation, against which their united and persevering preaching has proved feeble as the strokes of a n insects wings on chains of brass, or like the whispers of infancy against the thunders of heaven! What a variety of hostile decisions on this point! and, as a necessary consequence, a variety of opinions exist on the subject of parliamentary reform. Different opinions exist on Mr. Owen's system of society, and perhaps different opinions will be formed upon the opinions expressed in this article. Who is to decide among such a mass of different sentiments, which is correct? Or, whether like the jarring opinions uttered in the fable of "the Traveller and the Camelion, they are all right and all wrong." And yet, perplexing and bewildering as are the endless mazes and illimitable labyrinths of these contesting and contested opinions, so much so, that we may not be able to satisfy ourselves which is right; yet one thing we are perfectly satisfied is right, viz. that the expression of these opinions should not be restricted, or persecuted, by any means, or in any

way whatever. We know it is attended with evil consequences which we shall show in our next paper, yet it must not be attempted to be stopped by force. Suppressed opinions resemble the mighty combustible materials pent up in the bosom of the earth, and which cause earthquakes. Expressed opinions of all kinds symbolize with those materials when thrown out in the eruption of a volcano; both the earthquake and the eruption are evils—the eruption is the least. Take it, Content.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

OPENING

OF THE
EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS
CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD,
KING'S CROSS.

THE Stores of the Exchange will be open for the receipt of Goods intended for Exchange, on Monday, the 3rd of September, from Ten till Four, and after Monday, till the 17th, from Ten till Eight o'Clock.

AGRICULTURALISTS, Gardeners, Manufacturers, Provision Merchants, Factors, Warehousemen, Wholesale and Retail Dealers of all descriptions, Mechanics, and all others, who may be inclined to dispose of their various articles of trade and merchandise, in the only equitable manner in which men can mutually dispose of their property to each other, viz., its value in labour for equal value in labour, without the intervention of money, are requested to transmit their names and address, with a description of the kind, or kinds of property, which they desire so to exchange, to the Secretary of the Institution, Mr. SAMUEL AUSTIN, of whom, on personal application at the Institution, every information relative to the Equitable Labour Exchange, may be obtained.

THE SEVENTH SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the ASSOCIATION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE AND POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on MONDAY, 3d Sept., 1839.

ROBT. OWEN, Governor.

Tickets of Admission, Visitors, 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shoreditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner of Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 19, Greville-street, Hutton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street, and 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BARNES, Holywell-street; and PURKISS, Wardour-street, may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 27.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE

(Gray's Inn Road, London.)

For the purpose of relieving the productive Classes from Poverty, by their own industry, and for the mutual exchange of Labour for equal value of Labour.

I.—CONSIDERING that great distress has arisen among the Industrious Classes for want of means to circulate the wealth they can so easily produce, and that their distress is daily increasing, individuals desirous of removing this grievous evil, have determined to attempt its accomplishment: and for this purpose have formed themselves into an Association for relieving the productive classes from poverty by their own industry, and mutual exchange of labour for equal value of labour, under the denomination of the EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE, as now established in the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road, with a capital unlimited.

II.—This capital shall be employed, first, in the carrying on and extending the operation of the Exchanges, and afterwards in providing arrangements to give employment to the industrious classes and education to their children.

III.—The capital shall be raised by deposits of £20 each, which shall never be recalled by the depositors.

IV.—The depositors of £20, or upwards, shall be members, and may sell and transfer their shares in the profits of the Exchange.

MEMBERS.

V.—The members of this Association shall receive annually Labour Notes to the value of forty hours, as interest in consideration of every twenty pounds, or eight hundred hours' labour, which they may deposit.

VI.—Any depositor of goods for exchange in the Exchange, who shall become possessed of Labour Notes to the value of eight hundred hours, or more, shall be entitled, depositing such notes with the Governor and Directors, and conforming to the Rules and Regulations of the Association, to become a member thereof, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of a member.

VII.—All surplus profit beyond the amount necessary to pay the incidental expences, and five per cent. interest to the members, shall be applied to extending the exchanges, by providing employment for the industrious classes and educating their children.

VIII.—Each member of the Association shall receive, at the time he makes his deposit, a Certi-

ficate, signed by the Governor, a Trustee, and a Director, in the following form:—

EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.
Gray's Inn Road, London.

No. _____ Established, 1832.

Date.

This is to certify that—of—has this day become a member of this Association, which entitles him to receive annually from the stores of the Exchange, goods to the value of forty hours labour.

Governor.

Trustee.

Director.

Entered,

Secretary.

IX.—The governor and directors shall issue annually Labour Notes to the value expressed on each certificate to any person presenting the same, unless notice shall have been given to them in writing by the member to whom any certificate may belong, that such certificate has been lost.

TRUSTEES.

X.—The property of the Association shall be vested in three trustees, who shall be named and appointed by the Members in general meeting assembled.

XI.—When any vacancy occurs in the number of Trustees, by death, resignation, or otherwise, it shall be filled up at the first General Meeting of the thereafter.

TREASURERS.

XII.—The Governor and Directors for the time being shall be joint Treasurers to the Association, and shall appoint a banker whenever it may appear to them necessary so to do.

XIII.—All drafts upon the banker shall be made by the Governor, and signed by at least one Director, and countersigned by the Secretary.

MANAGEMENT.

XIV.—The Management of the affairs of the Exchange shall be vested in a Governor, five Directors, and a Council of seven members, all of whom shall be elected by Ballot.

XV.—The Governor shall be elected once in three years by the Proprietors voting by ballot.

XVI.—The Directors shall be elected by ballot at the formation of the Association, and the two lowest of them on the ballot shall retire from office at the end of the first year. The two next lowest at the end of the second year, and the remaining Director and Governor at the end of the third year.

XVII.—In case there should be an equal number of votes for more than two of the Directors, at the time of the Ballot, such Directors shall draw lots at the end of the year, and retire from office accordingly.

XVIII.—The vacancies in the direction either by death, resignation, or otherwise shall be filled up by the members voting by ballot, and those Directors or Governors who have retired from office shall be eligible to be re-elected.

THE COUNCIL.

XIX.—A Council consisting of seven Members of the Association shall be nominated and elected annually by ballot, without salary, whose duties shall be to inspect and investigate all the books, accounts, and every other matter whatsoever, connected with the Association, and to report thereon, to the Proprietors monthly, and to the Public quarterly.

XX.—Any four Members of the Council may call a special general meeting of the members, and may present, at such meeting, any report which may appear to them to affect the interests of the members.

GOVERNOR AND DIRECTORS.

XXI.—The Governor and Directors shall have the entire management and controul of the affairs of the Exchange: shall appoint all officers and servants necessary to assist them in the management, and may dismiss such officers or servants when it shall appear to them expedient so to do.

XXII.—The Governor shall preside at all meetings of the Directors, or meeting of Directors and Council, when he is present, shall be entitled to vote; and, upon all occasions of equal voting, he shall have, in addition, a casting vote.

XXIII.—The Directors shall contract with the Proprietors of the Institution, in Gray's Inn Road, for premises for carrying on the business of the Exchange, at a rental not exceeding 2½ per cent. on the exchanges effected, or upon the best terms that can be obtained.

XXIV.—The Governor and Directors shall not make any contract or engagement that will extend beyond the time they continue to be Directors, or that would bind or fix their successors to any payment, engagement, or performance, unless such contract, covenant, or engagement shall have been approved at a general meeting of the members.

XXV.—The Governor or Directors shall not deposit any goods for exchange while they continue in office.

XXVI.—The Governor and Directors shall appoint such persons as they shall deem competent to value the goods deposited in the Exchange.

XXVII.—When the Directors have decided upon the value of the goods submitted to them, they shall issue Labour Notes to the amount in hours, which notes shall be signed by the Governor and a Director, and countersigned by the Secretary.

XXVIII.—The Directors shall make up a re-

turn monthly of the Exchanges made in the Exchange; of the salaries paid to officers and servants, and other incidental expenses, all which returns shall be laid before the Council.

XXXIX.—The Directors shall also keep minutes of their proceedings which shall always be open to the inspection of the members of the Council.

XXX.—The Directors shall also report at the annual general meeting the state of the affairs of the Association.

XXXI.—The Directors may, at any time, call the Council together to assist them in their deliberations.

NOMINATION OF OFFICERS.

XXXII.—Any member may nominate another member for the office of Governor or Member of the Council; and any person, whether a member or not, as a Director.

XXXIII.—All nominations must be made at least twenty-one days before the election, and delivered to the Secretary in writing.

XXXIV.—A list of the Members nominated, and the office for which each of them has been nominated shall be delivered to the Council, and also hung up in the exchange at least fourteen days before the day of election.

XXXV.—No name shall be inserted in the list to be hung up, unless the person named shall have given his consent to take the office for which he is nominated.

XXXVI.—Balloting lists shall be prepared for the use of the members, and shall be delivered by the Secretary to such members as shall apply for them at the day of election.

MODE AND TIME OF BALLOTING.

XXXVII.—At the annual general meeting on the last Wednesday in August, every member who votes shall deliver to the Chairman his balloting list folded up, who shall, in his presence, put it into the balloting box. The Secretary shall then mark off the name of the Proprietor who delivered it.

XXXVIII.—When the Ballot is about to be commenced three persons shall be appointed Scrutineers by the members assembled.

XXXIX.—As soon as the balloting is closed the Scrutineers shall cast up the number of votes, and report the same, in writing, to the Chairman, who shall announce the result to the members assembled.

XL.—If the votes for two or more candidates should be equal, lots shall be prepared by the Scrutineers, and drawn by the Chairman.

XLI.—Candidates in this manner elected shall have the management of the affairs of the Exchange for the year ensuing, or such other term as by the foregoing Rules they may be elected for.

XLII.—The Secretary shall make a List of the Officers elected, which List shall be hung up in the Exchange.

GENERAL MEETINGS.

XLIII.—The annual general meeting of the members shall take place on the last Wednesday in August. The business of which meeting shall be to consider the Report of the Governor and Directors of the proceedings of the Exchanges for the year immediately ended, and to elect by Ballot the Directors and Council of the Association.

XLIV.—Special general meetings may be called at any time by the Directors, or by four of the Members of the Council.

XLV.—No special general meeting shall be called till seven clear days notice shall have been given to the members.

XLVI.—No business shall be brought forward or discussed at any special general meeting, unless included in the notice for calling such meeting.

XLVII.—All general meetings may adjourn from time to time, and any new matter may be adopted at an adjourned meeting provided that seven days'

notice of the introduction of such new matter be given to the members.

XLVIII.—No member shall be entitled to vote at any annual or general meeting till he shall have been a member for six months.

XLIX.—No member shall be entitled to vote at any Annual or special general meeting of the members of this association, who has become a member by purchasing a certificate of any member, until six months after he shall have given notice to the Directors, in writing, that he has so become a member.

L.—No member shall be entitled to more than one vote at any meeting in respect of any number of shares he may possess.

LI.—All alteration in the Laws of the Association shall be made by a Committee, appointed at a general meeting to consider such alterations, which Committee shall report to a subsequent general meeting; and, if their Report be adopted, the laws shall be altered accordingly.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

C. G. of Hackney is received. His letter will be analyzed on Sunday morning, by the Rev. Thomas Macconnell, at the Lecture. We request him to attend.

Communications are in our hands from W. Archbold, W. Lamant, W. H. C., John Boyne, and I—h S—h.

All Correspondents who wish for answers must attend the Lectures, where those answers will be given.

The Circulating Medium, in its connection with the Bank of England and the Equitable Labour Exchange, is now of such moment that our paper must this week exclude almost every other subject.

* We understand from a friend that our invitation to Messrs. Cobbett and Attwood, which was stated in "the Crisis" last week, and which was sent to them through a mutual friend, has, owing to some circumstance, with which we are not at present acquainted, not yet been received.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

MESSRS. COBBETT AND ATTWOOD.

THE CURRENCY.

A PUBLIC discussion on the currency, between these two distinguished individuals, took place on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday week. The controversy was lengthy, gentlemanly, and fair; the audience numerous and deeply interested; and the decision, declared by a shew of hands, was ten to one in favour of Mr. Attwood. Perhaps this result may have been occasioned, in some measure, by the circumstance of Birmingham being the place of discussion. Had it been London the issue might have been very different.

The following were the words in which the subject of the contest was announced to the public:—

"Whether it is better for the safety and welfare of the nation to attempt to relieve the existing distress by an action on the currency, or by equitable adjustment of the taxes, rents, debts, contracts, and obligations, which now strangle the industry of the people."

Mr. ATTWOOD advocated an action on the currency. Mr. COBBETT supported an equitable adjustment.

In support of his proposition Mr. Attwood proposed first to give us back the ancient English standard we possessed for hundreds of years previous to 1816. Secondly to increase the issue of Bank of England notes, permanently from sixteen to twenty-five millions, as their lowest amount. Thirdly, to allow the issue of one pound notes. Fourthly, to make Bank of England notes to a

limited amount legal tenders from all persons except the Bank of England itself.

Mr. COBBETT proposes an act of Parliament to adjust the value of money, which, he says "may be easily done by finding the price of a bushel of wheat, a pound of wool, and a pound of mutton, and apply the pound standard of value to the different contracts brought before the commissioners and adjust the contracts accordingly."

We shall extract the judgments of a few of the principal public prints on the matter before us, and then give our own.

The Times, after having abused Mr. Cobbett in a style, which a few years ago, might have been searched for unsuccessfully in its columns; such as calling him "the Butcher of Kensington," "the Man of the Gridiron," &c., which is not severity, but sheer abuse, says, "that the subject of debate was nothing else but a question of robbery. It was nothing else, but to decide by a shew of hands in a Mr. Beardsworth's repository, at Birmingham, whether the national creditor, or all other creditors on large contracts should be plundered by unlimited issues of one pound bank notes, or by equitable adjustment." After eulogizing Mr. Attwood's talents and character, it opposes both their schemes, and says, (and the words are remarkable,) "Things have now adjusted themselves to each other; the distress of the transition has been severe, but its severity is a sufficient reason against its renewal in the eternal cycle which Mr. Attwood and his partisans would form."

The Morning Herald remarks,—“We need hardly say to our readers that in every sentiment uttered by Mr. Attwood, upon this occasion we most cordially acquiesce. Indeed there is scarcely any argument adduced by him, upon this occasion, which we have not, in terms not so well expressed, endeavoured from time to time to impress upon the public. Mr. Attwood's speech we should say, ought to spread throughout the country as a text-book upon the subject. If other matters of far less importance can be sold for a penny, let a penny edition of this valuable argument be circulated in every corner of the kingdom from the throne to the cottage.”

The Morning Chronicle says,—“That, independent of the natural difficulties of the subject, the currency is not a legitimate subject of agitation, and that a shew of hands is little calculated to lead us out of our present labyrinth; and that although the propositions of the two controversialists are in effect similar, Mr. Cobbett, if his scheme were necessary and practicable, propounds the most honest expedient. We will not, however, comment on the two plans; if either be necessary or practicable, neither is likely yet to be espoused by parliament or the people.”

The True Sun says,—“We hold both Mr. Attwood and Mr. Cobbett to be wrong in their respective conclusions. They are both right in ascribing to Peel's bill, consequences of the most destructive kind—but Mr. Attwood errs very widely in recommending the restoration of the old system of banking—and Mr. Cobbett is still more deeply in error, in condemning all paper money, merely because we have been afflicted with a great deal of bad paper money. That un-

deniable fact, forms an admirable reason, why the community should be very careful as to the *kind* of paper money, which is permitted to circulate—but no reason in the world, why good paper money should be rejected."

The errors of our banking system, and of the circulating medium, are at length beginning to attract public attention. It is, indeed, high time that they should, for both are founded on principles which are most injurious to the public.

To men of sound practical knowledge who have long studied the subject, it has been evident for some time that the power of producing wealth, and the means of representing it after its production were not in harmony, and that the time was near when some decisive change must be made to permit both to proceed without limit.

The late discussion between Messrs. Attwood Jones, and Cobbett, in Birmingham, together with the proceedings in the United States, and in this country, relative to the National Bank in each, have brought the subject, at this eventful period, prominently before the population of both countries.

We have given the opinions of the leading journals of the day upon these subjects: we add our own opinion, given deliberately in an official report to the county of Lanark, in 1820. When these different views of this most interesting subject shall be compared, it will be discovered that the evil is admitted by all these parties, but that the remedy proposed is very various. We deem Mr. Cobbett the least practicable, Mr. Attwood the next, Mr. Jones the more practicable of the three; but all deficient in principle, and that our Equitable Labour Exchange will at once relieve the population from its most pressing wants, and open wide the door to every improvement, and to the speedy amelioration of the condition of society throughout the civilized parts of the world.

The Equitable Labour Exchanges are founded on the principles developed in the following extracts which will be now better understood than when a part of them were given in a former number of the "Crisis."

"It is urgent necessity alone, that will effect the changes which our present situation demands; one of which respects the mode of distributing the enormous supply of new wealth and capital which has been lately created, and which may be now indefinitely increased. To the ignorance which prevails on this, and other subjects connected with the science of political economy, may be attributed the present general stagnation of commerce, and the consequent distress of the country.

One of the measures which your reporter thus ventures to propose, to let prosperity loose on the country, (if he may be allowed the expression,) is a change in the standard of value. It is true, that, in the civilized parts of the world, gold and silver have been long used for this purpose; but these metals have been a mere artificial standard, and they have performed the office very imperfectly and inconveniently. The introduction as a standard of value, altered the intrinsic value of all things into

artificial values; and, in consequence, they have materially retarded the general improvement of society. So much so, indeed, that, in this sense, it may well be said, "Money is the root of all evil." It is fortunate for society, that these metals cannot longer perform the task which ignorance assigned to them. The rapid increase of wealth, which extraordinary scientific improvements had been the means of producing in this country, prior to 1797, imposed upon the legislature, in that year, an overwhelming necessity to declare virtually, by act of parliament, that gold ceased to be the British standard of value. Experience then proved that gold and silver could no longer practically represent the increased wealth created by British industry, aided by its scientific improvements. A temporary expedient was thought of and adopted, and Bank of England paper became the British legal standard of value;—a convincing proof that society may make any artificial substance, whether possessing intrinsic worth or not, a legal standard of value. It soon appeared, however, that the adoption of this new artificial standard was attended with extreme danger, because it placed the prosperity and well-being of the community at the mercy of a trading company, which, although highly respectable in that capacity, was itself, in a great degree, ignorant of the nature of the mighty machine, which it wielded. The legislature, with almost one voice, demanded that this monopoly of the standard of value should cease. But it was wholly unprepared with a remedy. The expedient adopted, was to make preparations for an attempt to return to the former artificial standard, which, in 1797, was proved by experience to be inadequate to the purpose, when that wealth, and the means of adding to it, had been, in the interim, increased to an incalculable extent. This impolitic measure involved the government in the most formidable difficulties, and plunged the country into poverty, discontent, and danger.

"Seeing the distress which a slight progress towards the fulfilment of this measure has already occasioned, by the unparalleled depression of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, and the consequent almost total annihilation of the value of labour, it is to be hoped that the government and the legislature, and the enlightened and reasonable part of society, will pause while they are yet only on the brink of the frightful abyss, into which they are about to precipitate the prosperity and safety of themselves and the country.

"The meeting may now justly ask of the Reporter, what remedy he has to offer, and what standard of value he proposes to substitute for gold and silver?

"Before proceeding to this part of the subject, he begs to claim the indulgence of the meeting for occupying so much of its time, trusting that the intricacy, difficulty, and importance of the question, added to the daily increasing poverty and distress of the working classes, (going on apparently without limitation), and the consequent alarming and dangerous state of the country, will be accepted as an apology for him; and more especially when it is considered, that he is not advocating any private interest, but simply stating a case, in which the prosperity and well-being of all ranks in the community are deeply concerned.

"To understand the subject on which your Reporter is now about to enter, requires much profound study of the whole circle of political economy. A knowledge of some of its parts, with ignorance of the remainder, will be found to be most injurious to the practical statesman; and it is owing to this cause, perhaps, more than to any other, that the world has been so wretchedly governed; for the object of this science is to direct how the whole faculties of men may be the most advantageously applied, whereas those powers have been combined, hitherto, chiefly to retard the improvements of society. Your Reporter, then, after deeply studying these subjects, practically and theoretically, for a period exceeding thirty years, and during which, his practice, without a single exception, has confirmed the theory which practice first suggested, now ventures to state, as one of the results of this

study and experience, that the natural standard of value is, in principle, human labour, or the combined manual and mental powers of men called into action; and that it would be highly beneficial, and has now become absolutely necessary, to reduce this principle into immediate practice.

"It will be said by those who have taken a superficial or mere partial view of the question, that human labour or power is so unequal in individuals, that its average amount cannot be estimated. Already, however, the average physical power of men as well as of horses (equally varied in the individuals) has been calculated for scientific purposes, and both now serve to measure inanimate powers. On the same principle, the average of human labour or power may be ascertained; and as it forms the essence of all wealth, its value in every article of produce may be also ascertained, and its exchangeable value with all other values fixed accordingly; the whole to be permanent for a given period. Human labour would thus acquire its natural or intrinsic value which would increase as science advanced; and this is, in fact, the only really useful object of science. The demand for human labour would be no longer subject to caprice, nor would the support of human life be made, as at present, a perpetually varying article of commerce, and the working classes made the slaves of an artificial system of wages, more cruel in its effects than any slavery ever practised by society, either barbarous or civilized. This change in the standard of value would immediately open the most advantageous domestic markets, until the wants of all were amply supplied; nor while this standard continued, could any evil arise in future from the want of markets. It would secure the means for the most unlimited and advantageous intercourse and exchange with other nations, without compromising national interests, and enable all governments to withdraw every existing injurious commercial restriction. It would render unnecessary and entirely useless the present demoralizing system of bargaining between individuals, and no practice perhaps tends more than this to deteriorate and degrade the human character. It would speedily remove pauperism and ignorance from society, by furnishing time and means for the adequate instruction of the working classes, who might be rendered of far more commercial value to themselves and to society, than they have yet been, at any period of the world. It would supply the means of gradually improving the condition of all ranks to an extent not yet to be estimated. And as it would materially improve human nature, and raise all in the scale of well-being and happiness, none could be injured or oppressed.

"These are some of the important advantages which would arise (when due preparation shall be made for the change) from introducing the natural standard of value, and abandoning an artificial one, which can no longer serve the purpose.

"It now remains to be considered how this change can be effected without creating temporary confusion. To accomplish this desirable object, several legislative measures will be necessary. The first, as an intermediate and temporary one, to put a stop to the increasing pecuniary distress of the working classes, will be to relieve the country from the ruinous effects which have been produced by the various attempts to compel a return to cash payments; a longer perseverance in which is calculated to derange the whole of the existing social system. The attempt will prove as vain, as to try to restore a full grown bird to the shell in which it was hatched, or to make the clothes of an infant cover a giant; for the improvements of society have equally outgrown the late system of cash payments. Should the attempt be persevered in, no more wealth will be created, and much of that which is now considered wealth will be destroyed. A perseverance in such a course will compel the working classes to starve or emigrate, while the present higher orders will be left an easy prey to their enemies and to poverty. No real benefit could arise to any party from a return to cash payments, if such a measure were practicable.

"The next step is, to adopt such measures as will permit the labouring unoccupied poor to be employed to raise their own subsistence, and as large a surplus for the infant, the aged, and the incapacitated poor, as their labour can be made to yield; the labourer to receive an equitable remuneration for the surplus he may create.

"But the industry of the poor, thus applied, will tend still further to overstock the markets of the world with agricultural and manufactured produce, and, in the same proportion, to decrease the nominal or money prices of both, and of course add to the public distress.

It is this view of the subject that has induced your Reporter so strongly to urge those who take a lead in the affairs of this populous and distressed county, to come forward, at this critical juncture to recommend to the government, and to petition the legislature, to take into their most serious consideration such means as may be proposed, to remove the existing obstructions in the way of the general prosperity of the country.

"It is the want of a profitable market that alone checks the successful and otherwise beneficial industry of the working classes. The markets of the world are created solely by the remuneration allowed for the industry of the working classes, and those markets are more or less extended and profitable, in proportion as these classes are well or ill-remunerated for their labour. But the existing arrangements of society will not permit the labourer to be remunerated for his industry, and in consequence all markets fail. To re-create and extend demand in proportion as the late scientific improvements and others which are hourly advancing to perfection, extend the means of supply, the natural standard of value is required. It will be found equal to the important task which it has to perform. It will at once remove the obstruction which has paralyzed the industry of the country; and experience will prove, that this effect cannot be accomplished by any other expedient.

"It now remains that the principle should be generally explained by which an advantageous interchange and exchange may be made of the greatly increased products of labour, which will be created by the spade cultivation, aided by the improved arrangements now contemplated.

"These incalculably increased products will render gold, the old artificial standard of value, far more unfit for the task which is to be performed than it was in 1797, when it ceased to be the British legal standard of value, or than it is now, when wealth has so much increased.

"Your Reporter is of opinion, that the natural standard of human labour, fixed to represent its natural worth, or power of creating new wealth, will alone be found adequate to the purposes required.

"To a mind coming first to this subject, innumerable and apparently insurmountable difficulties will occur; but by the steady application of that fixed and persevering attention, which is alone calculated successfully to contend against and overcome difficulties, every obstacle will vanish, and the practice will prove simple and easy.

"That which can create new wealth, is of course worth the wealth which it creates. Human labour, whenever common justice shall be done to human beings, can now be applied to produce, advantageously for all ranks in society, many times the amount of wealth that is necessary to support the individual in considerable comfort. Of this new wealth so created, the labourer who produces it is justly entitled to his fair proportion; and the best interests of every community require that the producer should have a fair and fixed proportion of all the wealth which he creates. This can be assigned to him on no other principle, than by forming arrangements by which the natural standard of value shall become the practical standard of value. To make labour the standard of value, it is necessary to ascertain the amount of it in all articles to be bought and sold. This is, in fact, already accomplished, and is denoted, by what in commerce is technically termed, 'the prime cost,' or the net value of the whole labour contained in any article of value,—the

material contained in, or consumed by, the manufacture of the article, forming a part of the whole labour.

"The great object of society is, to obtain wealth, and to enjoy it.

"The genuine principle of barter was, to exchange the supposed prime cost of, or value of labour, in one article, against the prime cost of, or amount of labour contained in any other article. This is the only equitable principle of exchange; but, as inventions increased, and human desires multiplied, it was found to be inconvenient in practice. Barter was succeeded by commerce, the principle of which is, to produce or procure every article at the lowest, and to obtain for it in exchange, the highest amount of labour. To effect this, an artificial standard of value was necessary; and metals were, by common consent among nations, permitted to perform the office. This principle, in the progress of its operation, has been productive of important advantages, and of very great evils; but, like barter, it has been suited to a certain stage of society. It has stimulated invention; it has given industry and talent to the human character; and secured the future exertion of those energies which otherwise might have remained dormant and unknown. But it has made man ignorantly, individually selfish; placed him in opposition to his fellows; engendered fraud and deceit; blindly urged him forward to create, but deprived him of the wisdom to enjoy. In striving to take advantage of others, he has overreached himself. The strong hand of necessity will now force him into the path which conducts to that wisdom in which he has been so long deficient. He will discover the advantages to be derived from uniting in practice the best parts of the principles of barter and commerce, and dismissing those which experience has proved to be inconvenient and injurious. This substantial improvement in the progress of society, may be easily effected by exchanging all articles with each other at their prime cost, or with reference to the amount of labour in each, which can be equitably ascertained, and by permitting the exchange to be made through a convenient medium, to represent this value, and which will thus represent a real and unchanging value, and be issued only as substantial wealth increases. The profit of production will arise in all cases, from the value of the labour contained in the article produced, and it will be for the interest of society that profit should be most ample. Its exact amount will depend upon what, by strict examination, shall be proved to be the present real value of a day's labour; calculated with reference to the amount of wealth, in the necessities and comforts of life, which an average labourer may, by temperate exertions, be now made to produce. It would require an accurate and extended consideration of the existing state of society to determine the exact value of the unit or day's labour which society ought now to fix as a standard of value:—but a more slight and general view of the subject is sufficient to show, that this unit need not represent a less value than the wealth contained in the necessities and comforts of life, which may now be purchased with five shillings. The land-holder, and capitalist, would be benefitted by this arrangement in the same degree with the labourer, because labour is the foundation of all values, and it is only from labour liberally remunerated, that high profits can be paid for agricultural and manufactured products. Depressed as the value of labour now is, there is no proposition in Euclid more true, than that society would be immediately benefitted, in a great variety of ways, to an incalculable extent, by making labour the standard of value. By this expedient, all the markets in the world, which are now virtually closed against offering a profit to the producers of wealth, would be opened to an unlimited extent; and in each individual exchange, all the parties interested would be sure to receive ample remuneration for their labour.

"A paper representative of the value of labour, manufactured on the principle of the new notes of the Bank of England, will serve for every purpose of domestic commerce or exchanges, and will be issued only for intrinsic value received and in store."

SOCIAL FESTIVAL.

FROM THE MORNING CHRONICLE OF TUESDAY.
LAST.

"SOCIAL FESTIVALS.—The seventh of these festivals, which are held at the commencement of every month, at the Institution of the Intelligent of the Working Classes, at the late Horse Bazaar, King's Cross, went off last evening, as agreeably as they have done on former occasions. The entertainments consisted of a Concert, performed by several eminent vocal and instrumental performers, assisted by many amateurs, and which appeared to give much satisfaction. After which an eloquent lecture was delivered by Mr. Owen, the Founder and Governor of the Association: which was succeeded by dancing in the spacious ball-rooms, which was kept up with spirit and vivacity, until a late hour. There appeared to be upwards of five hundred persons present; and, if we might judge from appearances, they were all much gratified by the amusements provided for them."

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

EQUITABLE LABOR EXCHANGE.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS
CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD,
KING'S CROSS.

THE Stores of the Exchange were opened for the receipt of Goods intended for Exchange, on Monday, the 3rd of September, from Ten till Four, and since and until the 17th they will be open from Ten till Eight o'Clock, for the same purpose.

AGRICULTURALISTS, Gardeners, Manufacturers, Provision Merchants, Factors, Warehousemen, Wholesale and Retail Dealers of all descriptions, Mechanics, and all others, who may be inclined to dispose of their various articles of trade and merchandize, in the only equitable manner in which men can mutually dispose of their property to each other, viz., its value in labour for equal value in labour, without the intervention of money, are requested to transmit their names and address, with a description of the kind, or kinds of property, which they desire so to exchange, to the Secretary of the Institution, Mr. SAMUEL AUSTIN, of whom, on personal application at the Institution, every information relative to the Equitable Labour Exchange, may be obtained.

TO BE LET, the use of the Chapel, in Chapel Court, High Street, Borough, for lecturing, on Sunday Evenings, on the Arts and Sciences, &c. from the present time to the 25th March, 1853. It may be also had for similar purposes during the same period, on the following days, Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, for further particulars apply to Mr. Thomas Crossley, No. 1, Kingsland Green, or Mr. John Warr, 173, Tooley-st. Borough.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BERGEA, Holywell-street; and PURKISS, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 28.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

SILVER SHOVEL, TONGS, AND POKER.

"We are told, says one of the provincial Journals, that the shovel, tongs, and poker, in the service of G. W. Taylor, Esq., M.P., were of solid silver! And what of that? says the journalist, kindling into animation at the eclipsing fact which he had in reserve, at Dunham Massey, in Cheshire, the seat of the Earl of Stamford, the very commonest utensils in the house are silver; and the plentitude of the precious metal, arose from a bequest in the will of one of his Lordship's ancestors, that some two thousand, or three thousand pounds, per annum, should be appropriated exclusively to the purchase of articles of silver plate!"

It is the general opinion that silver is one of the precious metals. The general opinion is always to be approached with respect, but never to be implicitly received, and ever to be impartially investigated. The opinion has doubtless had its origin, in silver being part of the current coin of the realm. But the reason why gold and silver were selected as metals of which to make money, evidently was, their scarcity; since the more common the material of which money was made, the less its value in the estimation of the ignorant, which was not desirable. But so far from following that an article is precious because it is naturally scarce, the contrary is the fact. It stands to sense, that the more really valuable a thing is, the more common we should expect it; and that things should become more scarce, as they are of less worth; or else nature must have made a mistake. What so valuable, and yet so common as *light*—the principal ingredient in the felicity of intelligent beings? What so common as *air*,—our vital food? What so common, and yet what more valuable, than *water*? What metal so common, and yet what metal so valuable as *iron*? Without it we could not get at the other metals; cultivate the earth; hew stones out of the quarry; fell trees in the forest; build the ships; be guided by the needle in the mariner's compass; erect our houses; or weave our cloth? Like the atmosphere around us, iron acts upon, and enters into, every thing. Every article is precious only in proportion as it is serviceable. Hence lime-stones, are more valuable than rubies; flag-stones, than sapphires; granite, than amethysts; portland-stones, than emeralds; and marble, than diamonds. We are not now speaking of the

splendour and beauty of these stones, to which we are as alive as any person can be, but to their worth. The artificial value and estimation of comparatively useless men and things, has now spun itself out so far as to be nearly broken; and the real value of men and things, which must be regulated by their utility alone, is now about to commence. Respect, esteem, honour, and wealth, must now change sides. They must leave the useless, and attach themselves to the useful.

THE KILLED AND WOUNDED AT A TITHE VALUATION IN IRELAND.

It is somewhat singular, that in the support of a religion of "peace and good will," war should be created; and, that religion, which is to save men's souls, should originate contests in which their bodies are destroyed. There must be something radically wrong somewhere in such a system.

"In the parish of Walkstoun, near Donemile, county of Cork, Ireland, a conflict has recently occurred between the peasantry, who amounted to 1500 persons, and the military, aided by the police, and directed by the magistrates. The immediate occasion of this conflict, was the valuation of property for tithe, by the proctors, on behalf of the Rev. Mr. Gaunn. Eight peasants were killed, ten or twelve badly wounded, eighteen or twenty made prisoners, and the whole county of Cork thrown into confusion."

Surely this part of the old system of society cannot last much longer!

THE MISNAMED "GLORIOUS UNCERTAINTY OF THE LAW."

We cannot call this uncertainty *glorious*. The thoughtless and the interested may designate it by that appellation. It may sound well as a standing toast at barristers' dinners; it may excite a laugh in the pages of a novel; but to us, it is a serious, painful, absurd, and intolerable thing. Law, above all things, ought to be certain, or who is to shape his course by it? If it is not certain it is not law, but something else, which has assumed its name. Take the following as a specimen, amongst thousand of others which might be given of the uncertainty of that, which for the misinformation of mankind is called law.

"Charles Gardyne, of Middleton, in Perthshire, Scotland, had a long law suit, with the tacksman of the tolls, and the road trustees, as to the question whether the vehicle in which he rode was a taxed cart or chaise; a point, the decision on which,

affected the toll. After it had been tried in the lower courts, it reached the supreme. When that tribunal pronounced judgment, he had the different decisions painted on the vehicle.

A taxed cart by act of parliament.

A taxed cart by decision of the sheriff of Forfarshire.

A taxed cart by decision of the court of session.

A chaise by a second decision of the same court.

A chaise by a decision of eight judges.

A taxed cart by a decision of six judges not less wise than the former."—Morning Chronicle of Monday last.

We give this as a specimen of the uncertainty of law. It is difficult to conceive of absurdity reaching a higher climacteric, than that to which it has already attained in law. Acts necessary to amend other acts; one law necessary to explain another; and even the explanations need explaining! And yet the legislature are making more laws! Making uncertainty more uncertain; dying darkness black; and confounding confusion! Society will be completely entangled in the web of its own weaving; and that web must either be quietly unthreaded, or violently torn to tatters, and its shreds cast to the wind. We are labouring to prevent this latter catastrophe, and to secure the former transition.

Mr. ROTHSCHILD'S MONEY TRANSACTIONS.

"This celebrated capitalist recently stated before a committee of the House of Commons that he buys bills drawn on foreign houses to the amount of 80L or 100,000L. per week, and that he received in two months of the year 1824, bills to the amount of 1,500,000L." Money is the representative of wealth; bills are the representatives of money, that is the representative of the representative. Mr. Rothschild, is a bill broker. Bill brokers are originated in, supported by, and must perish with, the money system. They produce nothing, and though it should be said that they are necessary in the money system, we would ask is the money system itself necessary? We say no. That only is necessary, which cannot be dispensed with. We are confident that money may be done without; much better without than with. The workings of our Equitable Labor Exchange will prove this; and in their success will be the utter annihilation of the system of bill broking, and in their light it will be seen, that the laborer who rears a single blade of grass, or grows a single ear of corn, or produces a single thread of flax is of much more real utility to society, than money exchangers of all descriptions.

A RATIONAL CATECHISM, &c., &c., &c.

What general, philosophical, metaphysical, and religious, tenets or opinions, do you avow; and what principles do you adopt as rules of conduct or action?

I avow no tenets or doctrines but those which I consider to be consonant to reason; and I am anxious to follow only those rules of conduct or action which my reasoning faculty dictates.

Do you then contend that this faculty of your mind is always correct in its deductions, and that it invariably directs you to right action?

No: I may reason justly, but I may not always deduce my inferences from correct data. I can only reason from what I know, and I may not possess all the knowledge requisite to enable me to distinguish truth from error in all cases, or to discover a correct rule of action in every position in which I may happen to be placed.

You, however, hold the faculty of reason, in very high estimation?

I do, for I know of no other test by which I can estimate the value of any thing, or by which I can infer consequences, or regulate actions. We are all more or less the subjects of instinctive feelings and habits, which often exert a great influence over the reasoning power; but, separating these as much as I am able, I acknowledge that only to be true, right, and good, which my own reason tells me is true, right, and good. I maintain that nature has endowed man with the reasoning faculty as his sole guide to happiness; and that, consequently, he should make a practical use of it in forming a judgment upon every subject that comes before his mind.

Do you then believe that the reasoning faculty of man, when properly applied and exercised, is an infallible guide to truth?

Yes: to all those truths which it concerns man to know. It is not adequate, at present, (whatever it may be at some future period) to discover every truth in the universe; but there is now a sufficient accumulation of facts in the world, from the inferences of which it is very capable of discovering error, and of distinguishing true principles from erroneous notions. I maintain that human reason is the sole arbiter of all that is to be received as truth, or rejected as error by the human mind.

What particular test do you apply to principles?

Consistency; just reasoning from true principles derived from a correct knowledge of facts, involves no inconsistent conclusions; no one truth in the universe is opposed to, or presents any incongruity when compared with any other truth.

What is your definition of true knowledge?

A correct and intimate acquaintance with facts; and with their demonstrable or most probable causes and consequences. As the present age possesses an accumulation of facts, derived from the recorded experience of mankind in past ages, and from their discoveries and improvements in science, it must necessarily have more data of true knowledge, than any that have preceded it, and must therefore possess greater facilities for the acquirement of the means of increased happiness, the real happiness of mankind being in proportion to the extent of their knowledge, and to their wisdom in applying this knowledge to its right and proper uses.

You infer, then, that mankind have progressively advanced in knowledge in every successive age?

Ye, both in intellectual and in scientific or physical knowledge,—the limit of which future progression is indefinable. The beneficial operation of this law of nature is immediately evident. Opening to mankind in every age fresh prospects of improvement, and of increased enjoyment,—allaying their fears of ill, and raising their hopes of good, it provides for them the necessary stimulus to that beneficial exertion of their mental and bodily powers, without which inducements and incentives they would become totally inactive, and existence would inevitably fall into a state of languid and irksome monotony. Hence we may conclude that although man's thirst for knowledge is insatiable, the streams from which it is to be quenched are inexhaustible.

If then a superior degree of knowledge consists in an acquaintance with accumulated facts, which facts are but slowly and progressively developed to mankind, and if this knowledge be necessary for the attainment of superior happiness, am I to infer that the happiness of the human race has been of an inferior or partial kind?

To a certain extent, I think we must denominate that happiness inferior and fictitious which is derived from ignorance or error; and believe that it must necessarily be mingled with much bitterness. But happiness is a relative perception of the mind, each individual defining it according to his own comprehension. We must admit, nevertheless, that the aggregate amount of happiness among the human race has always been far greater than the aggregate amount of misery—otherwise we impugn the beneficence of nature. If we look into the history of mankind in all ages we shall find that their capabilities for the enjoyment of happiness have always been in proportion to their intellectual advancement. To illustrate this,—the rude, uncultivated savage possesses none of the advantages and comforts of civilized life—he would not be able to appreciate their value were he placed amidst them—but as far as his limited wants and desires are satisfied he is happy and contented. The unlettered clown of our own country derives no enjoyment from those elegancies and luxuries of life which are indispensable to the happiness of the higher orders of society, but he pines not after those things the value of which is unknown to him, and in proportion as his bodily necessities are supplied, and his simple comforts afforded him, he too is happy and contented.

Admitting that there has always been a preponderance of individual happiness over individual misery, how do you reconcile the beneficence of nature with the existence of any of the evils which afflict mankind?

By attributing all positive suffering or real evil among mankind to the results of ignorance. All evil is artificial and not natural, and is, therefore, removable by knowledge. Reason will not allow evil and misery to be inseparable from man's condition on earth, much less admit him to be liable to the eternal infliction of them after death. Such assumptions do violence to human nature;—they are in direct opposition to all the tendencies to happiness which we witness in all sentient beings, to any consistent idea of the fitness of things, and totally unworthy to be made a part of that magnificent scheme of the visible universe, even so far as that magnificence is disclosed to the limited perceptions of man.

But are there no natural evils to which man must ever be liable, and even, doomed? Do you not consider disease and death—vice and misery real and natural evils?

I will not concede that anything that is perfectly natural is an evil. All nature's laws must be good and perfect, or we at once imply her malevolence or imperfection. Death, we must consider as the effects of a natural law beyond the power of man to alter. It must, therefore, not be considered an evil, but as a necessary part of the great system of nature, and conducive to the ultimate benefit of man. Disease, (if we except accidental injuries to the bodily frame, and the decay of age) results from the unnatural diet, and modes or habits of life which men have adopted through ignorance; and it will, therefore, be gradually extirpated from among mankind as they increase in knowledge and wisdom.—Vice and misery are artificial evils the causes of which may be accurately traced, and the means to remove them as accurately defined. Man, however, must constantly be liable to a certain portion of natural ill—otherwise he could not be susceptible of the enjoyment of positive good. For instance, without fear there would be no hope—without the contradistinction of vice and misery, there could be no idea of virtue and happiness, &c. &c. But all these liabilities to suffering will be sufficiently operative for the good of mankind when knowledge shall have made them mere possible contingencies. When men shall become rational, vice and folly will have no power to delude them. N.

To be continued.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are indebted to several friends for their valuable Communications this week. These shall have our earliest attention.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15.

MESSRS. COBBETT AND ATTWOOD.

THE BIRMINGHAM DISCUSSION ON THE QUESTION,

"Whether it is better for the safety and welfare of the nation to attempt to relieve the existing distress by an action on the currency, or by equitable adjustment of the taxes, rents, debts, contracts, and obligations, which now strangle the industry of the people."

Last week we gave decisions from the leading journals of the day, on the conflicting propositions of these two eminent men, on what, without any common place exaggeration, at the present crisis, we pronounce, the great question of the currency. Correspondent with our promise we shall now proceed to analyze the Birmingham discussion; and, if we have not made a great mistake, the result of that analysis will press with irresistible urgency upon all unprejudiced and enlightened persons this orthodox truth,—that out of Equitable Labour Exchange Banks, by which we can do without gold or paper money, there is no commercial, no social, salvation.

We will cast our thoughts in the following method, and enlarge on—

I.—The Points on which the Disputants agree.

II.—Those on which they differ.

III.—Those in which we differ from them both; for we agree with neither.

I.—The points on which these antagonists coalesce:—and

First, They agree in the inadequacy of the present Circulating Medium to the necessities of society. Both are sure there is not money enough; that the base is too narrow for the superstructure. Mr. Cobbett is for contracting the superstructure to the dimensions of the base; whereas Mr. Attwood is for enlarging the base to the size of the superstructure. Mr. Attwood is for making more money; Mr. Cobbett for making less debt.

Secondly, They agree in attributing this inadequacy, to government tampering with the currency. They unite, consequently, in unmeasured censure on Mr., now Sir Robert Peel's bill.

Thirdly, They both think that money is the most valuable thing in the world. Mr. Attwood thinks it so valuable, that he wishes it to be represented by bank notes. Now real wealth alone deserves to be represented; for as money is only the representative of wealth, and not (as the Morning Herald lately proclaimed) wealth itself,

bank notes are merely the representative of the representative of wealth; and bankers' bills, which may be paid in bank notes, are the representatives of the representative of the representative. Mr. Cobbett has such an idea of the value of money, that he would regulate every other production of nature and art by its worth; forgetting, that the value of money is merely representative value; and that so far from adjusting real wealth to the value of money, the value of money should be regulated by real wealth. There is no standard by which to estimate the worth of real wealth. By what standard can we know the value of food? Or of clothing? Or of medicine? Or of iron? Or of land? Or of timber? Without them existence would be impossible, or intolerable. These are invaluable. But when we come to the value of money, the matter is very different. The value of a representative consists in its *fictitious* only; a matter easily to be decided upon; and, in this case, to be decided against money. Does real wealth now create money, or does money create real wealth? Does the constituency create the representative, or the representative the constituency? In the present unnatural state of things it is the representative which creates the constituency; and the consequences to society are the same as if the horse controlled its rider, and not the rider the horse. Why is it that people are now crying out every where not for goods but money? Not for something to represent, but for a representative? The reason is, that society is turned upside down; and the money system is on its last legs. Both Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Attwood think gold the most valuable thing in the world. Great men as they are, they proceed on this childish notion, and confound the natural value of real wealth, with the artificial value of its representative.

* Fourthly, They both coincide in looking and appealing to government, for a redress of this national grievance—the currency. We might suppose that after having attributed the present perplexities of the nation to government meddling with its money, they would not look again to that quarter. But they seem to know of no other. Mr. Cobbett requires an act of parliament for an "Equitable Adjustment," and Mr. Attwood an act of parliament authorising the issue of bank notes.

II.—Let us look at the points on which they differ—and *first* they disagree on the value of paper money. Mr. Cobbett brands it with the name of filthy rags, and says it is significant of poverty. Mr. Attwood thinks, very naturally for a banker, that there is nothing like paper money; tells the people of Birmingham, that "he could fill their pockets with money;" and, strange to say, talks of restoring to the country the prosperity of the memorable year 1825, when bubble after bubble burst on the great ocean of speculation, and the nation was panic struck.

Secondly, They differ as to the quantity of money in a nation affecting its prosperity. Mr. Attwood says, that perplexity arises from a scarcity of money, and he naturally wishes to make more: Mr. Cobbett says, that the *quantity* of money is no matter; but that the controul and taxation of government are the bane.

Thirdly, They differ respecting the consequence of issuing paper money: Mr. Cobbett says, paper money would lessen the value of all property which has been paid for, and raise the value of all which is to be purchased. Mr. Attwood says on the contrary that paper money would introduce contentment and prosperity, and "bind up the bursting heart of this once great nation."

Having thus stated the points of similarity, and the points of difference between these disputants we shall now shew—

III.—*The items of difference between us and them both, for we agree with neither.*

And *first*, In our Equitable Labour Exchange Banks, where we have the real wealth first, and then issue the notes afterwards; the state of things is healthy and natural; the wealth controuls its representative, and not the representative the wealth. The rider manages his horse, and not the horse the rider.

Secondly. We differ from them both: that, while each proposes to retain *money*, we propose to *destroy* it altogether as a corrupt representative, and to introduce a reformed representation, more deeply reformed than that of Lord John Russell.

Thirdly, We differ as to the effect which the respective measures will have on all idlers, eaters of taxes, &c. Neither of these controversialists can see, in the operation of their measures, the annihilation of all the unproductive classes. In the universal operation of our Equitable Labour Exchange, none but producers or labourers can live; and while hitherto men have loved money and hated work, with us, they must love work and hate money.

Fourthly, We differ as to the continuation of taxation. Neither Mr. Cobbett nor Mr. Attwood can see the extinction of taxes in either of their measures. We see that taxation can only last with a *money* system, and that in the destruction of that system, there will be the destruction of taxation.

Fifthly, We differ as to the means of setting our respective measures on foot.

Both Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Attwood must apply to *government* to establish and put in motion their remedies: we shall put and keep our measures in motion *ourselves*; for perhaps there is not a greater solecism in the limited range of human knowledge than this, that while the productive classes make all the real wealth, they have to look to, and wait for, the unproductive classes making the *money*, by which this real wealth can be distributed. Let the productive classes make their own money, and their salvation is promptly secured.

PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS AT OUR INSTITUTION.

ON Monday morning week, at ten o'clock, our Equitable Labour Exchange Bazaar opened for the reception of deposits; and has continued to receive goods of all kinds up to the present hour, and is now daily open for that purpose. On Sunday last the Rev. Thomas Macconnell lectured in the morning, at eleven, and Mr. Owen, in the evening, at seven. The large lecture room was full in the morning; in the evening, it was crowded to excess, and numbers went away unable to obtain admittance. Mr. Owen's plans seem now to be exciting great public attention. Mr. Mac-

connell and Mr. Owen lecture on Sunday next (to-morrow) at the same hours as on Sunday last. On Sunday evening it was announced that the Radicals would discuss this important question, with Mr. Owen, on the next Thursday evening, viz. "Whether it was not necessary that they should first get into power, before ever he could have the opportunity of fairly trying his plans for the good of the nation?"

STATEMENT MADE TO EARL GREY OF THE RESULTS OF MACHINERY IN EIGHT ENGLISH COUNTIES.

It was lately stated to Earl Grey, by an individual well acquainted with the locality, that whilst the machinery employed in eight of our English counties, viz. — Leicester, Warwick, Stafford, Derby, Notts., Chester, York, and Lancaster, very far exceeded in value and amount the whole manual labour in the world; yet the inhabitants of these counties were in a condition very much worse in regard to happiness or well-being, than the people of any country which neither produced nor manufactured any thing for exportation.— Lord Grey thanked his informant for a view of the case which we think must have been new to him.

This is a wretched, shameful, and distressing anomaly! But of what use is it for people to make statements and present petitions to government? Government may do all it can; but, as it is in utter ignorance of the proper measures to be adopted, it is the height of absurdity to look to that quarter for relief. By the making of such statements, and the presentation of such documents, it is true that publicity is given to them, and that is all which is gained. Let the people act upon Sir Robert Peel's hint, and manage their own matters. As a first step let them establish Equitable Labour Exchange Bazaars; do away with money; carry on their business by means of Labour Notes; and as the productive classes make and grow every article that they require — boots, shoes, clothes, hats, watches, corn, cattle, houses, locks, chairs, tables, stoves, &c. &c., why should they depend on the unproductive classes making them *money*, whereby to get at these things? What folly! What madness! Let them make their own *MONEY*, viz. Labour Notes, and then all their energies will have full play, and their wants full satisfaction. Let the people become philosophers, and let government be the bigot; let the people advance while the government stands still.

PUBLIC MEETING OF THE UNPRODUCTIVE CLASSES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

RESPECTED SIR.—According to your suggestion on Thursday last, I venture to remind you of the subject then brought forward (namely that of a meeting of that class who are not producers) for the purpose of giving the same more publicity and also to beg your indulgence in the perusal of the following lines.

As many of the members have expressed themselves most anxious that an early day should be appointed for the meeting of the unproductive industrious classes, still all are alike tenacious in naming that day, I humbly suggest that it would perhaps tend materially to strengthen the importance of the subject with those who do not anticipate the destitution into which the whole of these classes must inevitably be plunged, if you would name any day you could make it convenient that such meeting should take place, seeing, as I do the result of the workings of the "Labor Exchanges" acting upon this portion of society, it is a matter of very great importance that some measures should speedily be

put in progress to avert the confusion and ruin that must of necessity take place; I would also most humbly suggest the propriety of shewing to our productive brethren, that we are very unwilling to become a dead weight upon their industry, we cannot do this by merely wishing we had been taught some useful employment. We can only do this by exhibiting our united endeavors to extricate ourselves from the miserable and pitiable condition we are in by putting our shoulders to the wheel.

I would have most cheerfully urged the necessity of that course before this at some of the meetings we have had at the Institution, if it were not for the wretched state of dependence in which I am placed; and to have addressed an assembly so large as that which usually congregates within those walls perhaps would be the means of depriving me and my family of the miserable pittance I now receive before proper arrangements could be completed that would emancipate me and many others from the degradation and uselessness of our present situations connected with the old state of society.

If however there should be an individual there who has not that galling chain of dependence (in so great a degree as myself) attached to his person, I do most earnestly implore him now to come forward in making a proposition for an early day for this meeting as I am quite sure no one would unnecessarily add to the already heavy weight of business which Mr. Owen has to transact.

If on the other hand there is not a person so situated in the assembly, I trust Mr. Owen with his usual kindness will name a day and I have no doubt but that day will be most punctually and cheerfully acceded to by those who have an interest in the matter.

I remain, respected Sir,
your obedient servant,

September 9th, 1832.

R. M.

* The day appointed for the public meeting alluded to by our correspondent, is next Monday week, the 24th inst.—Ed.

EXAMINATION OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

"Will you explain more at large, in what way the state of the small note circulation operated so as to interfere with the management of the Bank?—It rendered the Bank liable to a very great sudden demand: for instance, in the year 1825, from October to the 1st of December, the demand upon the Bank was nearly £2,500,000, sterling, for the support of the country circulation, when the exchanges were nearly at par, if not entirely so, and which placed the Bank in a very peculiar state of difficulty. The whole difficulty of that period, with regard to bullion, arose from the magnitude of the demand.

You conceive the magnitude of that demand was very much increased by the small note circulation of the country?

I consider the demand was almost entirely to uphold the small note circulation.

Will you explain why you are of that opinion?

Because the holders of small notes are the lower orders of the people, whose fears are more extensively acted upon in times of distrust; and there being no other exchange for the one pound note, but the sovereign, the demand upon the Bank became inevitable.

Were you not also pressed for gold very much by the London Bankers, who were called upon to send it to bankers in the country for that object?

That was the channel through which the supply was sent to the country."

What can speak more powerfully for the lower orders as they are called, being in possession of notes, which can always be exchanged wherever and from whatever cause they wish that exchange? And where will they find these notes? In the Equitable Labour Exchange Bank, and no where else. And there, instead of exchanging those notes for gold, and then having to exchange that gold again for what goods they require, they will get the goods which they wish, at once. What a saving of fear, trouble, and time!

LETTER—No. IX.—CONCLUSION.

TO EARL GREY, LORD BROUGHAM, AND
VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.

MY LORDS,

WITH regard to the second division of Mr. Owen's principles, that, referring to the creation and distribution of wealth, this also has been imperfectly tried, and the most fastidious can no longer deny the palpable advantages of mutual co-operation.

"There is no doubt," says an article in the Quarterly Review, "that men have been brought to live in working communities, and have prospered in them; but the question is, whether they require for their success a combination of circumstances, which rarely occur together, or whether the necessary elements can be commonly collected and combined. This is the great practical question; the desideratum is, a remedy for every-day evils of society. The practicability of such schemes, as a mere question of finance, if the industry, frugality, and good conduct of the members could be depended upon, there can be no doubt about. If it had never been proved before, it has lately been shown to demonstration, by the success of the settlement at Frederick's Oorde. The success of this and other settlements in the Netherlands has been so complete, that it is surprising no attempt has been made to introduce the same plan into England. If the object were to administer the parish rates so as to attain the very minimum of success, the managers could not succeed better than they do at present in this country. We throw out the same hint to the Directors of the Refuge for the Destitute. With such funds, the question might soon be settled, and perhaps, an important improvement in the management of the poor, one of the greatest of our national wants, be introduced into this country. If any doubts were entertained about the accuracy of Mr. Jacob's account of these establishments, the Netherlands are near, and a committee of two or three inquisitive, accurate, right-minded, unsanguine gentlemen, might soon see things for themselves, and bring home conclusive information upon the subject."

And now, my Lords, I will no longer trespass upon your patience. If I have been successful in the object I originally proposed to myself, I shall have proved to your satisfaction that the principles of those who inculcate the necessity of co-operation are true. I have also taken the liberty of referring you to the works of others from whence you may learn the practical details of a system, which, if carried into effect, would afford support to thousands who are now in want.

Of Mr. Owen it has been remarked,—"A cranio-logist would pronounce that the organ of theopathy is wanting in his head, that of benevolence being so large as to have left no room for it."†

And whoever is personally acquainted with the philosopher of New Lanark, will readily join the Poet Laureate, in his admiration of a man, towards whom the poor look, not in vain, for support, and who, to alleviate the wants, to mitigate the sufferings of humanity, has, with a disinterestedness, a degree of self-neglect, unprecedented in the annals of the world, devoted his time, his health, his labour, and his fortune. Let me implore you, then, to aid his humane exertions, and to promote, or rather to direct, that course of affairs, which no one can effectually prevent. The public mind is becoming enlightened, and has received an impetus that will carry it forward with accumulated velocity. How far the present generation will enjoy the fruits of these principles, which it has been my happiness to advocate, I am unable to say. The life of man is proverbially uncertain, and I may not behold the fruits of that tree which I have en-

* I have not the Quarterly Review in my possession, but have relied for the correctness of the above extract upon the fidelity of the able and ingenious Editor of the "Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator," No. 11.

† Sir Thomas Moore, by Robert Southey, esqr., p. 133.

deavoured to cherish. But truth itself endureth for ever. And, in the prophetic language of Lord Bacon:—"We do not abandon the hope, that, in times yet to come, individuals may arise who will both be able to comprehend and adjust the choicest of these things, and solicitous also to carry them to perfection; and, with this confidence, we will never, by God's help desist, (so long as we live) from directing our attention thitherward, and opening their fountains and uses, and investigating the lines of the road leading to them."

From the magnitude of the end, our scheme is worthy of an enlarged experiment; this, among other reasons, will, I trust, induce your Lordships to regard the Co-operative Association in Gray's Inn Road, as deserving of your support and encouragement. An opportunity has there presented itself which, if embraced, will augment the lustre of your fame. But honourable as will be such a course, the difficulties by which it is surrounded might well appal inferior minds. They who endeavour to overcome the prejudices of those with whom they live, must have prepared themselves to encounter a host of enemies, and to sustain a no less degree of ridicule and contempt than the promoters of all other great improvements have, for the most part, experienced. But you, my Lords, whose whole political lives have been devoted to the cause of liberty—to the advancement of science—and to the correction of abuse, will not be deterred by considerations such as these from the fulfilment of your respective duties.

I have the honour to be,

My Lords,

Your Lordships' most obedient,

Humble Servant,

PHILANTHROS.

London, 8th Sept., 1832.

* The Fifth Report of the Novum Organum, p. 428.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

INTSITUATION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS
CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD,
KING'S CROSS.

ON Monday next, the Exchanges will commence, and the business of the Establishment, in the Equitable Exchange of Property of general utility and consumption, through the medium of EXCHANGE NOTES, will be continued every day under the constant personal attendance of the Directors and Council, from 10 till 6 for deposits, and from 10 till 8 for exchanges.

SPLENDID BALL at the Commencement of the Exchanges in Gray's Inn Road.—Mr. STEVENS, Organist at our Institution, and Professor of Music, has made arrangements for a **SPLENDID BALL**, in commemoration of the above event, on Monday evening next.—Tickets of admission 3s. each, may be had at the usual places, and with the usual distinction for members, and of Mr. Stevens, 5, Bouverie-st., Fleet-st. Doors open at 7, Commence at 8.

N. B. Labour Exchange Notes will be taken.

Just Published, price only Two-pence,

THE CIRCULATING MEDIUM, and the present mode of EXCHANGE, the CAUSE of increasing DISTRESS among the productive classes—Labour Exchange Banks the only remedy. By a CO-OPERATOR. London: Strange, Berger, Purkis.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BROSSE, Holywell-street; and PURKIS, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 29.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS OF THE WEEK AT OUR INSTITUTION.

On Thursday evening the people besieged the doors of our Institution as early as seven o'clock, although business did not commence till eight to hear the discussion between Mr. Owen and the Radicals, on the following question:

"Can measures, efficiently adapted to benefit the condition of the Working Classes, be successfully brought into operation till they possess the right of electing the law-makers? and would not the adoption of the measures recommended by Mr. Owen be greatly accelerated by previously investing all men with their undoubted political rights?"

The capacious lecture room was crowded, and the entrance doors were at length necessitated to be shut. Mr. Owen was unavoidably absent through illness. The chair was taken by the Rev. Thomas Macconnell; the meeting was addressed by Mr. Berthold, Mr. Hetherington, Mr. Duffie, and Mr. Cleave, on the part of the Radicals. As far as their speeches had a bearing on the subject under discussion, and that bearing was very small, they went to show that POLITICAL POWER was the first prerequisite for the people. Mr. Flather spoke in support of the system of Mr. Owen. Mr. Petrie advocated co-operation, and Mr. Robert Dale Owen concluded with a friendly address to the two different parties (Owenites and Radicals) of which the large assembly was composed; this restored good feeling, and the discussion was adjourned till the next Thursday evening. On Sunday, Mr. Robert Dale Owen lectured in the morning, and Mr. Owen in the evening; the morning audience completely filled the large lecture room, the evening completely overflowed it. The deposits poured into the Bank, and on Tuesday, the Exchanges commenced. Owing to an unavoidable delay in the execution of the Labour Notes, they could not be issued on Monday. The note is of costly and admirable execution, of paper whose fabric cannot be surpassed, and if a successful forgery is not impossible, it is next to impossible. It gives great

satisfaction, and will be long before it can be soiled even in the "unwashed hands" of artisans. The first issue of notes was on Tuesday morning. During the past week, we have done what was done no where in the Kingdom, but at our Institution, viz. we refused the current coin of the realm, except as bullion, and took it not as money, but as bullion. The following is the rate of exchange:

Labour Notes.	Silver.	Gold.
5 hours—value 6d. per hour	2s. 7d.	
10 hours	5s. 2d.	
20 hours	10s. 3d.	
40 hours	1l. 0s. 6d.	
20 hours—value	10s. 1d.	
40 hours	1l. 0s. 2d.	
200 hours	5l. 1s. 3d.	
400 hours	10l. 2s. 6d.	

Our notes are already, and will become increasingly more valuable than gold and silver coin.

Such has been the multiplicity of deposits, that we were necessitated to close our doors on Thursday night against any further addition to our stock, until Monday morning, when the deposits will recommence.

THE COMET.

CERTAINTY OF THE LAWS OF NATURE.

"Shred from the pall of glory riven,
Broad pennant of the King of heaven."—Hogg.

THE calculations of Astronomers are valuable, since in their accuracy is demonstrated the CERTAINTY of the laws of nature. It is satisfactory to know, that they can calculate to a moment, not respecting the SUN, MOON or STARS but a COMET, and that there is not only such certainty in the laws of nature, but that man possesses the KNOWLEDGE of that certainty. It is one thing for nature to be CERTAIN in her workings, and another thing for men to know it. *Natural and human laws* may be contrasted, they cannot be compared. What a contrast between the certainty of the laws of nature and the misnamed "glorious uncertainty" of human laws! We gave a specimen of the uncertainty of human law last week. We now furnish a specimen of the confidence with which men speak of the known laws of nature, and their positivity is warranted by the experience of the past.

"The comet, which is now moving direct and quicker than the earth, will become nearly stationary

in the middle of October. On the 27th of November the earth and the comet will be barely 60 degrees asunder, and the latter may be expected to be visible to the naked eye nearly the whole of the autumnal quarter. The places of its nodes appear to vary considerably, as its right ascension and declination, without latitude, seem to agree in about 21 degrees of Cancer, while its ascending node was in 8 degrees of Sagittarius: having considerable declination north a greater part of the time of its visible appearance, it will be very much longer above the horizon than beneath it. The rising, southing, and setting on the 22nd of October, it is expected, will not greatly differ from the following calculation:—Right ascension of the comet, 7h. 22m.; ditto, of the sun, 13h. 42m.; comet souths 17h. 33m.; semi-diurnal arc, for lat. 52 degrees and declination 26 deg. north, 8h. 40m.; comet sets 26h. 13m. The same arc, deducting from the southing 8h. 50m. for its rising. These are calculated from noon, apparent time. The following is the clock time, allowing a little for the different time of day in the calculation of the right ascensions:—Rises, north-east, 9m. past 9 in the evening; souths, 33m. past 5 in the morning; sets, north-west, 13m. past 2 in the afternoon."—*Norwich Mercury*.

What instruction is yielded by these laws! What security do they give on the ground of their having no opposition in them which would destroy their certainty, that all our necessities shall be supplied! To us the idea that population can increase faster than the means of subsistence is unnatural. It places one law of nature against another and destroys all certainty, and endangers her existence. All is certain in nature, and consequently all is orderly and harmonious. Spring showers her blossoms, refreshes us, and departs. Summer darts her burning beams and we melt. Autumn sprinkles her chilling dew drops and we cool. Winter fights against us with all his storms and we shiver. Such are the invariable laws of nature, that there is no fear of our earth reeling in her orbit like a drunkard, rushing towards the sun and being burnt, or rushing from him and being frozen. There needs no apprehension, that one planet will come in contact with another and that their inhabitants will be ground to powder, like corn in ground between the upper and nether mill stone. There is no fear of this comet coming so near to our earth as to hurt it, for of these laws self preservation is the first. Who that believes this, and who does not believe it, can have any rational fear of the comet? There are many things much more dreadful than the comet. Competition is more dreadful! Ignorance is more dreadful! Superstition is more dreadful! War is more dreadful! The state of Ireland is more dreadful! The state of France is more dreadful! The state of London is more dreadful!

SIX WEEKS' CONTENTS OF THE OLD BAILEY.

THIS celebrated receptacle for metropolitan criminals, discharges its revolting and affecting contents every six weeks. It is delusive to regard its numbers as a standard of the state of society. The increase or diminution of crime is generally estimated by the Calendars of Sessions and of Assize. But this is erroneous. How many crimes are there for which a man, notwithstanding the innumerable laws of the land, cannot be tried at an Assize or a Sessions! It is not the crimes which figure in the public prints, or which appal the public mind that undermine the public prosperity so much as the constant stream of private vice which silently saps the well being of man. And how are these streams to be dried up? By laws, juries, judges, or executioners? If they were, judges, juries and executioners, ought long since to have been tried, condemned and punished for a failure in their duty. These issues will only cease to flow when men are educated in conformity with the laws of their nature; and government which might and ought so to educate all its subjects, should be made responsible for all the crimes which are committed; if this were the case, provision would soon be made for the proper training of every child that is born in these dominions.

Sentenced to die.....	22
Transported for life.....	42
Transported for 14 years.....	60
Transported for 7 years.....	115
Imprisoned for 1 year.....	9
Imprisoned for 6 months.....	34
Imprisoned for 4 months.....	2
Imprisoned for 3 months.....	23
Imprisoned for 2 months.....	3
Imprisoned for 6 weeks.....	13
Imprisoned for 1 month.....	9
Imprisoned for 14 days.....	14
Imprisoned for 10 days.....	6
Imprisoned for 7 days.....	6
Tried and discharged.....	7
Whipped and discharged.....	6

Total.....374

We believe that malefactors would not submit to die so quietly as they do, if it were not for the clergyman; and yet such is their state of mind until they are certain that they must die, that they call the admonitions of the chaplain, The Rev. Dr. Cotton, "stuffing cotton in their ears."

It is very probable that poverty has made most of these men thieves and rogues. It is the most fruitful of all the sources of crime. Law, religion, and education, make feeble war against it. Labour Banks will destroy it, and by so doing, diminish crime, and place legislators, juries, witnesses, and judges, under great obligation; and do the public more service than the old watchmen, or the new police.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The second part of the Rational Catechism is received.

We direct the attention of our readers to our advertisement of a public meeting, to be held in the lecture room of our Institution on Monday next.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

WE now request the serious attention of that class of non-producers, called shopkeepers. As the perplexities into which the productive classes are

thrown, arise solely from artificial causes; and the shopkeepers themselves, though unintentionally and unconsciously, being one of the artificial causes of that perplexity, since they, in common with all other non-producers, live on the labours of the productive classes, no effectual relief can be given to the producers, without dislodging the non-producers from their present position. In the front rank of non-producers stand—shopkeepers. A very respectable, though, as the issue will prove, a really useless class of individuals. Their shops mere toll-bars, through which real wealth passes on its journey to the consumer, and their profit the toll which it pays. In our mode of doing business wealth will travel as free, as quick, and as safe as the mail; and the roads over which it passes will be kept in repair from other sources than the profits of shopkeepers.

We shall point out:—

I. The extinction which threatens shopkeeping.

II. Measures for shopkeepers to adopt in consequence.

I. The extinction which threatens all mere shopkeeping. Napoleon called the English "a Nation of Shopkeepers;" by which he meant that England was a *commercial* nation, while France was *military*. This designation of England, was ill taken, though meant well. The greatness of England is *commercial*; her perplexities are *commercial*; her iniquities are *commercial*; her people are *commercial*. This being admitted it will follow, that whatever affects her commerce, proportionally affects, the nation, by touching its spinal marrow. The Equitable Labour Exchanges will put commercial transactions on an entirely new footing; and, consequently, will ultimately work an entire change in the whole nation. Its first operation will be to destroy shop-keeping, by doing, not only the business which the shopkeepers do, but by doing an immense quantity more, not only in a different, but a very superior manner. And although our disposition is not savage, the warfare we are carrying on against shop-keeping is not civilized warfare, but savage; it has no humanity about it; it is not satisfied with temporary defeat; it seeks and will accomplish utter destruction. It will supersede shopkeeping as machinery supersedes labour,—not for a week, or a month, or a year, but for ever. This it will accomplish by the principles it will develop in its practice. Proceeding on the ground, that as nature has not given man manufactures or food, but the materials of which they may be made, she evidently intended that he should work. These Banks will eventually place men in the position, that no man shall be able to live without work—useful, necessary work, of body or mind. It is

clear that if these Banks accomplish this object, all the unproductive classes will cease to exist; and from the circumstance that they are destroyed by *principle*, they will never again rise from the dead.

Whatever is overthrown by passion, may, and frequently does, revive, after the passion which demolished it has subsided; but that imposture which principle detects and overthrows never has yet, and never can, regain credit. Its fate is sealed. It is then, we repeat, by the principles which these Banks will develop, by the new and gratuitous lessons which they will teach to the public, by the exercise which they will give to, and the rock on which they will place, the *mind*, that the destruction of all the unproductive classes, and they are numerous, is as certain as death. They will not die of apoplexy, but of consumption. (We now give shop-keepers particularly, warning to prepare for their latter end; and invite their attention to a measure, which will make them more useful, and society more wealthy;—which will convert them from drones to bees;—and change them from lumber to furniture;—which will take away their present business, but give them a better in exchange; and that, instead of keeping the shop, as many do now, they shall have a shop which will keep them.

The shortening of the days, the fall of the leaf, the cold mornings and evenings are not more prophetic of the approach of winter, than the facts of the establishment of Equitable Exchanges, are ominous of the ultimate downfall of the whole of the unproductive classes, from their present barren occupation. What little business, many shops may now do, will be gradually transferred to these Banks, because it will then be done so much cheaper and better; the producers of goods will take their productions to these Banks where they will be sure at once to dispose of them, since the Banks make their own money, and never will be hampered for want of money; and the situation of shop-keepers will be this—that if they have goods they will have no customers; and if they have customers, they will shortly have no goods. The whole of this profession will, by these two powers, be ground as between the upper and nether mill-stone, and its dust scattered to the wind.

We deeply sympathize with them in the inflexible inconvenience and trouble which these Banks, that do business, not by buying as cheap as possible, and selling as dear, as shop-keepers do—but by equitably exchanging one article for another, by means of money of our own making, must put them (the shop-keepers) to. We expect that in the outset, a great portion of obloquy, curses, and wrath, will be poured upon our heads, by the un

formed and unthinking of this class. We are quite prepared for any misrepresentations of our motives, and misunderstandings of our plans. If we were not, we should not be fit for an undertaking of this kind. But we will return good for evil, and blessings for curses. We have hearts to feel as well as heads to think; and we feel,—we deeply feel, for *all* that will be temporarily inconvenienced by our proceedings; and we shew that we feel by thus addressing them at length, and by calling a Public Meeting of them on Monday next, at our Institution, at Twelve for One o'clock, to consider what will be best for them to do under existing circumstances. (See *Advertisement*.)

II. We now give the shop-keepers particularly, a few materials for thinking, between the present time and the meeting. We shall give them no advice which we have not well considered ourselves; and direct no admonition to their hearts, which has not first been dipped in the affection of our own. And—

1. Do not think that the coming evil will be evaded by a change of situation; by remaining in the same line of business, but removing to some other part of town or country. Labour Banks will follow you, depend upon it, wherever you go, not like a dog, to protect, but like a lion, to destroy: and, even if shop-keeping could last your life out, whether is it better for you to sink with the sinking unproductive classes, or rise with the rising productive?

2. We will not advise you to emigrate. You must sell your stock at a great sacrifice, to obtain money for emigration. When you reach the country you are of the unproductive classes still, which can be dispensed with in one place as well as another. The voyage will not alter you. Many of you are too far advanced in life. A tree of forty or fifty is too old to be transplanted. Stay here and see things out. We think that we can make the country worth your stay. We do not wish to drive you from it.

3. If you were to convert your shops into little Exchange Banks, it would be impossible that you could embrace all the articles in which it is absolutely necessary such establishments must deal, and which articles must all be valued on *one common scale of valuation*. Without this one common scale of valuation, there can be no equity in the exchange; and to be this common scale of valuation on all articles, one large establishment, or branches from it, must embrace them all, and not a number of distinct small establishments.

4. To those who can become producers of wealth, (and every man knows his own circumstances best,) we would say do so at once; and then you are secure under all vicissitudes. The productive classes are the only really secure classes. But we are aware of the difficulties to numbers in making such a transition. We would, therefore, make the following suggestion; and if we were shop-keepers we would act upon it. Let a number of your profession or calling, say thirty or forty, unite their different stock; let them get a thorough knowledge of the principles upon which *alone*, these Equitable Exchanges can be conducted; let them then form Equitable Labour Exchange Banks throughout the kingdom. Their present stocks united will do to start with. Their knowledge of the different articles in which they deal will be a valuable qualification. It does not require the productive classes to effect the exchanges, respectable shop-keepers will be the persons.

Although we believe our measure to be a most lucrative one, we do not wish for a monopoly; on the contrary, all our profits will be devoted to assist the public, by educating the children of the productive classes, and purchasing land, on which the productive classes can, at length, locate; and to guarantee this to the public, our accounts will be open to public inspection every month, when all who wish may see what we are doing, and be as wise as ourselves. We seek for no patents for our discovery or invention, but shall freely communicate, in this our paper, and in our Sunday morning and evening lectures, and in our discussions on Thursday evenings, all necessary information on the subject to those who may wish such information.

REVIEW.

A Voice from the Church: or, a Sermon (with a few notes and amplifications) on Church Reformation, Plagues, cheap Government, cheap Justice, cheap Food, cheap Knowledge, and on a cheap and efficient medium of Exchange; also on the duties which the Electors and Elected will owe to the represented and unrepresented People of Great Britain and Ireland, especially to the working classes. Preached at St. Nicholas', Warwick, August 19, 1832, by the Rev. Arthur S. Wade, D.D. London, 1832. Ridgway, Piccadilly; Wilson, Royal Exchange; Strange, Paternoster Row; Berger, Holwell Street; Purkiss, Wardour Street. Three-pence.

THIS Discourse is founded on the 6th verse of the 33rd chapter of Isaiah.

"Wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times, and strength of salvation: the fear of the Lord is his treasure."

Vigour of mind, and benevolence of heart, characterise this bold and seasonable production. Dr. Wade is well known to all our readers, and his excellence requires that we thus publicly notice his Sermon, although no other has ever found its way into our pages. We are sorry that our limits preclude our giving a larger extract than the following:

"A Tory government loaded us with a burden approaching to a thousand millions, and squandered almost as much more for objects useless or pernicious to the national welfare. War and peace have been detrimental in their results—corruption has existed in public affairs. Many of the offices of government—places—pensions—situations in the church—posts in law—the patronage of the Crown, have been misapplied, or ought not to have existed. Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, trade—interests, whether colonial or domestic—by sea or land—above the earth or under the earth; in a word, all the abundance of our wealth has been abused by a reckless oligarchy. In the mean time, population has been increasing with an immense rapidity, so that, like Agur, no humane man ought to wish for more than a sufficiency, much less for extravagance, while his fellow-countrymen are perishing for want, and the only choice of many is between a prison and a workhouse."

We understand that the profits arising from the sale of this Pamphlet, will be directed to the relief of those persons, who are now in prison, victims to the Taxes on Knowledge.

THE VALUE OF IRON.

THE MARINER'S COMPASS.

By the mariner's compass, little man takes possession of the great water. He yokes the winds to his ship as easily as he yokes a pair of horses to his chariot, and the waves are the wheels on which he is bowled round the world. But what friendly hand is to point his way over the vast wilderness of waters? Here are no guide posts, no mile stones, no inns on the road. The stately, living, moving vessel, the winds and waves would be useless, but for something in the box which speaks to the man who holds the helm. This something, diminutive in size, and simple in appearance, is not made of gold or silver, or brass, but of IRON. It is the NEEDLE in the compass. Without this little iron utensil, the whole ship would be a great cypher in the sum of human achievements—timber rotting on the water. With it the ship becomes a figure of NINE. This needle infallibly conducts enterprising man across the deep to the point of his destination, when the fishes below and the stars above would be dumb to all his enquiries after the road. This guide never deceives him. It unites continents together. It joins islands, and links peninsula with peninsula. It introduces man to man, who would otherwise live and die ignorant of each other's existence. But it is not of GOLD, it is not of SILVER, but of IRON! The cold pole does homage to the value of this metal, and is warmed into praise of its sterling and incalculable worth, and though silent it shouts! Inanimate matter does undissembled adoration where ignorant mind refuses to worship; matter adheres to the true god, iron, while mind goes astray after the false gods—gold and silver! Matter is right and mind wrong. The cold indifference with which iron is regarded, and the ardour with which gold and silver are admired and loved, is significant of the existing views and feelings of society towards valuable and worthless things. LABOUR, the only source of wealth, is lightly esteemed; while MONEY, the mere representative of wealth, is sincerely worshipped. Lime stones, flag stones and flint stones are lowly prized, while rubies and diamonds, occupy high places. The bees in society are little thought of, the drones a great deal. But society must now be wheeled round. Respect, esteem, honour, and worship must be restored to their only proper objects. Mind must be wound up; and the only real valuables, which have hitherto lain like a picture of Raphael's or Claude's, in an ignorant broker's shop, amongst lumber, and covered with dust and cobwebs, will now be discovered by our Crisis as it passes; they will be drawn out into light, cleaned, varnished, framed and hung up, in proper places and suitable company.

A CO-OPERATIVE TOUR THROUGH THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

SIR,—Having just returned from a short tour through the North of England, and as I visited the different Co-operative Societies that lay in my route for the purpose of giving them some idea of the benefit they would derive (being working men) from the exchange of labour upon the principles laid down in the Crisis, I take the liberty of writing you to show the feeling of the country societies upon the subject. I called at Birmingham, but every one seemed so much engaged with the discussion between Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Atwood, that I was compelled to proceed to Manchester without being able to mention the subject there. When I arrived at Manchester, I was shown the Manchester Co-operative dyeing manufactory, being an establishment for dyeing and dressing Velveteens, &c. There are 120 employed in this factory, consisting principally of the members

and their children. They told me they should be obliged to take on 20 more hands in the course of the next week, the merchants giving them the principal part of their orders to complete. They have found out (i.e. the co-operators) the beneficial effects of having the machinery in their own hands. I had a long discussion with several of the leading members of this manufacturing, and the other societies, upon the exchange of labour, and they were highly pleased with the system, and thought it would be highly advantageous to the working men, but did not think they could start one in Manchester, on account of the similarity of their trades. Yet, they would gladly exchange their manufactures for provisions. There is also an Infant School in this town consisting of about 200 scholars, who are making rapid progress in their education. The school is very much objected to by the clergy of the town, particularly by a Mr. Frost, who a few Sundays back stated from the pulpit, that the parents would go to hell if they sent their children there. I left a great many prospectuses of the Exchange, Tracts, and Crisis, and proceeded to Liverpool. Co-operation seems to be dying away there; I therefore went on to Halifax; the societies at Halifax, and in the villages adjacent, seem to be in a very flourishing state, as regards the accumulation of capital. I looked over the different manufactories there, and into the wool combers' dungeons, for I can compare them to nothing else. Imagine four human beings crowded together in a small cellar, with a charcoal fire constantly burning in the centre, for heating the wool combs, which keeps the place heated almost to blood heat, add to this the stench from the oil and other things used by them in preparing the wool, and then you may guess what a state the poor creatures must be in, being obliged to work there from 16 to 18 hours per day, and if they are very quick, can earn 13 shillings per week, the average price is 9 shillings and 10 pence. The men that I saw were the most emaciated creatures I ever beheld, and yet they were some of the best workmen, all earning 13 shillings per week. The children in the spinning factories work 17 hours per day, out of which they are allowed 40 minutes for meals, except one factory which belongs to a friend to co-operation, who has reduced the labour to 14 hours, they received 3 shillings per week at all the factories.

I explained to a meeting of the societies, to the best of my ability, the nature and the benefit that must be derived by the working men from the Labour Exchanges. They seemed much pleased with what I said, but thought they could not open one, for the same reason as stated at Manchester, viz. on account of the similarity of their trades, yet if the London Exchanges would take their lastings, merinos, and stuffs (patterns of which, and the prices, I brought up with me, and shall be happy to show to the Labour Exchange Committee, or yourself, at any time) in exchange for treacle, or tea, it would be the saving of them and their families. The societies there have formed themselves into a manufacturing association, and have an agent and stand in the cloth mart. Their capital has been raised from the profit of their dealings at the provisions stores. They informed me that there was to be a district meeting of the delegates from the Co-operative Societies on Monday last (10th of September) at Huddersfield, when the labour exchange question would be brought forward and discussed. I left one or two hundred prospectuses, tracts, and Crisis, &c., to be distributed at the meeting, and travelled on to Leeds.

The Leeds society seems entirely broken up, I left some prospectuses, tracts, and Crisis there, and went on to Hull.

There is no Co-operative Society at Hull, but it happened fortunately that a Mr. Acland was ad-

dressing the working men of the town, I took advantage of the meeting (a political one) and distributed the remainder of my tracts, prospectuses, and Crisis, and returned to London.

Judging from the conversation I had with the members of the societies, I feel convinced, that when they have read the Crisis, and understand the subject better, they will open Exchanges in the country. I took care to provide them with copies of the number of the Crisis containing the rules, &c. of the Exchange.

The Sheffield Societies will exchange cutlery for tea &c., and there is no doubt that all kinds of goods manufactured in the country may be had in exchange for articles of consumption immediately.

If, upon reading the above, you should consider the contents worthy of publication, I shall feel highly gratified by your doing so. Several friends are anxious to know what I have done during my absence, but I deferred replying to their questions till I had written to you on the subject.

I remain, Sir,

A well wisher to the cause,
10th September, 1832. J. WHITTAKER.

EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN A FARMER AND A MANUFACTURER.

Manufacturer. I wanted to meet with you, friend farmer, to have some talk about these exchange bazaars.

Farmer. Aye, the one at King's Cross, Gray's Inn Road.

Manuf. Yes, that is the principal one. Well, now we may hope to find good markets:—you for your corn and garden stuff, and I for my wares.

Farm. I do not see exactly how that is to be.

Manuf. Don't you? Then let us take a walk up the road, and see the Bazaar at work.

Farm. With all my heart: and say what you know as we go on.

Manuf. The first time I heard of this plan, I thought it must be some new hoax, but I went and found it a most excellent scheme: and now in my conscience I deem it the only way to get trade out of its difficulties.

Farm. Come, explain the business before we get there. I am sadly in want of a better market than I can find in London at present.

Manuf. We are overdone in all the markets, and lucky are we at last to meet with new ones. These Bazaars are new markets for all kinds of commodities.

Farm. Yes: but where are the customers to come from?

Manuf. That is the main thing. The people who bring goods to these Bazaars are customers to one another; and as trades-people and work-people of every description come to these markets all persons may obtain immediately whatever they may want.

Farm. But where is the money to come from?

Manuf. That is the main thing again. Suppose now you brought in a load of corn, hay, or vegetables, then the managers of the Bazaar ask your price, and if they find it the average market price, they give you their notes for the value. Those notes are money because you can lay them out when you like, either at the Bazaar or elsewhere.

Farm. What! do these people make money?

Manuf. Yes: the Exchange Bazaar is both a market and a bank.

Farm. But how am I to know the notes to be safe.

Manuf. First because the parties are highly respectable: but chiefly because the notes are only given out for goods received; so that the notes are always sure to be answered by the stock within.

Farm. Ah! I wish it may answer: we are badly enough off now, and should give every plan a fair trial.

(To be continued.)

ADVERTISEMENTS.

EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD, KING'S CROSS.

ON Monday last, the Exchanges commenced, and the business of the Establishment, in the Equitable Exchange of Property of general utility and consumption, through the medium of EXCHANGE NOTES, is continued every day under the constant personal attendance of the Directors and Council, from 10 till 6 for deposits, and exchanges.

THE EIGHTH FESTIVAL OF the ASSOCIATION OF the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, established for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE AND POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on MONDAY, 1st Oct., 1832. Tickets of Admission, Visitors, 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner of Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Gr. at Ormand-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencoester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bernondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 19, Greville-street, Hutton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street, and 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

PUBLIC MEETING OF the UNPRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, PARTICULARLY SHOPKEEPERS.

ON MONDAY next, the 25th instant, at Twelve for One o'clock, a Public Meeting, of the Unproductive Industrious Classes, particularly retail Shop-keepers, will be held in the large Lecture Room of the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road, for the purpose of considering the best steps for them to take to relieve themselves from the certain operation of the Equitable Labour Exchanges.

Sept. 25, 1832.

ROBERT OWEN.

SOMETHING NEW.

ON TUESDAY Evening next, September 25, in the Elegant and Great Room of the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road, Mr. DOBBS, will give a New Entertainment, which has been received in Birmingham and other Towns, with the most flattering marks of approbation, called POLITICAL COMICALITIES, or a Dissertation on Folly and Knavery; in which will be introduced several new and appropriate COMIC SONGS, accompanied on the Piano Forte by Mr. STEVENS: the whole assisted by Dr. Buzz. Being an attempt to relieve the mind, by placing the heavy book of Political Instruction, upon a light one horse carriage of rational Amusement. As the Proprietor is anxious to serve the Public as well as himself, the fares are unusually moderate. The new Light Political Couch starts exactly at half-past Seven o'clock, and arrives at the Inn of Merry-Conclusion about Ten.—N.B. Great care has been taken in the building of the above coach, to render it agreeable to the Ladies. Further particulars in the hand-bills.

Just Published by STRANGE, Paternoster-Row: The Words and Music of the Union Hymn, and the Gathering of the Union, as sung at the Birmingham Great Meetings, Price 6d.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BRIDGES, Holywell-street; and PRINCE, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer, Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 30.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS OF THE WEEK AT OUR INSTITUTION.

On Thursday evening long before the time of admission to the discussion between Mr. Owen and the Radicals, Gray's Inn Road was the scene of visible agitation, and public interest. Persons came from Woolwich and Chatham to hear it. The capacious lecture room was filled with the first rush of the impatient crowd; and the argument commenced at half-past seven. Mr. Owen, who had recovered from his indisposition, was in the chair. The business of the evening was opened by the Rev. Thomas Macconnell, and an excellent discussion originated out of his address. The majority of the audience were of opinion that Mr. Owen was beginning at the bottom of society, silently and peaceably to undermine the old fabric, while the politicians were beginning at the top, and must take it down stone by stone. Ten o'clock suspended but did not terminate the controversy, which was postponed till the next Thursday evening. On Sunday the Lectures were crowded, though an additional one was given by the Rev. Thomas Macconnell, at the North end of the Institution; so that there were two lectures in our Institution at the same time. There will be two lectures every Sunday evening at our Institution as long as the crowded audiences require additional accommodation.

The business done at our Equitable Labour Exchange during the past week has been immense; so much so, that we were necessitated to post a public notice, on Wednesday, saying, "that until much more extensive arrangements were made, it would be impossible to proceed; and that all business must cease after Wednesday evening, until further notice was given, which would be the case on Sunday at the Lecture." We are confident that our very extensive premises will soon be too small even for deposits. We deeply regret the temporary inconvenience to which this suspension must put some persons; but it is only a present small sacrifice for a large future good.

The very numerous and useful public meeting which we held on Monday, is reported in another part of our paper. The Committee appointed on that occasion, met on Wednesday morning at Six o'clock, for the transaction of their important business.

APPREHENSION OF COINERS,

IN ESSEX STREET WHITECHAPEL.

To us, who are now in the daily and hourly habit of making large quantities of money, it is a great satisfaction, that we are not liable to interruptions from the police, or lodgings in a jail. Some anonymous writer in the *Morning Advertiser*, a few days since, endeavoured to fright us, by some legal quotation, introduced with great pomp. But we do not believe in ghosts, and are much more alarmed at the increasing distresses and perplexity of society, than at the lumber of legal learning. Our Equitable Labour Exchange Note is so original, so good, that no legislation ever anticipated such a measure, and consequently made no provision against it. Before we can be attempted to be stopped, a law must be made on purpose, and government have now a sufficiency of business on their hands. But if we are successful, (and if we are not, there will be no necessity for any legislative interference,) no law will be sufficiently strong to stop us. It would be intolerable, if government who can do nothing to relieve the productive classes, will not allow them to relieve themselves. This would be dangerously tampering with the possibility of human endurance. But we anticipate no such thing. Government have more sense. On other coiners the law promptly pounces.

"Saturday afternoon, a gang of coiners were apprehended, while at full work at a house in Essex street, Whitechapel, by James Goss, a surveyor of Thames Police, and a party of officers of that establishment. The gang for the last few weeks, have been coining large quantities of base shillings for smashers, with which the metropolis abounds, and many thousands are supposed to have been put in circulation, from the manufactory in Essex street. Goss having secured the assistance of surveyors and constables, proceeded armed to the house on Saturday afternoon, a time at which they knew the coiners would be actively employed. At a given signal they entered the house, and were rushing up stairs, when they encountered a woman who called "murder, murder, we are lost." Heyson stopped her noise, burst open the door of the front room of the second floor, where they found four men, Frederic King, Robert Allen, Jno. Aldridge, Charles Allen, and a woman, Mary Wilson, who were actively engaged in coining base money. They were all secured and taken to prison."

We congratulate ourselves, that we are not in prison, nor liable there to be conveyed, although

we have made so much money. Ours, it is true, is not *base* money, but *good*; and our good money will quickly lessen, and eventually destroy the coining of all bad money.

THE MAGPIE AND WOOD-PIGEON.

TABLE I.

ONE day, in ancient times, a wood-pigeon ascended to the top of a lofty elm, to take a survey of the noble domicile of a magpie, who, after viewing with admiration, its architectural beauties, and domestic conveniences, passed many high encomiums on the science, taste, and ingenuity of the lady pie, who was both the builder and the proprietor of the noble edifice. The black-and-white lady, was so delighted with compliments of the wood-pigeon, that she generously offered to assist her in building such a dwelling for herself. The wood-pigeon, overjoyed at the liberality and philanthropy of the lady pie, with much bowing, and many thanks, accepted the gracious offer.

They now proceeded to a neighbouring oak, whose wide-spreading top, and thick clustering leaves, formed an extensive canopy, under which, various kinds of animals found a shade from the scorching rays of the meridian sun, as well as a convenient shelter from the pelting storm. In the middle of the top of this majestic tree, the architect proceeded to instruct her anxious pupil, the wood-pigeon, in the art of domestic building. The magpie began by laying small sticks across and athwart, by which means, she soon completed the foundation, on which she was about to erect a magnificent superstructure; but the wood-pigeon growing vain, and becoming puffed up with conceit, broke out in an insulting manner, "I can do! I can do! I can do!" The generous magpie stung with the insolence, and ingratitude of her unworthy pupil, replied, "do then, and be hanged! I will instruct you no further." And immediately flew away, leaving the conceited wood-pigeon to reflect upon the result of her insolence and folly.

The consequence was, the foolish bird could proceed no further with her nest, which remains to this day, a wretched platform of twigs, without sides or roof, the object of laughter and ridicule to the whole feathered race. While the dwelling of the magpie, is a firm, well built, commodious and lofty roofed castle; and which, though erected upon the top of a very high tree, neither the wind, nor the storm have power to dislodge it! It is a "castle in the air," to be sure; but a castle any where, is to be preferred to a wretched, roofless, and

dirty hovel, which is not capable of sheltering its inmates, with their poor little callow offspring, from the inclemency and fury of the elements.

I shall leave the moral of this little fable, to be applied by the smatterers in the sciences, some of whom acquire just as much knowledge, as enable them to become ridiculous, and then they wonder why they are laughed at. We should never be too proud to learn, nor think ourselves too learned to be taught.

A. D.

EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

IALOGUE BETWEEN A FARMER AND A MANUFACTURER.

(Concluded from p. 116.)

Manuf. True: and the only way to give it a fair trial is to assist in it ourselves. Now here we are at the Bazaar: you see it is as public as a fair.

Farm. Why this is, indeed, a handsome place,—it beats the old markets hollow.

Manuf. The people we see here are come to transact business; and in course of the day you will find almost every trade you can mention; so that there is no want of variety.

Farm. But what do the managers of the concern get by it.

Manuf. We will ask for a prospectus; by which it appears that when goods have had their prime cost ascertained the managers add to it a penny on the shilling upon retail articles, and five per cent. upon wholesale, out of which they pay all their expenses.

Farm. I shall certainly give it a trial immediately.

Manuf. That was my object in bringing you here. I sent in a waggon of goods this morning, and here are my notes. Now with these notes I can take out whatever I see here to the same amount.

Farm. But will landlords and tax-gatherers take your notes?

Manuf. I am myself a landlord, and am glad to accommodate my tenants. They can only get Exchange Notes by the labour of industry; therefore they should meet with every encouragement. Besides the fact is the notes are beginning to be taken by every body.

Farm. They cannot be so safe as hard cash, can they?

Manuf. My good friend, we have been duped long enough. Let me ask if you can eat, drink, or wear hard cash?

Farm. No: but cash will get me these things and more.

Manuf. So will exchange notes: therefore the value of both is only what you can get for them. The difference between the two is, that gold depends upon the opinions of men, whereas these notes represent the valuable commodities for which they were issued.

Farm. But I do not understand how a man can be duped when he gets gold and silver.

Manuf. Yes: if he relies upon them as real value; for suppose all the farmers and manufacturers should say to the holders of gold and silver, "we will not exchange our goods for your metals; they are too dear for us, tedious to count, heavy to carry, and dirty to our hands. In short, we, the producers of wealth, can exchange our productions, much better by means of our own paper." Don't you see that the holders of coin would have nothing to get our goods with, and would be forced to work for their living, which is as much the natural right of one man as another?

Farm. What! do you mean to make rich people work?

Manuf. Yes: for the benefit of the public either with their heads or their hands. All the misfortunes of the productive classes arise from the wealthy and unproductive orders; who, thinking it beneath them to do any thing useful, employ their faculties in creating mischief. Either they excite wars wherein both the properties and per-

sons of the industrious are destroyed, or they impose intolerable privations by means of money laws, which they so manage as to get all the money into their own pockets.

Farm. That is true enough. But I am afraid they are too strong for us.

Manuf. Not at all: they are a mere handful of men. By these equitable exchanges we shall get all the power into our own hands; and by and bye they who have hitherto thought it advantageous to be our enemies will find it still more beneficial to be our friends, and then we trust the whole family of mankind will be ever united.

Farm. But who is at the bottom of this scheme?

Manuf. Mr. Owen the well known philanthropist; who has spent more thought in maturing his plans, more time in trying them in practice and more money to make them known to the world than all the rest of the public characters put together.

Farm. Well: I am glad to have met with you, and next time we come to town I hope we shall do business together at the Bazaar, and find it going on to our satisfaction.

Manuf. It cannot fail, it must not fail, and success being in our own hands, it shall not fail. A good journey to us both.

R. A.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our numerous Communicators must excuse our saying any more this week, than that we are obliged to them for their Communications.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29.

ONE of the salutary effects of the working of the Equitable Labour Exchanges will be the diminution of crime, against which, education, law, and religion, make but feeble fight. Crime is now every where on the increase; but when Equitable Labour Exchanges are every where established it will be every where on the diminution. If the cause of crime, were the radical depravity of human nature, then the cure of such a malady must be abandoned as hopeless, while it was deplored as irremediable. It is singular, that we never hear of the badness of nature, in *plants, trees, animals, birds, fishes, fire, air, earth, or water*; but in *man* only. The subordinate departments of nature are good; the supreme, evil. Had the subordinate parts been bad, and the supreme good, it would have been more plausible; but that all things which were made for the use of man, and which man makes use of, should be good, while he who subordinates and makes use of them is naturally bad, sounds singular, and strikes strange! It is singular that while most men believe in this radical depravity as a general truth, they deny it in detail. Ask a man whether he believes human nature is bad, he says yes. Tell him he is a bad man, he denies it, and is offended. But we believe that our nature, and that all na-

ture is radically good, and that crime is only the result of bad circumstances, on originally good materials. The ostensible causes of crime amongst the labouring classes are first a *want of occupation*. Many men, to our certain knowledge, who, while they were employed, were good characters, when thrown out of employment, fell into bad company, contract bad habits, learn bad ways, and then do bad things. Some again are of that active turn, that if they have nothing good to do, they will do mischief, for they must be doing something. Equitable Labour Exchanges will furnish employment to the unemployed, and thus cure this cause of the commission of crime. Secondly, another palpable cause of offence is *oppression*. The labouring classes, who are every day becoming more enlightened, and an expansion of knowledge never begets a diminution of feeling, *feel* that they are burdened, with the higher unproductive classes; and see, that as the burden is always higher than that by which its borne, this is the only sense in which the unproductive classes can be called the *higher*. This burden goads them to crime. They gather fresh strength from their knowledge to bite their chain, without having the power to snap it, and are urged to hatred against their oppressors and disrespect of themselves. See the nocturnal incendiaries amongst the once meek and peaceful agricultural labourers. Look at the Roman Catholics in Ireland, under the oppression of tithes. During the past week some tithe collectors have been barbarously murdered. Our Equitable Labour Exchanges, will eventually secure the *independence* of the labourer; they will break his chain and effect his freedom. By them his oppressors will be regularly swamped. Thus will they toil at the rule of *subtraction* from crime, and at that of *addition* to comfort. A *third* cause of crime is *ignorance*. Many of the malefactors in our public jails can neither read nor write. The most ignorant people are always the most vicious. Ignorance is moral night under whose dark cover, bad passions are fostered, and bad conduct matured. Light and knowledge will issue from our Equitable Labour Exchanges, wherever they are planted, and we trust that they will be planted every where. They will set labourers to *think* and make them feel their own worth. An image of the value of labour will be hung up in the minds of labourers; the superiority of the intellectual over the animal part will be felt and acted upon; principle will triumph over passion, and knowledge will prove moral power; and while to whatever extent they may operate in removing ignorance from the labourers of this generation, their children who will be educated by the profits arising from these exchanges, will reap an abundant harvest of knowledge. These Equitable Labour

Exchanges are not *fire brands*, as many suppose, but *luminaries*. A fourth and a last cause of crime is *poverty*. Men are poor and steal. Shop keepers cannot obtain a living, and cheat in light weights and small measures. In the midst of plenty, it is a battle to live. A conscience is the most expensive article, a poor man can be troubled with; many find with Paley, that they are too poor to keep it. A carriage may be kept for less. The work house is the most likely place for an honest man, a strictly honest man to come to. It is nothing but want, that causes and perpetuates prostitution. Many females, whom we once knew, unblotted, beautiful and accomplished, and who only wanted wings to make them angels, have, from want, after seduction, been transformed into devils. Men open those moral nuisances, public houses, because there is nothing else left for them. Equitable Labour Exchanges will increase wealth, of which labour is the source. They will make those who are now artificially poor, rich, and those who are artificially rich, poor. Bare walls, and empty cupboards, will no longer be found in the dwellings of the productive classes. The dwellings of labourers being made comfortable, they will prefer their own house to the public house. Unfettered by money, real wealth will increase, poverty disappear, and crime proportionally diminish; and what education with all its precepts,—eloquence with all its blandishments,—law with all its severity,—and religion with all its sanctity, have not been able to effect, Equitable Labour Exchanges will ultimately accomplish.

PUBLIC MEETING

AT THE INSTITUTION OF THE UNPRODUCTIVE CLASSES, GRAY'S-INN-ROAD.

On Monday last at One o'clock a public meeting of the unproductive industrious classes was held pursuant to advertisement, in the large lecture room of the Institution. The meeting was painfully crowded,—the heat very oppressive,—the interest excited intense,—and the harmony of good feeling uninterrupted. The object of the meeting was to take into consideration the increasingly distressed state of the non-productive industrious classes, and to devise efficient means for their permanent relief.

On the motion of Mr. Owen, which was supported unanimously by the meeting, the Rev. Arthur S. Wade, D.D., Rector of St. Nicholas, Warwick, was called to the chair by acclamation.

Dr. WADE having taken the chair, read the advertisement, calling the meeting together. He then observed that the advertisement was conciliatory and kind. The productive classes, were anxious to show the unproductive classes, that they were concerned for their welfare. (Applause.) Competition had done immense mischief. The old maxim, "live and let live," was now of a nugatory character. Dr. Wade referred to an Agricultural Employment Association, in the existence of which he rejoiced, and to whose operations he wished success. (Cheers.) The business of the day presented a novelty, because it was an invitation from the lower order of society, for a community of interests with those above them. Dr. Wade observed, that the productive classes ought to have the full energy of machinery to assist them in every production. The non-producers, ought to come forward with their capital, to assist the productive classes. It is of no use to say to a man, be industrious, except you give him, employment. (Cheers.) Dr. Wade said he was a radical reformer, and might as well speak the truth. (Great and continued cheering.) He further observed, that he should like to see Mr. Owen have a seat in Par-

liament. (Great cheers.) He sat down after he had re-stated the business for which the people had met.

Mr. OWEN rose, and after repeating the important purpose for which the meeting was called, proceeded to observe, that two-thirds of the population were now engaged in distributing wealth, and that this could not last much longer. A new system of business was now about to be introduced, and what was to become of these unproductive distributors of wealth? Mr. Owen knew what they must do. But it required more than one. One could do but very little. There must be union, and without this union, on the part of them who understand the subject, the unproductive industrious classes must perish. Theretail traders in the principal streets of London, must get ten per cent upon their articles, to pay rent, taxes, &c., and live. The wholesale trade, must have 7½ per cent. These profits are a real addition to the cost of these articles. Mr. Owen referred to Morrisons, Sewell and Cross, and Leaf and Co., and said, that these houses could carry on their business for ½ per cent, it being so immense. Small capitalists could not possibly stand against these houses. But even if the little capitalists, could buy at the same price as these houses, they could not sell at the same price. A note was handed to Mr. Owen, saying that Sewell and Cross's house, was called the "slaughter house." Mr. Owen said that names were of no moment. Sewell and Cross were acting upon the same principle as every body else, viz. to get all they could. (Hear, hear.) No one class could really be benefited at the expense of another. (Hear, hear.) No partial measures would do. If Mr. Owen had been contented with partial measures, he might have carried them into effect, by government and the people, many years ago. (Hear, hear.) He said, that knowing his principles were true, and admitted of universal adoption, he never would be contented with partial measures. (Great cheers.) He observed, that there is not a deficiency of a single material in society, to secure under proper arrangements its permanent happiness; this is what he was aiming at; and he would either accomplish it or die in the attempt. (Great cheers.) The Equitable Labour Exchanges, were the bridge over which society would safely pass out of its present condition, to another and a better. Our present Institution, he said, would not (large though it was) be one tenth sufficiently large for the deposits of goods. (Applause.) This was manifest, from the demonstrations which were now made here by depositors, and if this was the case, and these Equitable Labour Exchanges became, as he had no doubt they would become, universal, what would become of the shop keepers? (Hear, hear.) The object of the meeting was to consider their situation. They were now casting about, looking for relief. This was impossible, as long as competition existed. They must assist intelligent persons, in making arrangements by which, they (the shop keepers) may become valuable producers of wealth. He believed the best measure would be, to appoint a committee to take this important subject into consideration, and to report thereon. Society has now overgrown all its old arrangements. The aristocracy were now coming forward, to stem as much as possible, the tide of affairs, but why did not they come forward twenty years ago? (Hear, hear.) They were going in the Agricultural Society to give poor people half an acre of land each, at the rate at which it was let to the farmer, (hear, hear) and in putting some poor people into competition with the old agriculturists, they impoverished as many as they benefited. (Hear, hear.) They did nothing, and they could do nothing. (Hear, hear.) He then said what now ought to be done. Arrangements must now be made, to make the non-producers, producers of wealth, in the best manner. A note was here put into Mr. Owen's hand, asking "whether he thought government would allow the old system of society to be superseded by the Labour Exchanges?" Mr. Owen said there was no government in the world that could stop it. (Immense cheering, which lasted for some time.) Government would be greatly in-

debted to these exchanges. Government must come to us. (great cheers.) Mr. Owen then moved—

"That a Committee be formed to take into immediate consideration the best mode of relieving the nonproductive industrious classes from their present distress, and from the anticipation of much greater suffering, and report thereon at a subsequent meeting."

Mr. SAVAGE seconded the motion, and said that he had no doubt of the success of the experiment of the Equitable Labour Exchange, and would support it with all his time, talents, property, interest, and influence. (Applause.) He did not go with Mr. Owen, into abstract points, but when he saw a clergyman of the established church in the chair, he saw that uniformity in sentiment, on abstract points, was not necessary to unanimity, in operative or practical measures. He said he knew, that many tradesmen (shopkeepers) were now insolvent, and that all the money they took was expended on the landlord, the tax-gatherer, and the poor rates. (Cheers.) The only men that could advance now, were men who had no moral scruples of any kind whatever. (Hear hear.) Buy cheap they would; no matter who was distressed. And if men put money into the funds, they knew they were living on taxes, to which no high-minded man could reconcile himself. (Cheers.) If the productive classes were intelligent and honest, the Equitable Labour Exchange would be steadfast and successful. But if there were any chicanery, or dishonesty, or selfishness, amongst either the directors of the Bank, or the depositors, they would not require government to put them down, they would perish of themselves. (Cheers.) In London there were an immense number of shopkeepers, many of them labouring in mind and body, corroding care, and consuming anxiety pressing upon them. He cordially seconded the motion: a card was handed to Mr. Owen, naming "two farmers, who were willing to take Labour Notes for corn, cattle, &c." The announcement of this fact, was received with tumultuous and long continued cheering. The resolution was then put, when Mr. Osborne expressed a wish to speak.

He wished to prove, that money was not so necessary, in the establishment of these Equitable Labour Exchanges, as many people supposed. He illustrated this, by a reference to the Equitable Labour Exchange at Theobald's road. He said, by these Equitable Exchanges, a mighty democracy would be called into existence. (Cheers.)

Dr. WADE here said, that Benjamin Reeve, St. Mark Street, Bloomsbury, would take our Labour Notes, and Mr. Owen said, that there were very many tradesmen, who had made similar communications. The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. SAULL rose to move, that the following gentlemen be the committee:—Messrs.

MORDAN	SAVAGE	FOX SMITH
SAULL	DEMPSEY	CORSS
MURPHY	WINTER	OSBORNE
BRABY	MACPHERSON	BEAUME
KING	SMITH	LEWIS
STYLES	FRANKS	EDGAR
TAYLOR	MERES	CROW
BROOKS		

He said, that these measures were intended for the benefit of all. He sympathized with the productive classes, and particularly with the agriculturists, amongst whom he had recently been. Excellent labourers were now getting only five shillings per week. A man of 77 years of age, was breaking stones at six shillings per week. He said he could live on eight shillings. There was starvation in the midst of plenty. Equitable Labour Exchanges, he hoped, would ultimately remedy the evil. (Cheers.)

Mr. ROBERT DALE OWEN seconded the resolution, and made a suggestion to the non-producers who were willing to labour. He lived three years in the Western country of America. At New Harmony, many learnt trades, who were once of the unproductive classes, and he had no doubt, that those who were in earnest to learn a trade, might learn it much easier than was imagined. (Hear, hear.)

He himself had made a pair of shoes in a week. Two of his brothers did the same. Some of the best carpenters, now in New Harmony, came to that settlement, adults, ignorant of the trade. (Cheers.)

Mr. MURPHY was called upon by the meeting, and said that he was unfortunately, one of the unproductive classes, and he was very anxious to know what was to become of him. (Laughter.) He did not know what the duties of the committee were, to which he had been appointed. The question was serious. A great number of unproductive persons, were now in existence, and what was to become of them? (Hear, hear.) He should be happy to serve the committee, if they would go to business before breakfast. After that time, his business engaged the whole of his time. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BEAUME, one of the unproductive classes, spoke with great energy and kindness, in support of Mr. Owen's measures; declared his readiness to sacrifice all his property in support of those measures, and said, that he made himself a coat. This speech was received with great applause. He recommended gardening to the unproductive classes, to their wives, and to their children, and said that he was entirely at the service of the committee. He moved an amendment, that the committee have power to add to their number.

Mr. NASH seconded the amendment which was put, when

Mr. RICE, said he would give an account of his transactions, with an Equitable Labour Exchange, for the last four days. He had taken his goods, shoes, to many shops, and failed in disposing of them; but he had easily disposed of them here, and was perfectly satisfied with the mode of doing business, and with what he obtained in exchange.

Mr. PARRY here wished to know the particulars of the professions, circumstances, and residences of the proposed committee.

Mr. OWEN said that Mr. Parry's remarks were important, and he was anxious that respectable persons in the meeting, unknown to the Institution, would come forward, and enrol their names on the committee list. All the committee names except two, were shop-keepers, those two were of the productive classes. Three more persons offered their names in the committee. The resolution, amended, was then put, and carried unanimously.

The thanks of this meeting were voted to the Rev. Dr. Wade, by the Rev. Thomas Macconnell, and carried by the meeting with acclamation. Dr. Wade replied, and the meeting broke up at half past four, after having given three cheers for the Equitable Labour Exchange.

MURDER OF A TITHE PAYER IN IRELAND.

THE following affecting intelligence, appeared in the Morning Chronicle of Monday last. At the time, the paper did not assign any cause for the perpetration of this deed of blood. On Tuesday, the reason assigned by the press was, that the murdered man had paid tithes.

"Monastereven, Sept. 18.—(From our Correspondent.)—Last night as Mr. John Anderson, of Fishertown (three miles from this place), was returning home from his mother's house, where he had dined; and just as he was passing over a stile, into his own avenue, three men rushed from under a hedge where they had lain concealed, and fired at him. The ball entered his breast and passed out at the shoulder; but, as he did not immediately fall, the assassins attacked him with a sword, inflicting several severe wounds about his head and shoulders, and his body. The poor victim, in putting up his hand to ward off the blows of his ferocious assailants, had one of his thumbs nearly cut off; it must be amputated. The murderers left him for dead, and he remained insensible on the ground until he was discovered by a person passing in the morning. But faint hopes are entertained of his recovery."

This is proceeding to extremities; and yet government are seeking in another way, to

perpetuate compulsory payment under another name than tithe to the Established Church, from the reluctant and oppressed Catholic. Why not as honest men, say, "the church can no longer be supported but by voluntary contributions." And without turning any individuals on the wide world, they could cease to fill up the livings, as the present incumbents die. To this no one could object.

VALUE OF LABOUR ON BREAD.

It is an ascertained and instructive fact, that the four pound loaf, which is sold for eight pence, only pays for all the labour which is expended upon it, from the ploughing the soil for the seed, until the bread is baked, *two pence*. The other *six pence* is consumed in rent, taxes, poor rates, and tithes.

POLAND.—The population of Warsaw, which, before the 29th of November, 1830, amounted to 150,000 souls, is now reduced to 60,000. In the principal streets, Poles are rarely seen, which, instead, are crowded with Russians and Jews. It is the same in all the public places, although the number of *cafés* are increased to twice the former number. The corruption of the poorest women is at its lowest degree. The Russian officers are received in no respectable houses. The Poles avoid all communication with Russian women, and not to have any relation with them, they have adopted a peculiar mark. Each night the soldiers occupy every corner of the town, and retire to their barracks only by day.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

RATIONAL CATECHISM.

DEAR SIR,—My great anxieties, that the principles of the new state of society, by you promulgated, may be more generally disseminated, has induced me to draw out the MS. tract enclosed herewith, a Rational Catechism.

I am desirous, (if it merits such attention,) that it be printed and published by the Missionary Society held at your Institution.

I cannot afford the expense of printing, but most cheerfully assist in distributing tracts, and I doubt not, but much good may be done by freely circulating them amongst the public, but more particularly amongst religious congregations, which may be easily accomplished, either by causing them to be deposited in the pews of the various churches, and chapels, just prior to service, or by giving them at the doors as the congregation retire.

I take this opportunity, of most cordially thanking you, for the relief from mental bondage which I have derived from a regular attendance upon your lectures, prior to which, I thought myself unfit to live, but unprepared to die.

I am, dear Sir,

yours very gratefully,

W. H. STURGES.

Foxley Road, Kennington, 20th Sept., 1832.

* * Part of this excellent production appeared last week in our paper, and part will appear next.

OPENING THE WIGAN AND NEWTON RAILWAY.

ON Monday this Railway was opened. The length of it is seven miles. The Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester canals are crossed by two iron bridges. There is no perceptible change from the level throughout the line. The average time required to perform the distance with four carriages and twenty-three passengers, is fifteen minutes.—*Birmingham Journal*.

EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD KING'S CROSS.

IN consequence of the enormous pressure of business at the Equitable Labour Exchange, Gray's Inn Road, it is necessary, that much more extensive accommodations be made for the public. All further deposits are, consequently, stopped until fresh notice, which will be given on Sunday at our Lectures.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD.

THE Public is respectfully informed, that in consequence of the great interest, the repeated bursts of laughter, and the very flattering applause, manifested at Mr. DOBBS'S Entertainment, on its first representation in London, by a numerous and most respectable audience, he will have the honour of repeating, in the Great Room of the Institution, on TUESDAY, 2nd of October, at Eight o'clock in the Evening, his *POLITICAL COMICALITIES*; or, A *DISSERTATION ON FOLLY AND KNAVERY*: in which will be introduced several new and appropriate COMIC SONGS, accompanied on the Piano Forte by Mr. STEVENS: the whole assisted by Dr. BUZZ. Being an attempt to relieve the mind, by placing the heavy book of Political Instruction, upon a light one horse carriage of rational Amusement. As the Proprietor is anxious to serve the Public as well as himself, the fares are *unusually moderate*. The new *Light Political Coach* starts exactly at half-past Seven o'clock, and arrives at the Inn of *Merry-Conclusion* about Ten.—N. B. Great care has been taken in the building of the above coach, to render it agreeable to the Ladies.

Doors to be opened at half past Seven, to commence precisely at Eight o'clock. Front seats 1s. Back seats, 6d. Labour Notes will be taken.

The *Union Hymn*, and the *Gathering of the Union*, two National Glee's, (Dobbs) as sung at the Birmingham Great Meetings, are just Published by STRANGE, Paternoster-row: Price 6d. each, with the Music.

THE EIGHTH FESTIVAL of the ASSOCIATION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, established for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE AND POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on MONDAY, 1st Oct., 1832. Tickets of Admission, Visitors, 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 230, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner of Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street, and 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

Just Published, price only Two-pence,

THE CIRCULATING MEDIUM, and the present mode of EXCHANGE, the CAUSE of increasing DISTRESS among the productive classes—Labour Exchange Banks the only remedy. With a Short Account of the Equitable Labour Exchange in Gray's Inn Road, now open. ROBERT OWEN, Governor.

"You may insist that your gold is valuable, no doubt; but our notes are not promissory—they always perform without promising."—page 8.

By a Co-OPERATOR. LONDON: Strange, Berger, Purkis.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BERGER, Holywell-street; and PURKISS, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer, Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 31.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

DANGEROUS APPLICATION OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE.

WHAT a variety of interpretations, into what a variety of services, and to what a diversity of objects, have figurative passages of scripture been pressed! The leaven diffused through the three measures of meal, was for ages interpreted as the gospel diffused through the whole world, which then consisted of three divisions, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Columbus quashed this interpretation by discovering America. The Cavaliers and Round-heads of former times, the Whigs and Tories of the present day, and all opposing sects and parties, can find scriptures suited to their conflicting purposes. The carrying out of these texts, is however sometimes dangerous, and the figure turned into a fact becomes startling:—

"A Clergyman not quite a hundred miles from this city, preached a most edifying discourse on 'come and draw water out of the wells of salvation without money and without price.' On the following week, some of the parishioners took the liberty of drawing water from a very fine spring well, in the person's garden, at which the learned divine was not a little nettled. Being reminded by the intruder, of his text and sermon, the Rev. gentleman replied, 'you may draw as much water as you like from the wells of salvation, but if you come here again and take my water, I'll send a bullet through you.'"
Edinburgh Evening Post, of Monday week.

INCENDIARISM IN KENT AND HAMPSHIRE.

THE darkness of the lengthening nights is beginning to be illuminated with the blaze of hay stacks. During the excitement occasioned by the Reform Bill these fires ceased to burn, but now the noise of that measure has died away, the incendiary is again lighting his torch, and instead of the land being illuminated with gas, oil, and transparencies, as was once anticipated, when that bill had passed, it is more than probable that during the coming winter there will be other and more terrific illuminations. We hope our forebodings may not be correct.

"Another incendiary fire took place on the night of Saturday last, at Catmore-hill, in the parish of Pulborough, which consumed a rick containing about seventeen loads of barley. We are informed that a tinder-box and matches were found on the spot."
Hampshire Telegraph.

"In Kent two fires have recently occurred on the estate of Earl Winchelsea. Rewards have been offered, but no discoveries made. Last Saturday the stack-yard of Mr. Finch, a considerable farmer residing at Chatham, near Canterbury, was in flames; and in spite of the engine two large ricks of peas and cinquefoil were destroyed. Another

fire took place on Saturday night, at the village of Horne, in the vicinity of Rochester; and a threatening letter from Swing has been received by John Bell, Esq., King's Counsel, who resides in the vicinity of Canterbury."—*Morn. Chron.*

Kent & Hampshire were the counties into which "The Special Commission" a few years ago directed its steps. But neither the terrors of the law, nor the persuasion of the gospel, deter the desperate peasants from the work of destruction. They do not rob to satisfy hunger, but destroy to gratify revenge. The labourer, the most valuable man in the world, is transformed into a demon, by artificial poverty, tantalized by hunger in the midst of plenty, and goaded to crime in the face of death.

A state of society in which the labouring classes who produce all, are destitute, is an unnatural state of society; the only signs of national prosperity being the comforts of the working classes, which comforts our Equitable Labor Exchanges alone can secure. All parties, ranks, and classes are interested in their support and success.

PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS OF THE WEEK AT OUR INSTITUTION.

ON Thursday evening, the argument between our disciples and the radicals, was resumed, continued, and postponed. The discussion was irregular, irrelevant, and stormy. A dust was created, and the subject lost sight of in the cloud. Although the small still voice of instruction on such occasions, resembles sowing seed in the whirlwind, some seeds however, may fall on the soil, and others may be carried to a distance, germinate, and spring up. The audience was very numerous, and the interest unabated. The argument ceased at ten o'clock. An expression of determination on the part of the proprietors of the Equitable Labour Exchange, to resist a distress, which the commissioners for paving and lighting, threatened to put in, was received with outrageous and long-lived approbation. Nothing can be more unjust, than this demand of the commissioners, for paving and lighting that part of the parish of St. Pancras, on which our Institution stands. They demand forty nine pounds and upwards, for which sum they have not furnished the slightest equivalent whatsoever—all that has been done, we have done.

On Sunday morning, the Rev. Thomas Macconnell, defended his conduct in the late busy and tumultuous scenes, in our Equitable Exchange, against the charge of being "unjust and brutish," preferred against him, on Thursday evening, in his absence, by an unknown individual. So complete and satisfactory was his defence, that its conclusion was followed by three distinct rounds of approbation, from a very numerous and attentive auditory. In the evening, the multitude filled the great room to overflowing, and heard Mr. Owen; while Mr. Macconnell lectured to a crowded congregation, at the North end of the Institution. The number of hearers on Sunday, was greater than has ever yet attended our public instructions. The two lectures are not sufficient to meet the demand which is now made on our public addresses.

During the past week, we have received no additional deposits, in order that we might gain upon our great pressure of business. All the other business of the exchange, has proceeded as usual; its extent has been very great. While we have had to bring down the valuations of the depositors to our standard, in very many instances, we have also had to raise it up to that standard, in some others.

On Monday evening last, we celebrated our eighth general social festival, admission to which, was secured by Labour Notes. The company assembled about nine, recreated themselves till one, and then dispersed. A friendly feeling pervaded the assembly, which the excellency of the vocal, and instrumental performances, tended to foster.

The Governor, according to his practice, blended instruction with recreation, by addressing the assembly in explanation of the nature and necessity of his system. In the absence of all fastidiousness, artifice, and form, the evening rolled silently, agreeably, and unconsciously away.

Persons resort to our Exchange from all parts of the metropolis, and its vicinity, and a confidence is placed in our honor by the depositors which is as encouraging to us, as it will be serviceable to them. Two or three instances of honesty and honor, in the depositors, under strong temptations to the contrary, have occurred within the last five or six days; and we have also to record one or two instances of attempts at deception. Our valuations of goods do not satisfy every depositor, as it is in vain to expect they should. We have one, and but one, principle of valuation. Ignorant of this principle, parties are discontented—enlightened upon it, they acquiesce in its justice. Such knowledge is given of every branch of trade, that all the mysteries and secretaries of businesses and callings are rapidly vanishing away. A new window has been put

into our dwelling. Groups of people stand constantly around the entrance of our Institution discussing the merits of our measures. Visitors daily throng the Exchange to gratify their curiosity and to do business; on Sunday, as well as the week-day, the dulness of Gray's Inn Road is relieved, and its inhabitants excited by the collected multitudes that throng around our doors. The committee appointed to take the case of the unproductive industrious classes into consideration, at our last public meeting, have sat every morning this week.

EXPERIENCE ON EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

THE writer of the following articles having heard many dissenting opinions on the advantages likely to arise from Labour Exchange Notes being made a Circulating Medium, has put these few ideas together, on this important subject, in consequence of his having found them so far successful as to remove many erroneous impressions. He is anxious indeed that the *True Sun* should not endure even a partial eclipse; and if the following remarks are considered of any service in the great cause, his end is answered:—

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON LABOUR EXCHANGE BANKS.

An answer to queries on the subject of Labour Exchange, by a Spectator, not in any way connected with Institutions of the above description.

WHAT are the probable advantages that may result to individuals, by the exchange of labour, as the compensating medium?

It may be answered,—that it is calculated to create the only real and profitable confidence, which ought to exist between man and man, by their being made, not only to believe, but to experience also the incontrovertible truth, that “honesty is the best policy,”—by opening the way to a practical integrity in the various transactions of life hitherto unknown, which, in the extent of its various operations, must ultimately destroy all those base and avaricious principles in dealings, which have proved so fatal, both to individual, as well as to the whole chain of social interests, which ought to be the bond of an enlightened nation.

As the temple of avarice crumbles in decay, so will the reasonable man be established, and then its priests shall no longer receive the blood offering, or the offering of gold at its shrine, they will then gladly acknowledge the empire of reason, and the supremacy of the book of nature, as an unerring guide.

To all those who may have experienced disappointment, from their first deposits of their goods in Labour Banks, under supposed depreciation of labour value, to such we would say, they would do well to examine the import of the word Exchange, we understand it to comprehend a double or reciprocal transaction. Whereas, those who may have deposited merely from the dictates of avarice, probably anticipated an immediate realization, from the first and simple act of depositing. Now the most avaricious usurer in the world, will feel partial contentment in the prospect of a compound interest, and if no better principle actuated a depositor when leaving his property in the stores of the Equitable Exchange Bazaar,—that alone, might tempt him to indulge a patient hope of satisfying his individual expectation even in that way. We will now attempt to prove, that a depositor, should he even lose in the first instance, according to his calculation of gain, he will ultimately find himself a gainer in a compound degree, by the operation of Labour Exchange, if it be allowed sufficient time for its various workings. If all depositors are supposed to deposit without immediate profit, and the articles so deposited, are issued from the magazines of the Institution unincumbered with cent. per cent, so the party

drawing therefrom must be a gainer in a compound degree, according to the extent of his transactions by way of Exchange. For if he lose three shillings in the pound, by his own deposit, and his labour credit enables him to exchange with four others who may have deposited in like manner, it is evident he must reap nine shillings in the pound, for his supposed lost three, and has merely thrown the sprat to catch the salmon. And it should be remembered at the same time, that the price of the seed which is to produce such an abundance, must be considered as an out-going and the ten or one hundred fold crop in harvest, the return, which none need expect to reap at present, but those who have first sown the seed at their own cost. And we conclude so far, by hinting to querists in these matters, that they will most assuredly meet with disappointment, if they expect any other advantages than those which shall result from the operations of the true and Equitable principles of Labour Exchanges. We would further caution the public, against their making stumbling blocks, of the measures which are merely employed as stepping stones over the mire (in which society has ever been groveling) to the land whereon the permanent foundation of social happiness and durable prosperity shall be laid. The rays of truth are already above the dark horizon, and the effulgent body is now rising to a glorious meridian, which shall know no declination.

J. D.

Thursday evening, 22 Dier's place, Somer's Town.

DIRECTIONS FOR FINDING THE COMET.

ANY person desirous of finding the Comet, should look, about ten o'clock, with a good achromatic telescope, of a power not less than 100. The best rule for finding the exact place of the comet, will be first to get the star Aurige, and then joining this star with Geminarium, the Comet will appear somewhere in that line; but as every evening causes change of place, if the astronomer is desirous of making a series of observations he must pursue it in the reverse order of the signs, its right ascension being less every succeeding day.”

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. Sturges is informed, that owing to his Letter having been placed with the “*Rational Catechism*,” they were regarded as one and the same. We feel glad, however, that his Letter was published, since it states the great good he has reaped from our principles.

J. D. on the value of time, and F. F. F. are in our hands. Several other letters have been received, to which answers will be given on Sunday, at the Lectures.

• • We particularly direct the attention of our readers, to our answer given on the opposite page, to a complaint lodged against our Exchange by a tailor, in the Times of Tuesday last.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6.

THE VETO OF ANDREW JACKSON,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
AGAINST THE RENEWAL OF THE CHARTER
OF THE UNITED STATES BANK.

At a time when the wisdom and justice of renewing the charter of the Bank of England is under consideration, and when Equitable Exchange Labour Banks are establishing in England, the address of President Jackson to the two houses of the legislature of the United States on the same subject, cannot but be interesting and instructive.

A simultaneous movement is made without any previous concert, in both hemispheres, on the same topic. That there ought in a commonwealth to be no chartered companies, is a doctrine so palpable, that nothing but the confused and artificial state in which society now is, can account for such matters being for a moment the subject of grave discussion. We give extracts from President Jackson's address like the Bible society gives the scriptures to the poor, without note or comment:—

“The present corporate body have existed twenty years. It enjoys an exclusive privilege of banking; and, as a necessary consequence, almost a monopoly of the foreign and domestic exchange. The proposed act before me proposes another gratuity to the holders of the same stock, of at least seven millions. This donation finds no apology in any uncertainty as to the effect of the act. And it is not our citizens only who are to receive the bounty of Government; more than eight millions of the stock of this bank are held by foreigners. By this act the American republic proposes virtually to make them a present of some millions of dollars.

Every monopoly, and all exclusive privileges, regranted at the expense of the public, which ought to receive a fair equivalent. The many millions which this act proposes to bestow on the stockholders of the existing bank, must come directly or indirectly out of the earnings of the American people.

But this act does not permit competition in the purchase of this monopoly. It appears that more than a fourth part of the stock is held by foreigners, and the residue is held by a few hundred of our own citizens, chiefly of the richest class; for their benefit does this act exclude the whole of the American people from competition in the purchase of this monopoly, and dispose of it for many millions less than its worth. It is but justice and good policy, as far as the nature of the case will admit, to confine our favours to our own fellow-citizens, and let each in his turn enjoy an opportunity to profit by our bounty.

It has been urged as an argument in favour of rechartering the present bank, that the calling in its loans will produce great embarrassment and distress. The time allowed to close its concerns is ample, and if it has been well managed, its pressure will be light, and heavy only in case its management has been bad. If, therefore, it shall produce distress, the fault will be its own, and it would furnish a reason against renewing a power which had been so obviously abused. But, will there ever be a time when this reason will be less powerful! To acknowledge its force is to admit that the bank ought to be perpetual.

The fourth section provides, “that the notes or bills of the said corporation, although the same be on the faces thereof, respectively made payable at once place only, shall, nevertheless be received by the said corporation at the bank, or at any of the offices of discount and deposit thereof, if tendered in liquidation or payment of any balance or balances due to said corporation, or to such office of discount and deposit from any other incorporated bank.” This provision secures to the state banks a legal privilege in the bank of the United States, which is withheld from all private citizens. If a state bank in Philadelphia owe the bank of the United States, and have notes issued by St. Louis branch, it can pay the debt with those notes; but if a merchant, mechanic, or other private citizen, be in like circumstances, he cannot by law pay his debt with those notes,

but must sell them at a discount, or send them to St. Louis to be cashed. This boon, conceded to the state banks, though not unjust in itself, is most odious, because it does not measure out equal justice to the high and the low, the rich and the poor.

The ninth section of the act recognises principles of worse tendency than any provision of the present charter.

It enacts that "the cashier of the bank shall annually report to the secretary of the treasury the names of all stock-holders who are not resident citizens of the United States, and on the application of the treasurer of any state, shall make out and transmit to such treasurer a list of stock-holders residing in, or citizens of such state, with the amount of stock held by each." Although this provision surrenders, by its silence, the right of the states to tax the branch bank institutions created by this corporation—it is evidently intended as a concession of their right to tax that portion of the stock which may be held by their own citizens and residents. In this light if the act becomes a law, it will be understood by the states, who will probably proceed to levy a tax equal to that paid upon the stock of banks incorporated by themselves. In some states that tax is now one per cent. As it is only the stock held in the states, which would be subject to taxation; and as the names of foreign stock-holders are not to be reported to the treasurers, it is obvious that the stock held by them will be exempt from this burden. Their annual profits will therefore be one per cent. more than the citizen stock-holders.

The tendency of the plan will be to place the whole United States in the same relation of debtors to foreign countries which the western states now bear to the eastern. When by a tax on resident stock-holders the stock of this bank is made worth more to foreigners than to residents, most of it will inevitably leave the country. Thus will this provision make the American people debtors to aliens in nearly the whole amount due to this bank, and send across the Atlantic from two to five millions of specie every year to pay the bank dividends.

In another of its bearings the provision is fraught with danger. Of the twenty five directors of this bank, five are chosen by the government and twenty by the citizen stock-holders. From all voice in these elections the foreign stock-holders are excluded by the charter. In proportion, therefore, as the stock is transferred to foreign holders, the extent of suffrage in the choice of directors, is curtailed. Already, is almost a third of the stock in foreign hands, and not represented in elections. It is constantly passing out of the country, and this act will accelerate its departure. The entire control of the institution would necessarily fall into the hands of the few citizen stock-holders, and the ease with which the object would be accomplished, would be a temptation, to designing men, to secure that control in their own hands, by monopolizing the remaining stock. There is danger that a president and directors would then be able to elect themselves from year to year, and without responsibility or control, manage the whole concerns of the bank, during the existence of its charter. It is easy to conceive, that great evils to our country and its institutions, might flow from such a concentration of power in the hands of a few men irresponsible to the people. Is there no danger to our liberty and independence, in a bank, that in its nature has so little to bind it to our country?

Should the stock of the bank principally pass into the hands of the subjects of a foreign country, and we should unfortunately become involved in a war with that country, what would be our condition? Of the course which would be pursued

by a bank almost wholly owned by the subjects of a foreign power, there can be no doubt. All its operations within, would be in aid of the hostile fleets and armies without.

The old bank of the United States possessed a capital of only eleven millions of dollars, which was found fully sufficient to enable it, with dispatch and safety, to perform all the functions required of it by the Government. The capital of the present bank is thirty-five millions of dollars—at least twenty four more than experience has proved to be necessary to enable the bank to perform its public functions. The public debt which existed during the period of the old bank, and on the establishment of the new, has been nearly paid off, and our revenue will soon be reduced. This increase of capital is, therefore, not for public but for private purposes.

It is maintained by some that the bank is a means of executing the constitutional power "to coin money, and to regulate the value thereof." Congress has established a mint to coin money, and passed laws to regulate the value thereof. The money so coined, and such foreign coins as Congress may adopt, are the only currency known to the Constitution; but if they have other power to regulate the currency, it was transferred to be exercised by themselves, and not to be transferred to a corporation. It is neither necessary nor proper to transfer its legislative powers to such a bank, and therefore unconstitutional.

It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under any just government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth, cannot be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyments of the gifts of heaven, and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law. But when the laws undertake to add to these just advantages, artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer, and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society, the farmers, mechanics, and labourers, who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favours to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government."

ANDREW JACKSON.

PRESENT HIGH PRICE OF BREAD.

[FROM THE MORNING HERALD OF THURSDAY.]

"The present high price of bread in the metropolis, and indeed as far as we can learn all over the Kingdom, compared with the reduced price of corn, after the late abundant harvest, is a subject on which every one is interested, and calls for prompt remonstrance and correction. The fault, as far as we have been able to ascertain it, appears to lay with the middle men; the price of the manufactured material, the flour bearing no just proportion to that of the raw material, the corn."

The possibility of such an occurrence as this, shews the necessity of doing away with middle men. The present system of society, is daily increasing their numbers. Our system proposes to dispense with them altogether.

FROM THE TIMES OF TUESDAY.

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.]

SIR.—I am a poor journeyman tailor, with a wife and three children to support, and at present unemployed. I trust that I shall not be deemed guilty of egotism in saying, I am industriously disposed, and with a wish of earning a crust for my poor children. Under the representations of the friends of Mr. Owen's system, I borrowed £2 from a friend, purchased the cloth for a coat,

trimmings, &c., which cost me, in cash, thirty-six shillings, made the coat and took it to the Bazaar on Tuesday. I could not get an answer till Friday, when I called in, and "lo, and behold!" they valued my coat at thirty-two shillings in labour notes. If this is what Mr. Owen calls a fair remuneration for labour, I wish he would take the trouble to point it out to me. As I am an experienced workman, I am confident the coat will bear any inspection. Now sir, after working hard for nearly three days, and waiting at the Bazaar for two days more, I received from Mr. Owen or his agents, less than the actual cost price of the material. If you can insert the above in your valuable paper, your will oblige, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

P. W.

Bridgewater Square,
Barbican.

•• We publish this in order that Mr. Owen may give, which we dare say he will, a satisfactory explanation.

An Explanation, written by Mr. OWEN expressly for "The Times," was sent to that Paper on Wednesday, but had not appeared in its Columns when we went to press.

ANSWER.

GRANTING the truth of this statement, our answer is the following explanation, which has in substance been repeated a thousand times to the depositors, who are misled by the notion of sixpence per hour for labour, and the cost price of materials. The sixpence per hour is merely nominal; and is put to assist calculations. People have been accustomed to money, and money terms are necessary to assist them in their calculations. It would be precisely the same in a system of business which does without money, if we put labour at five shillings per hour, provided it extended itself to all articles. If a man deposited at five shillings, he would have to take out, at the same rate. This value of labour then is merely nominal, and is used to assist calculation. What regulates our real valuation of articles, is the lowest market price out of doors.

Every person goes to the cheapest market. Except we are as cheap as others, nobody will come near us; and if nobody come near us to take goods away, it will be to no purpose for depositors to bring them. We, therefore, value all goods on a scale that shall secure exchangers; and by putting them all on one scale, it is perfectly immaterial to the depositors, because if they put in low, they take out low; if they were to put in high, they would take out high. But while it is quite unimportant to them whether the valuations be high or low, it is very important to us that they be low; because we have to dispose of these goods to persons out of doors who make no deposits. The question then with a depositor is, not "Whether he is remunerated for his materials and labour, by the price we fix;" but "whether he can have other articles which he wants, out of the exchange at the same rate?" If he cannot, then do not let him deposit. If he can he may deposit to a very great advantage. As it regards the depositors' loss of time we deeply regret the fact though we could not help it. If we owed the depositors money, it might be of use to us to put them off as long as possible, because we might make use of the money in the mean time. But as we do not, it is our loss as well as theirs, that they have to come so often, because no business is done. If it be said "Why did you not get more help?" The answer is, that during the time our Bank was opened a fortnight for deposits only, none scarcely came in. When the Exchanges began, the multitude pressed upon us incessantly, expecting they could all be served in an instant. From the business of the first fortnight, we could

not calculate on the press that immediately followed; and consequently we could not be prepared for it. When we open again, notice of which will be given on Sunday, at the Lecture, we shall be perfectly prepared; and depositors will have an answer, before they leave the Institution.

RESISTANCE TO RENT IN IRELAND AS WELL AS TITHE.

"PASSIVE resistance to the payment of rent has commenced. A distress for rent in arrear was lately put up for sale, in the neighbourhood of Kawtrick, but there were no bidders; and there is no perceptible difference between the passive resistance to rent and tithe."—*Cork Constitution.*

A RATIONAL CATECHISM, (Continued from No. 28.)

WHAT is the irresistible incentive to all human voluntary action?

Self-love and gratification; or, the desire of happiness. All action committed with a design, and by the consent of the individual, is undertaken by him, for the removal, either immediately or remotely, directly or indirectly, of disagreeable or uneasy sensations, or, for the procuring of agreeable or pleasurable ones.

Then no human being or moral action can be said to be strictly disinterested?

Certainly not. All action must proceed from a personally interested motive; that is, to remove the uneasiness caused in our minds by some desire. Consequently, as even the most benevolent actions, performed by an individual at his own risk, without reference to the sacrifices they may cost him, are undertaken by him to remove the uneasiness that the desire to benefit others occasioned, they must emanate from motives of self-interest; rational, just, honourable, true, right, and proper self-interest, but yet self-interest, notwithstanding.

But all moral action cannot be said to proceed from mere selfishness, or selfish feelings?

No: selfishness may be defined to be a disposition to embrace all that the individual conceives will conduce to his own happiness, without regarding whether the fulfilment of his desires may or may not interfere with the happiness of others.

We can easily perceive that the benevolent man deserves, and ought in common justice to enjoy a greater amount of happiness than the merely selfish man—is it so?

Of pure, legitimate happiness unquestionably he does. To understand this, it is necessary to bear in mind, that there are two kinds of sensations or feelings, of which no human being can divest himself,—*self-praise, and self-disapprobation*, or, rather, *self-gratulation and self-abasement*; and in proportion as either of these sensations predominate in the mind of an individual, will he enjoy happiness or experience unhappiness. It needs no argument to establish the proof of the great and lasting pleasure which arises from the consciousness of being instrumental to the well being of our fellows; nor will any one deny, that no sensation can be more humiliating and painful, than the consciousness of having been the cause of unhappiness to our fellows. Indeed, if we are not able to convince ourselves that we have been the means of good to them, we cannot avoid experiencing a sense of degradation. Tell a man he has never been of any use to society, how would you startle and mortify his pride! The practice of benevolence then,—defining this quality of the mind to be a disposition to do good and to eschew evil—to love virtue and abhor vice,—is the only means of real happiness. What is friendship, virtuous love, domestic endearments—in fact, what is all the happiness that we enjoy in this life, but the mutual interchange of benevolent affection and kind offices, each party being reciprocally benefitted by the interchange?—Benevolence, constitutes the sum and substance of all religion, all virtue, all morality. Were the practice of it general among mankind, even the present competitive state of society, would lose half its deformity; but such is the baneful pressure of

the evil of competition, that the benevolent affections of men, have either been closely confined within the precincts of their own narrow circle of family and connections, or totally stifled and usurped by a debasing selfishness. It is only when benevolence shall become universal, that the human race will enjoy real happiness. Then will the true Millennium be verified; vice and misery will be unknown; care, and sorrow, and fear, will vanish from the world, the perfectibility of nature and man will be made manifest, and the earth will become a terrestrial paradise. But this happy consummation can only come to pass in a COMMUNITY of INTERESTS, to prepare mankind for which the philanthropic OWEN has been so long, and is now so gloriously labouring.

Do you consider that man is naturally or innately benevolent?

It is perhaps impossible to decide whether man possesses any innate moral quality whatever. It is only by comparing the effects of opposite kinds of action, and opposite states of being, that he is enabled to distinguish good from evil, or, those causes which are essential to happiness, and those which produce misery. The exercise of an active kindness towards his fellows, he finds no less congenial with his natural sympathies, than beneficial to his own self-interest, by giving him a claim for a similar return of good offices from them. And such is the force of the source of gratitude for benefits received, that that man's nature must be totally perverted from its original bias, who does not acknowledge the justice of this claim, and feel the disposition to fulfil it, even although more powerful motives of selfishness may interfere with that fulfilment. It has been well said, that ingratitude is so enormously base, that no man ever confessed it without a perception of the lowest degradation. There is also another inducement for the practice of kindness towards others,—the desire of the approbation of our fellows. Actions proceeding from this desire, when not founded in motives of true benevolence, may be called generous; and these are more frequently performed, rather to gain the approbation of others, than to promote our own self-esteem. The desire of the approbation of others, fair fame, and good (To be continued in our next.)

FROM THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

MR. OWEN.—In consequence of the large quantity of goods still unvalued at the Exchange Bazaar, Gray's Inn Road, the Directors have again postponed the time for the deposit of goods, and Monday next, 8th instant, is the time now fixed for receiving them. Articles may, however, be obtained in exchange for Labour Notes already in circulation. Sunday morning Mr. Owen lectured in the large room to a crowded audience; and in the evening both the great room, and another room capable of holding about 700 persons were crowded to suffocation. Mr. Owen lecturing in the former, and the Rev. T. Macconnell in the latter.

RUMOURED ARREST OF THE RIGHT REV. DR. DOYLE. MOVEMENT OF THE TROOPS—TITHES.

TITHES are every day becoming a more intolerable burder to the Irish Catholic, and an increasing difficulty in the way of government. We suppose that so far from our legislators finding the church a support to the state, as she was accustomed to be esteemed, they now find her to be a clog; and that the time is not very far distant, in Ireland at least, when they will yield to circumstances which they cannot long successfully resist.

A REPORT was in general circulation yesterday, that an order had been issued by Government for the apprehension of Dr. Doyle. The report was credited, and the fact of a large body of troops having been ordered to Carlow to give a colour to it. The movement of the troops, we rather think, however, was for the purpose of assisting the civil authority in the collection of the arrear of tithes

due to several clergymen in the county of Carlow, the Queen's county, and the county of Kilkenny. These tithes have now become the property of the Crown, and yesterday orders were made by the Lord Chancellor against a vast number of defaulters, directing, that if the amount due be not discharged within ten days, attachments against the parties should be issued. In order to enforce the process a detachment of the Guards proceeded yesterday to the county Carlow. The cavalry and artillery in the garrison are ordered to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice, should resistance to the authorities be manifested.—*Dublin Evening Mail.*

To ROBERT OWEN, Esq.

SOUTHAMPTON,

September 27, 1839.

SIR.—I take the liberty of making you the following offer, to ship you from Southampton, on your account and sea risk, 100 tons of pink eyed potatoes, samples of which I will send you, before shipment, to be paid for in the following way: one third remitted to me in Labour Notes, on my making the shipment, and sending you bills of lading, that you may effect insurance; the other two thirds to be paid for in Labour Notes two months after delivery.

Price £1 10s. 0d. per ton.

Freight 0 7s. 0d.

£1 17s. 0d. per ton.

Delivered in London.

Should these terms meet your views, I should be happy to hear from you.

[Here follows his name and Address.]

•• This offer was made unsolicited and unsought. It is perfectly gratuitous; and comes to us as we wish, expect, and are confident, all applications from all sorts of men in business will come to us, when our principle and measures are fully understood and extensively known.—[Ed.]

ADVERTISEMENTS. NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC. EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE, GRAY'S-INN-ROAD.

ALL persons who are favorably disposed to the principles upon which business is transacted at the Exchange, and which principles are luminously explained in another part of this paper, in answer to a letter which appeared in the Times of Tuesday last, are informed, that the following articles are wanted as deposits in the Exchange:—Provisions of all kinds: Broad Cloths; Kersymeres; Linens and Cottons; Leather; Canebottom Chairs; Beaver and other hat materials; Brushes of all kinds; General assortment of Ironmongery; Shoes; Ladies double galashed boots, from 1 to 6; Leather double sole Cordovan; Brunswick Ties, 1 to 6 straight, and right and left; Brunswick Ties Slippers; Lasting backed pump boots, straight, right and left 1 to 6; Double soled lasting backed pump boots; Double soled galashed lasting backed pump boots; Children's black shoes of all sizes; Coats, Great coats and trowsers of all kinds; Shoes of all kinds; Beds, mattresses and blankets; Plain and useful cabinet furniture; Cooper's ware; Workmen's tools, Coals, and handsome Watches, &c., &c.

Sunday, Sept. 1839.

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.]

FOUND this Morning by a Lady walking up the stairs of Mr. Owen's Institution, a purse, containing gold and silver coin and other documents. The owner of the purse may have it again by giving a proper description, and right of claim, to the same, to the Governor of the Institution, who has the address of the finder, &c.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BRADSHAW, Holywell-street; and PURKISS, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 32.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

ORIGIN OF TITHES IN ENGLAND.

We have repeatedly spoken of the end of tithes in Ireland, we now speak of their beginning in England. The age to which the following statement refers, was a dark age. In darkness they had their origin; in light they will meet with their destruction. In Ireland they are at a stand, and will soon be at an end: in England, there are some symptoms of uneasiness at the grievous impost; and at Birmingham, which seems now to take a lead in political movements, a church-rate, after a stormy controversy, has just been refused. These are the beginnings of Established Ecclesiastical overthrow; and the name *Established*, no longer applicable to the church in Ireland, will by degrees become unsuited to the English Church.

"About this time (A. D. 835) Ethelwolf conferred a donation on the clergy, for which they had been contending during several ages. The Jewish Law, which bestowed on the Levites the tenth of all the produce of the land, was universally regarded by the clergy as obligatory on Christians; and, notwithstanding the obvious absurdity of this application of the law of Moses, they were inclined to extend it to a tenth of all merchandise, industry, wages of labourers, and pay of soldiers. They preached with great warmth and sincerity this indispensable duty; but the interests of the laity had hitherto been too powerful for their eloquence. At length Ethelwolf granted their request; and the states of the kingdom consented to the establishment of tithes. The English, doubtless, imagined that this benevolence would procure them the protection of Heaven against the Danes. This was the epoch of clerical opulence in England."—*Abbe de Milot's Elements of English History.*

BUSINESS OF THE WEEK AT OUR ESTABLISHMENT.

THE discussion between our disciples and the politicians, has come to a close. We hope that benefit may have accrued to some parties from the controversy. In a disputation light can rarely be obtained without heat. It is not for us to determine, whether we had gained the victory or not, as the question was not put to the vote; but, sure we are, that on Thursday Evening, we were almost left in undisturbed possession of the field. But victory is not our object. Mr. Owen directed the attention of his numerous peaceable and approving auditory to the best mode of tilling the ground. He contrasted spade cultivation with that of the plough, and satisfactorily demonstrated the superiority of one over the other, which he illustrated by the fact of a Mr. Falla, of Gateshead, near Newcastle, who had gained a fortune by spade agriculture. He said, that instead of the millen-

nium proceeding from the clouds, a great part of it would come from the spade. The audience separated at ten. On Sunday morning, Mr. Rosser read a lecture, which he had originally delivered at the Institution in Burton Street; which lecture he said, had been altered, enlarged, and improved. The audience appeared highly gratified with it. At its conclusion, the Rev. Thomas Macconnell arose and put some questions to Mr. Rosser, combated some of his positions, and regretted that politics were mixed up in the lecture with Mr. Owen's principles. These two ingredients he said could never possibly coalesce, and all attempts at mixture, shewed that parties making such attempts, could not understand the difference between Owenism and Politics. Mr. Rosser replied, and Mr. Owen concluded, and said, that he should teach the people to look at something better than Parliamentary Reform, and political elections. On Sunday Evening Mr. Owen lectured in the large lecture room, to a very crowded auditory, although the evening was very wet: and the Rev. Thomas Macconnell addressed a numerous audience at the north end of the Institution. Mr. Macconnell's lecture was "On the past experience, present condition, and future prospects of our Equitable Labour Exchange," entrance to which is out of Liverpool Street, is instituted for the accommodation of those who cannot obtain admission to Mr. Owen's. It consequently does not commence until half an hour after Mr. Owen's lecture. Seats are now provided, and the quiet comfort of the audience greatly facilitates the work of instruction.

On Monday, we opened for deposits. Although as little publicity as possible had been given to the measure, our doors were surrounded by an impatient crowd, long before our hour of business. All our deposits are now made at the North End of the Institution, parties entering out of Derby Street. By this measure we shall relieve the foot-path of Gray's-Inn-Road, from the serious obstruction which there has been upon it of late. We regret the annoyance to which passengers have been exposed, and the inhabitants, subject; but that will now all cease.

A great stroke of business has been done this week. Owing to so many small deposits, being a serious hindrance to business, we have decided to receive no lot of goods of less real value than forty hours, or of the nominal money value of twenty shillings. We have acted on the decision since Tuesday last. The Committee appointed at our last Public Meeting, to take into their consideration the condition of the unproductive Industrious classes, and report thereon, have continued

their sittings through this week, at six o'clock in the morning, and are now in a very considerable state of forwardness towards the accomplishment of their humane and patriotic purpose.

THE SAINT SIMONIAN.

THOUGH the St. Simonians are buried, they are not dead; and though their persons are incarcerated, their doctrines are free. In what a precarious position must any government feel itself placed when necessitated to imprison the propagators of any particular tenets! If these tenets are bad, let them be confuted by those which are good; if they are good, their advocates deserve a palace rather than a prison; and a chain of gold around their necks, than chains of iron around their hands. But, who, or what is to decide whether they be good or evil? Reason, assuredly. But force has here superseded reason, and the eventual issue remains to be seen.

"The police of Paris continues to exercise rigour towards the St. Simonians at Menilmontant. The doors are regularly guarded three times a week, and even the nearest relations of the inhabitants of the house are prevented from entering. M. Perrier, a notary, who has business with M. Enfantin, being refused admittance, drew up a formal protest against his exclusion. A new process has been instituted against the members of the society, founded upon art. 291 of the Penal Code, and M. Enfantin and M. Michel Chevalier have both received summonses to appear before the Juge d'Instruction. M. Merigot, a priest of the Eglise Francaise, officiated on Saturday in the great room of the St. Simonians, No. 2, Place de la Sorbonne. Having in his sermon indulged in remarks upon the intolerance of the Clergy, and the dogmas of the Catholic Church, many persons of the congregation openly gave tokens of disapprobation, and the attendants departed very little edified."

CASE OF UNPRECEDENTED GENEROSITY.

It is very agreeable to memorialize unostentatious displays of kindness; and although we may regard good feeling as misdirected in many instances, we cannot but rejoice in its existence. Our new system of society would not only direct the stream, but replenish the spring.

"A poor labouring man in the employment of Mr. Butter of this town, heir at law to M. Edmonds Esq., of Needmore Forest Staffordshire, received the purchase money of the estate, 3,000*l.* and upwards, and divided 1,200*l.* freely amongst his relatives, next of kin to his uncle deceased, in equal proportions. Seventy-five males and females, some in destitute and distressed situations, after receiving his bounty, partook of an excellent dinner, at the White Hart, Burton."—*Birmingham Journal.*

FIVE FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS

COMMONLY BELIEVED AND TAUGHT TO BE TRUTHS, AND WHICH HAS CREATED, AND STILL PERPETUATES, THE PRESENT DEPLORABLY VICIOUS STATE OF SOCIETY.

First Error.—That the individual possesses within himself the power to form his own will or motive to action.

Second Error.—That the will when so formed directs and controuls the other faculties of his nature.

Third Error.—That he is, therefore, through the medium of his will, a free agent, to think and feel, to like and dislike, to believe and disbelieve, and to do or not to do, as he himself may please to will.

Fourth Error.—That he is by reason of such his supposed free-agency, justly responsible to his fellow man in this world, and also to a Supreme Being after his death, in some future world, for his particular affections, convictions, and conduct.

Fifth Error.—That the best mode of governing man is through his imaginations and fears, by punishment, and the fear of punishment from his fellow man, in this world; and also by exacting his belief from infancy to certain religious mysteries and miracles, said to be divine Revelation, but unsupported by any known facts, under the threat of eternal torments for his disbelief.

The foundation of all the present political, religious, commercial, and domestic institutions of this country is wholly and solely the mere simple belief that these five false notions are so many truths, and by reason thereof such institutions have not and cannot impart to the people either a good, sound, useful education, or beneficial employment, for—

It is the belief that these errors are truths, that has made the enemies of man to be those of his own household; that sets husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, and all others, whether friends or relations, at enmity with each other, on account of their difference of opinion and conduct; that sets families against families, and nations against nations, until their passions breed murders that pollute the earth with human gore.

It is the belief that these errors are truths that recently reduced upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand of Ireland's peasantry, upon her western shores, to starvation, and continues to afflict that fine country with poverty and crimes, appalling to the ear and sickening to the heart.

It is the belief that these errors are truths, that has already reduced the labouring classes, and is rapidly reducing the middling classes, of this country to a similar state of poverty, crime, and wretchedness, threatening to involve in the ruin, the nobles, clergy, and gentry.

It is the belief that these errors are truths, that has created the horrible necessity for such a lamentable number of prisons, workhouses, and charitable institutions, in this country, possessing at the same time means, if properly applied, for the purpose of producing daily more real wealth than the whole of its inhabitants could possibly consume, and also possessing the means, if pro-

perly applied, of imparting to every child, born within its dominions, a superior education, for intelligence, useful industry, and good feelings.

Be no longer misled, therefore, by the well-intentioned, but superstitious ravings of religious fanaticism, or by the mazy sophistical arguments of a learned, eloquent, but reason-enslaving priestcraft; but suspend your early imbibed, and therefore, more deeply rooted prejudices, whilst you calmly and dispassionately reflect upon the following

FIVE FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS

UPON WHICH ALONE AN ENTIRE NEW AND SUPERIOR STATE OF SOCIETY CAN NOW BE FOUNDED.

First Truth.—That man is a compound being whose character is formed of his constitution or organization at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances upon it, from birth to death, such original organization and external influences constantly acting and re-acting each upon the other.

Second Truth.—That man is compelled by his original constitution to receive his feelings and his convictions independent of his will.

Third Truth.—That his feelings, or his convictions, or both of them united, create the motive to action, called the will, which stimulates him to act, and decides his actions.

Fourth Truth.—That the organization of no two human beings is ever precisely similar at birth, nor can art, subsequently, form any two individuals from infancy to maturity, to be the same; and the

Fifth Truth.—That nevertheless the constitution of every infant, except in cases of organic disease, is capable of being formed or matured either into a very inferior or very superior being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth.

These five principles, or truths, form the groundwork of the "Science of Human Nature," now being developed to the world by Robert Owen, Esq., and prove how materially the character of every individual depends upon the influence of every general and particular circumstance, by which he may be surrounded from birth to death.

And it is greatly to be desired that upon the knowledge of these truths mankind may now be disposed cordially to unite with each other for the purpose of forming for themselves such a combination of new and superior domestic and commercial institutions, as will, at all times, enable them each for all, and all for each, rapidly and pleasantly to produce, and justly to distribute, the necessities and comforts of life, and (without the aid of religious mysteries and miracles, and without punishment or cruelty of any kind) train and educate all their children to become virtuous, intelligent, and useful beings, possessing true kindness, charity, and sincerity, towards each other, and mercy towards all animal life.

The Labour Exchange Bank is the first Institution upon the principles of the New Social System, and is calculated to benefit, either directly or indirectly all classes of society.—W. S.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A "Labourer" is received. Wm. Bracebear, and Alexander Morrison are in our hands. We are much indebted to "Oculus" for his observations. The recent "Co-operative Congress" meeting at Liverpool, in our next.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13.

MR. OWEN AND "THE TIMES."

WE give the complaint of a depositor, against our Equitable Labour Exchange, which complaint has recently appeared in the *Times*, and the answer of Mr. Owen, which has appeared in the same journal. This answer has, we understand, given great satisfaction.

COMPLAINT.

SIR.—I am a poor journeyman tailor, with a wife and three children to support, and at present unemployed. I trust that I shall not be deemed guilty of egotism in saying, I am industriously disposed, and with a wish of earning a crust for my poor children. Under the representations of the friends of Mr. Owen's system, I borrowed £3 from a friend, purchased the cloth for a coat, trimmings, &c., which cost me, in cash, thirty six shillings, made the coat and took it to the Bazaar on Tuesday. I could not get an answer till Friday, when I called in, and "lo, and behold!" they valued my coat at thirty-two shillings in labour notes. If this is what Mr. Owen calls a fair remuneration for labour, I wish he would take the trouble to point it out to me. As I am an experienced workman, I am confident the coat will bear any inspection. Now sir, after working hard for three days, and waiting at the Bazaar for two days more, I received from Mr. Owen or his agents, less than the actual cost price of the material. If you can insert the above in your valuable paper, your will oblige, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

P. M.

Bridgewater Square, Barbican.

* * We publish this in order that Mr. Owen may give, which we dare say he will, a satisfactory explanation.

ANSWER.

SIR,—I have just a moment to notice your correspondent's letter in yesterday's *Times*, signed "P. M." I always feel indebted to those who publicly complain of any of my proceedings, under circumstances that afford an opportunity of explanation. I have no knowledge of the particular transaction referred to by "P. M.," but if he will call at the Exchange, inquiry shall be made; and if there is any mistake, it shall be rectified.

As this is a new mode of relieving society from some of its pecuniary difficulties, it is necessary to explain the principles upon which it is founded; then "P. M." will discover, not only the justice, but the advantages, of the proceeding of which, with much apparent reason, he complains.

The Equitable Labour Exchange is established to enable all who have wealth which they wish to dispose of for other wealth, of equal value in the present estimation of society, to do so with the least loss or trouble, without moral degradation, and ultimately to effect all exchanges between the producers of wealth or of valuable services of any kind, in a manner the most beneficial for all parties.

Under existing arrangements the possessors of property are trained to endeavour to sell it at the

highest nominal price, and to purchase other property at the lowest nominal price: this state of things creates two opposing interests, and necessarily forms a low, deceptive, and immoral character throughout the population, and gives decided advantages, such as they are, to the experienced in trafficking, to the large capitalist, and to the men without principle, over the inexperienced, those without capital or with small capital, and the strictly honest; it thus produces a general conflict of interests, engenders and feeds all the lowest passions and vices that can be implanted in human nature, and destroys in the youth all the great ennobling qualities which might be, and which ought to be, cultivated with care from infancy in every human being.

This vicious course of proceeding also maintains society in ignorance, poverty, and crime, which superabound, and perpetuates the bad and irritable feelings occasioned by a contest arising from a competition on which the existence of the individual engaged in it depends. The Equitable Labour Exchange is intended to alter this degrading mode of conducting the business of life, and to relieve the wretched beings engaged in it from a senseless contest, which tends perpetually to injure both parties, physically and mentally, to an incalculable extent. This new mode of exchange, when it shall be properly organized and fully established, will remove the cause of these evils, and destroy all the injustice of the strong over the weak, and all the fraudulent intentions of the dishonest over the honest.

It will form an universal mart for the exchange of wealth, without any parties being at a loss for a market; it will fix the most just value that is practicable upon each portion of wealth, without the injurious interference of the interested buyer or seller; it will supply the circulating medium to effect the exchanges precisely to the amount required; and, when required, it will render credit unnecessary, and bad debts impossible; it will prevent the loss of much valuable time in seeking for markets and money, and recreate value to labour; it will render useful physical and mental services honourable, and make idleness and uselessness of no estimation, except among an irrational portion of our fellow-creatures, who will not long remain such with an improved state of public opinion.

This great change in the business of life will be easily and simply effected by the establishment of Equitable Labour Exchanges in the metropolis, and over the kingdom, which Exchanges will constitute marts of depots of wealth, with permanent disinterested arbiters or valuers of it, without the sellers or buyers coming into any immoral conflict upon the transfer of it from the one to the other; and each of these Exchanges, when properly organized, will form a market for the immediate sale and purchase of all articles of wealth. Messrs. James Morrison and Co., Leaf and Co., Sewell and Cross, &c., &c., are very slight approaches towards this change; but these establishments, although none can fairly object to them under the present system of individual competition, produce tremendous poverty, crime, and suffering, throughout all branches of trade within their circles, and the better and the more successfully they are conducted the more misery they must create. The Equitable Exchanges I have always intended should become a great national ameliorating measure. I have established the one in Gray's-Inn-Road, to exhibit to the public the general mechanism of such an arrangement, and to permit parties to see by the eye the only means by which the mass of the people can now be taught by what a simple process the distribution of wealth upon honest principles, and beneficially for all, might be made.

These Exchanges may now be formed to save the country 30 per cent. in the cost of distributing wealth, and also to cover the whole expense of the government of the country, extravagant as that expenditure has been; they may be made to create a very superior moral character in all classes, and to insure certain permanent prosperity to the British empire.

The one established in Gray's-Inn-Road is not for the gain of any individual, but, as its public constitution explains, it is founded to educate and employ the industrious classes to the full extent of

its funds, after paying the current expenses and legal interest in labour notes for the capital requisite to put it into activity; and this destination of its funds to be continually superintended, by a council of active practical men, who are solely appointed without salary, to examine and scrutinize all its proceedings. Whenever the Government shall have the wisdom to comprehend such a mighty machine for good, it will know how to make a rightful use of it.

I will now explain the probable cause of your correspondent "P. M.'s" complaint.

Upon opening the Exchange in Gray's-inn-road for deposits and exchanges, the rush of business so far exceeded the calculation of the parties elected by ballot to conduct it, that their arrangements were quite inadequate to conduct it with the order and decorum which I hope will, ere long, pervade all those Exchanges which shall be established upon the principles which I recommended in detail to the Courts of Lanark, in a period of great distress in 1819 and 1820. After opening the Exchange it became necessary in a few days to suspend receiving deposits until much more extensive arrangements could be provided for the purpose, and that the irregularities occasioned by such a concourse of men and women pouring in from all parts of the metropolis could be adjusted. This short and hurried experience has already produced much valuable information; and from Monday next, when the deposits will be again received, to the end of this year, the most valuable practical information may be expected to be obtained by the directors. Already it appears that there are three parties engaged in this great commercial struggle; the great producers and sellers, the moderate producers and sellers, and the small and generally individual producers and sellers of various kinds of wealth. The first make almost all the profit that is gained in these transactions; the second are in a continued struggle to advance to the first, or prevent themselves from falling into the third; the last are always in the fear of actual want, and not seldom suffering all the evils which it produces. These parties produce the same articles at three different cost prices,—the first the lowest, the second medium, and the third the highest. The last is often above the selling price of the first, in consequence of the parties, for want of capital or knowledge, being unable to go to the best market for materials, and not having proper arrangements for manufacturing in the cheapest or best mode, being deficient in aid from machinery, or good encouragement to carry on business. Sometimes, in addition, the individuals of the third, or lower class, are not good judges of the materials they use, or do not know how to cut them out to the most advantage; and not a few spoil the materials by their well-intentioned efforts to be industrious, and to do something when out of regular employment to support themselves and families, and thus the finished article becomes often of less value in the market than the material before it was cut up to be so misused.

Now it is intended that all articles shall be received at their fair average prime cost, when properly made up or manufactured for the market, and to be exchanged at a commission to cover the expenses of the exchange of 8½ per cent., or one penny in the shilling. This commission is too small upon small articles, and too large upon large articles, but when there is a mixture of both, it may cover the expenses after some time; and at a future period, when economy can be established in every department, and large exchanges shall be effected, it may be further reduced.

It seems likely that "P. M." is one of the producers at the highest rate of prime cost, and to bring his cost to the average prime cost it would become necessary to reduce it; but as he will expend the labour-note for other articles valued upon the same principle, it will be to him of no consequence at what rate of valuation the price were fixed, unless he desires to sell dear and buy cheap, which cannot, or ought not to be done by any one in these equitable exchanges.

That many misunderstandings amongst the depositors will arise for some time, and errors be com-

mitted by the officers of the establishment, and especially by the valuers, until the whole become familiar with their respective branches of business, I anticipated from the commencement; but as all are interested to do the best for the public without favour to any, and as no one individual will be retained who shall attempt to deceive a depositor, or injure him in any way, I expect in a few weeks or months to show a plain, straightforward course, by which the public shall be relieved from pecuniary and moral difficulties.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.

ROBERT OWEN.

Institution, Gray's-inn-road, Oct. 3.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

[FROM THE MORNING POST.]

SIR,—Woe be to that land where the children of the poor cry in vain for bread and for shelter; such is their state at this moment in England, and more particularly in London. Long, long have I pleaded their cause, but how few, alas! will pay any attention; even the public Press is grown tired of my complaint; the *Morning Herald* alone has not forsaken me. Your excellent paper now and then has a letter for me; but this is not enough. The House of Correction in Coldbath Fields has within its walls some hundreds of children and young people, whose offences are mostly trivial, and grow out of want and idleness. Many poor little boys are shut up among thieves for robbing orchards and fruit-gardens!!! There is scarcely a member of the House of Commons who did not do as much when he was young. One of our best officers in the Navy, as gallant a fellow as ever trod deck, always robbed his schoolmaster's fruit wall, and told him he would do it, because he once punished him unjustly. Had he been sent to Coldbath Fields for it he would now have been a convict instead of an ornament to the service, which he is. But we are trying all we can to drive the infant poor to vice and crime, to eradicate a sense of shame from their bosoms, then call them thieves and vagabonds, whip them, imprison them, and then turn them out better prepared to elude justice, and to commit crimes of increased magnitude, in proportion to the severity with which they have been treated. Shall we wonder that with such a system crimes increase? We hang, without remorse, the hapless mother who, under the pressure of want, strangles her new-born babe; but *her humanity* is greater than ours, who let the poor children die of want, or convert them to criminals by neglect. I first undertook the cause of these helpless creatures when that miserable woman (*Hibner* I think) was hanged, and justly hanged, for starving and beating her apprentices, two of whom died under her cruel hands. Your fine-spun theorists prate about West India cruelty; let them look at home. We murder our children body and soul in this country, by neglect, starvation, and cruelty. In the West Indies the children of the slaves are treated with the same kindness as those of the family; and whether in French, English, or Dutch settlements, I have never seen so much misery in six months in that country as I can shew you in ten minutes in this. I am perfectly at a loss to know why I am not supported by the Government, and by the Magistrates in Quarter Sessions. It is certain that the children in Coldbath Fields cost the country, one with another, nearly a shilling a day to keep them in that house, and to employ them in picking oakum! How is a young creature to earn its bread with such an education? I offer to make them happy, healthy, virtuous, and loyal, for half the money; ay, and to make them maintain themselves too; but very few listen to me. Some say very wisely, what is to become of them when they are educated? I say what is to become of them when they are not? Look at your gaols at this moment; look at your calendar; that answers my question; and if you look at our little Asylum at West Ham, the other question is much better answered. Our poor boys are reclaimed and happy, without police, or iron bar, or flogging. One of the

parishes, rather than pay the cost of a child's keep at our school, threatened to take him away and set him to *stone-breaking*; but the boy declared that if they did so he would instantly commit a felony and be transported! Can you blame him? Convicts are better off than honest labourers, though it costs double the money to keep a thief to what it would for an honest man! All I ask of the Government is a ship to lay at Woolwich, and twenty acres of land near the water side, with a certain allowance for each child. I will in return promise never to let a boy go to prison under sixteen years of age; and for the poor girls, there are plenty of *palaces*, such as the Greenwich School, Chelsea School, and the House of Occupations, where they might be protected and educated before they became thieves and prostitutes; and if that were not enough, I would also have a ship for them to lay off Woolwich, and have them trained to such work as would make them useful in our Colonies where they are much wanted. Oh, England! England! how blind to your own interests! Oh, ye check-population philosophers, what have you got to answer for? Read my letter to the King, and you will see.

EDWARD BRENTON.

18, York street, Gloucester-place, Oct. 5, 1832.

•• We have long advocated "Education and Employment" as the remedy for this evil, which remedy will be assisted by our Equitable Labour Exchanges, when they become fully understood.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.
We turn the attention of our readers to the following letter, which appeared in the Morning Chronicle of Saturday. It is valuable for the facts which it makes known.

SIR—I have to thank you for having so obligingly inserted my former letter on Crimes and Punishments. I once more address you on the same subject, and request the favour of you to publish in your Journal the following

REASONS

for issuing forth with a Commission as to Crimes and Punishments, similar in form and constitution to the Commission of Inquiry now in force as to the Poor of this kingdom:—

1. It is agreed on all hands, that the number of persons receiving relief from the Poor-rates in England is a most distressing weight upon the industrious. The present annual amount of Poor-rate is six millions!

2. Poverty produces crime.

3. Crime produces prisoners; say upwards of 80,000 human beings in a year in England, nine-tenths of whom cannot pay the expence of the bread they eat.

4. Prisons (as now conducted) increase crime, and occasion an expence in England of upwards of 340,000*l.* a-year.

5. A Commission is now in operation for inquiring into the cause of poverty, the Commissioners rendering their service gratuitously.

6. The result of such Commissions will be in a great degree unavailing, unless and until a similar Commission is issued for inquiries also into Crimes and Punishments.

7. For the saving of time, such Commission of Inquiry into Crimes and Punishments should issue immediately, and proceed *pari passu* with the Commission of Inquiry as to Poverty.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

A MAGISTRATE.

It appears that 340,000*l.* per annum, is paid by one part of society, for punishing another part, that are called *criminals*, a great portion of whom, in all probability, are first made poor, and then punished for crime, the necessary consequence of being so; and that six millions per annum are paid by one part of the people for the support of another part which are called *paupers*, a great part of whom are capable of supporting themselves! It is a demon-

strated fact, that every man is capable of producing six times more than he can consume, a fact of which it is more than probable, this worthy magistrate and the Commission of Enquiry are totally ignorant. The question is then, how are men to be placed in circumstances, in which their productive powers can have full and fair play. How are the gates of poverty to be shut and those of wealth opened? We have given ample reasons before time for ascribing this *artificial poverty*, which is the source of crime, and a tax on wealth, to the medium and manner in which men effect exchanges of property and services with each other. In plain round English,—to money, and the system which has grown out of it. Let Industry and skill, on the land in spade cultivation, which is so superior to that of the plough; and in manufactures let unlimited machinery have its full operation, which they may have if the people make their own money. This they do in our Equitable Labour Exchange. Pauperism and crime will vanish before the footsteps of these novel and benevolent Institutions. Commissions of Enquiry will be superseded, because useless; employment will be furnished; the duties of the subject will become his delight, and the duties of the magistrate less irksome.

THE REVENUE OF THE QUARTER.

On Wednesday evening, the financial accounts of the quarter were made up, and on Thursday morning, the nation was put in possession of the various items. From the official account it appears, that there is a deficiency on the whole year, of *three hundred and twenty seven thousand five hundred and seventy six pounds*; but an advance of the quarter of *seven hundred thousand pounds*. The customs and excise, share equally in this increase; and the assessed taxes have increased one hundred and sixteen thousand, three hundred and eighty three pounds. Stamps are twenty three thousand, nine hundred and eighty six pounds deficient, and the Post Office thirty three thousand pounds. The Times congratulates the country on the augmentation, and says, that owing to the fact, that the increase does not arise from one source but from *all*, it may be calculated upon for the future.

Futurity is darkness, and when we go into it, we must take lights in our hands; the lights of past experience and present circumstances. For many successive past quarters, the revenue has been falling off, which indicates something settled in its declension, and against which one exception cannot weigh very heavy. And as it regards present circumstances the whole horizon is dark. Poor-rates, the standard of national elevation or depression are increasing, incendiarism reviving, unemployed mechanics daily parading the streets of Birmingham in long procession, manufacturers increasingly loud in their complaints, and very many respectable shop-keepers in some of the principal streets of the metropolis, to our certain knowledge not doing as much business as pays rent and taxes. Competition which sharpens, exercises, and tortures the ingenuity of man against his fellow, and shews that there is a scramble for a living. Shops in town and country in numbers, opened for a little time, and then closed; people in abundance ripe and ready for every change, and agricultural labourers, earning eight-pence per day, for themselves and families; and the population of this kingdom, increasing according to the last census, one thousand in every twenty four hours; whoever out of such a state of things, can see the elements of national prosperity, must have a very singular vision. The fact is, the old system is wearing out fast; it has overgrown all its arrangements; nothing but one entirely new, can permanently subserve the true interests of mankind.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC. EQUITABLE LABOUREXCHANGE. INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, GRAY'S INN ROAD KING'S CROSS.

ALL persons who are favorably disposed to the principles upon which business is transacted at the Exchange, and which principles are luminously explained in another part of this paper, in answer to a letter which appeared in the Times of Tuesday last, are informed, that the following articles are wanted as deposits in the Exchange:—Provisions of all kinds; Broad Cloths; Kersymeres; Linens and Cottons; Leather; Canebottom Chairs; Beaver and other hat materials; Brushes of all kinds; General assortment of Ironmongery; Shoes; Ladies double galashed boots, from 1 to 6; Leather double sole Cordovan; Brunswick Ties, 1 to 6 straight, and right and left; Brunswick Ties Slippers; Lasting backed pump boots, straight, right and left 1 to 6; Double soled lasting backed pump boots; Double soled galashed lasting backed pump boots; Children's black shoes of all sizes; Coats, Great coats and trowsers of all kinds; Shoes of all kinds; Beds, mattresses and blankets; Plain and useful cabinet furniture; Cooper's ware; Workmen's tools, Coals, and handsome Watches, &c., &c.

In consequence of business being greatly impeded by small deposits, the Governor and Directors of the above Exchange, give notice, that they will not receive any deposit of less real value than forty hours, or nominal money value of twenty shillings.

Our doors for deposits will open at ten and close at four; for the Bank and Exchanges they will open at ten and close at six.

THE NINTH FESTIVAL of the ASSOCIATION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, established for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE and POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on MONDAY, 5th Nov., 1832.

Tickets of Admission, Visitors, 3*s.*, and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shoe-lane; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner of Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street, and 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

Now publishing and to be continued once a Fortnight,

THE RATIONAL LIBRARY, OR GUIDE TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

No. 1. Consists of Robert Dale Owen's "Address on the Hopes and Destinies of the Human Species."

No. 2. On the Clerical Profession.

Published by the Society entitled "Disseminators of Truth and Lovers of Mankind." Institution Gray's-Inn-Road, [where all communications post paid may be addressed to the Secretary of the Society] in numbers of 16, well printed pages, price One Penny, and to be had at the Crisis Office, and of all Booksellers.

•• This publication not being for individual profit, those persons who are favourable to its object, are respectfully requested to aid the circulation.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BROWN, Holywell-street; and PURKISS, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 33.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

TITHE SLAUGHTER AT MOONCOIN, IRELAND.

TWELVE KILLED AND THIRTY WOUNDED.

SCARCELY a paper arrives from Ireland, but it is disfigured with accounts of fueds, uproars, and bloodshed, originated in the increasingly grievous impost of tithes. Protestant clergymen of the Established Church are living on the tithes; and the Roman Catholics, who first introduced tithes into the Christian Church have now to pay them to others; and feelingly find that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children to the thirteenth and fourteenth generation. It is now a strife betwixt the contending parties which shall have a tenth of the fruits of the earth, to which neither of them have any right; and if it be true, that the weakest go to the wall, the protestants must shortly yield, however indisposed they may be to submit.

"On Monday, the eighth instant, a bloody strife took place in the vicinity of a little village, called Mooncoin, within a few miles of the city of Waterford, in consequence of notices, under Mr. Stanley's bill, having been posted up, in process of a recovery of arrears of tithes due to the rector, the Rev. Mr. Newport. The posting of these obnoxious bills, was the sole cause of collecting the peasantry together; then came a collision with the police, and the tragical consequence was, that twelve persons were killed and thirty wounded. The report was scarcely credited in Dublin at first, but it has since been corroborated at the Castle, and the details of the Coroner's-Inquest which are now before the public, are revolting to reason, and shocking to humanity."

Taking these people on their own principles, the church is for the service of their creator, and tithes we know, are for the service of the church. It will then follow that tithes exist, and are collected for the service of the creator; and as men are killed and wounded in the collection of tithes by their fellow men, these tithe collectors kill the creature in serving the creator. What a service to render to the creator! We should suppose that the only service men could render to the creator, if he needed any service at all, would be to serve his creatures. But these men think, that by destroying the creature, they are serving the creator! What contradiction! What absurdity! What madness! As strong as the bounds of decency allow, we will express ourselves on this subject. A religion

which has its seat in the mind or no where, is to be thrust down men's throats by force; and murder is committed in the support of a religion whose motto is, "peace and good will!" Here are twelve of his majesty's subjects, professing the Roman Catholic religion, killed in the service of the church! If one man had been killed in the propagation of Mr. Owen's principles, against which churchmen raise such a hue and cry, what a disturbance would have been created! "Away with it from the earth, it is not fit that it should live," would have been the universal clamour.

LIVERPOOL CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS.

We are so much in arrears with our numerous correspondents, & so increasingly occupied with a report of the proceedings of our Exchange and Institution, that we cannot give, as we intended, a report of the proceedings of the Liverpool Co-operative Congress this week. To a certainty it shall appear in our next. In the mean time, we have pleasure in stating, and room to state, that forty delegates attended the congress—that the reports of the different societies were generally good—that three very respectable public meetings were held—that a deposit of co-operative manufactures of the value of *two thousand pounds*, the united produce of twenty co-operative societies was made; and that the report of the congress is expected to be out next week.

FRESH INCENDIARY FIRES.

Our sorrowful predictions of last week are supported by the occurrences of the present. These fires are amongst the signs of the times, and shed a clear, steady, and disastrous light on the increasingly perplexed position, and extending troubles of the agricultural districts.

A dreadful fire occurred on Tuesday night at Rushton, near Kettering, which consumed several stacks of corn, &c., the produce of 200 acres of land, the property of Mr. Taylor, of Little Bowden. It is supposed to be the act of incendiaries.—(*Stamford News*.)

On Monday night eleven stacks of corn, the property of the Rev. Mr. Smith, of Denver, near Lynn, were entirely consumed, and it was only by timely assistance and the favourable point of the wind, that the dwelling-house, which was near at hand, was preserved from destruction.—(*Ibid.*)

A letter without signature, addressed to W.

Coleman, Esq., of Langley, one of our county Magistrates, was found on the premises of that Gentleman a few days since, in which was contained the diabolical threat of murdering him, and of destroying his house, barns, &c. A reward of 20*l.* has been offered for the discovery of the writer.—(*Devizes Gazette*.)

A Mr. Abbott, of Langley, in Notts., has had seven cows poisoned in the course of the last summer; and although two hundred pounds reward have been offered, no discovery has been made.—(*Nottingham Review*.)

FRANCE AT THE PRESENT MOMENT.

THE new government of France is called, in the technical jargon of politics, *Doctrinaire*, which, in the same jargon in English, signifies *Thory*. Its principal members are Marshal Soult the Duke of Dalmatia, the Duke de Broglie, Guizot, Humann, and Thiers. Out of the fifteen public prints of the French metropolis, three are on the side of government, and twelve against them. The succeeding extracts will furnish ample materials of the very first order for deep reflection, instructive comment, and serious anticipation.

[FROM THE TIMES.]

"Our readers are already apprized by our Saturday's paper, of the final settlement of the new French Cabinet, and of the explosion of distrust and dissatisfaction with which its creation has been hailed by a great portion of the Paris press. Neither in France nor in this country, is it supposed to contain the principles of cohesion, or the elements of stability. Having at its head a Marshal of France distinguished for personal alacrity and military success, it might, if threatened with war, have promised the nation glory, if not liberty; but, as if to neutralize such a dangerous source of popularity, it has received into its composition a great infusion of the *doctrinaires*, or *resistance* school, who are opposed to the pursuit of military renown, without being supposed favorable to the extension of civil freedom."

[FROM THE MORNING HERALD OF TUESDAY.]

"The French papers of Saturday and Sunday received last night, only add to our previous impressions, that the new ministry was not improving either in the good graces of the politicians, or the confidence of the monied people of the capital. As to the press, it seems almost unanimously to have sworn the destruction of the new Cabinet. The official journal, published on Friday and Saturday the names of sixty-one individuals created Peers of France. The list comprises no fewer than nineteen militaires, and some half dozen of the most unpopular men in the country. This creation of peers is ascribed to an intention on the part of government, to set off the chamber of Peers against that of

Deputies, in which the ministers can no longer expect to find a majority."

[FROM THE MORNING CHRONICLE OF TUESDAY.]

"I will guarantee you, that this administration shall be overthrown, I will not give it two months of existence! Its promises will be scorned,—its agents rejected—its policy hinted at—its Jesuitical declarations and addresses held up to ridicule—and France will cry, as already she does cry from one end of the country to the other, 'Down, down with the doctrinaires!'"—Extract from the letter of O. P. Q.

EXTRACT FROM SOULT'S ADDRESS TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE DEPARTMENTS.

"France may therefore rely upon my exertions to maintain peace and order. For this I demand your avowed and active concurrence. The government has need of all your courage and all your wisdom. Should the partisans of the fallen government again dare to brave the laws, rigorous justice shall be dealt out to them. Their senseless hopes must be annihilated. Measures shall be taken to eradicate the last traces of the disturbances which have agitated several of the departments."

These extracts combine to show that the people and government of France, are at variance. In our time, the French have had civil government of every form. Before the revolution of one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine, they had absolute monarchy; from that they went in one great convulsion to a furious democracy; they gradually cooled, and the reins of power were placed in the hands of consuls. Next they had an Emperor; then a limited monarchy; then a monarch of their own choice, Louis Philippe. Talleyrand, said on swearing fealty to Louis Philippe, that he had now taken thirteen oaths, to thirteen different kinds of government, and that he hoped this would be the last. It may be the last for him, because he is very far advanced in years. But who can suppose from present appearances, that this is the last change of the French government? Like a suffering patient, France tosses to and fro, constantly changing her posture, but retaining her disorder; a disorder which she has in common with all other nations. Government does not understand this disorder; or else it would issue different proclamations. The people do not understand it, or else they would not blame their government. We have been instructed by circumstances to see that all society is founded on false principles; and until France sees this also, and acts upon the illumination, she will never be at rest under any government whatsoever.

ANOTHER ANTI-TITHE SOCIETY.

A numerous and highly respectable meeting was held at the Rose and Crown Bromley, on Wednesday, to make arrangements for the formation of a Society, having for its objects the abolition of tithes and all compulsory payments in support of the Established Church. The objects are to ascertain and concentrate public opinion on the subject, and to adopt measures for laying that opinion before the legislature early in the ensuing session of parliament, to collect and diffuse information, in order to remove prejudices, by which the subject of tithes is encumbered, and to co-operate with other societies, which may be formed for similar purposes in other parts of the country.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are much obliged to our numerous correspondents for their communications, the particulars of which we shall enter into next week.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20.

BUSINESS OF THE WEEK AT OUR EXCHANGE AND INSTITUTION.

ON Thursday evening, our regular discussion took place. The assembly was very numerous, the speakers various—the feeling harmonious—the interest considerable, and the duration long. The subject of the address delivered by Mr. Owen to his attentive auditory was the "*Science of Society*." A well conducted debate arose out of this address, and time only induced the audience to retire. What a different and superior method this, of the productive classes spending increasingly long nights at our discussions, than at the public-house, or spirit shops, whose noisy senseless mirth, swells upon the gale of evening. Institutions for rational discussion on useful and important subjects, ought to be much more numerous and splendid than gin shops. But the contrary is the case. Gin shops are as numerous as streets, and as splendid as palaces, and well they may, when they contribute so largely to the revenue. The interest of the government, and the good of the people are here, as in many other cases, in diametrical opposition.

The limitation of the deposits to not less than forty hours, has removed those very serious obstacles of noise, confusion, pressure, and a whole tribe of the annoyances to which we were hourly exposed, and by which we were constantly hindered, under our first unrestricted admission. By many, who mistake noise for business, numbers for amount, and shew for weight, we are condemned and consigned to destruction for this restriction. The little depositors made all the noise and created all the confusion. They also lay heavier upon our provision store than the large depositors. They deterred and prevented all larger depositors, who were men of business, from coming near the place.

Every man of business saw in one instant, that this bustle and clamour was not business. By every small deposit we were, under our present regulations, losers; and who but the unwise would proceed at loss. What profits could we have to appropriate to the interests of the working classes if we went on losing? The only remedy for this disappointment at present, is for parties to put their trifles together into one deposit; send a person with them who is authorised to agree or dissent from our valuation. This will benefit them without injuring us. So great an establishment as ours cannot in our mode of conducting business

be supported by little matters. Should futurity warrant us in removing the restriction of forty hours, we shall be happy to do it.

Our business is now gradually settling with that order, without which no business can be permanently done. Our deposits have been very considerable during the week; some of them heavy. Our exchanges have also been very extensive, and we believe very satisfactory. Many persons who wish to take goods out, are as much surprised at their cheapness, as many uninformed depositors are chagrined at the low price of our valuations. People are now beginning to discover, that we value all on one scale; when they have made this discovery they are satisfied; and they ought not to be satisfied, until they know that such is the case. We begin now frequently to recognize, amidst great numbers, the same persons at our depositing store. Owing to the time of the year, we have more tailors depositors than any other trade; the next two, are cabinet and shoe makers. Instances however occurred of persons, who, feeling great surprise at the valuation put upon their articles, have broke out in very intemperate language, denounced the establishment, taken their goods away in indignation, and then in almost an hour, when consideration, has come like an angel, they have quietly returned and peaceably accepted our price. Several pleasing instances of honesty and honor have come under our notice; and some attempts, intentional, we fear, at deliberate deception. Depositors now, except on extraordinary cases, get their valuations before they leave the Establishment. It having been understood that we are connected with other Equitable Exchanges, we beg to state, that we are not now, and never were connected with any other Exchange whatsoever. The report of the committee, whose early and successive sittings we have repeatedly noticed, is now in a state of very considerable forwardness. Last Sunday in the absence of Mr. Rosser, who was expected to lecture in the morning, the Rev. Thomas Macconnell, was unexpectedly called upon as he stated, to lecture. In the course of his observations, he said, that it was in contemplation by the Governor and Directors of the Gray's Inn Road Equitable Labor Exchange, to establish *respectable and responsible* Branch Banks in London. The audience was large, and much gratified with this information. In the evening, there were two lectures at our Institution, one at each end, to crowded auditories, none of whom appeared to regret their attendance; Mr. Owen, and the Rev. Thomas Macconnell lecturers.

SPEECH OF THE KING OF HOLLAND.

THE government of Holland seem as though they would bring matters to a crisis. They do not give satisfaction to other governments, nor do other governments give satisfaction to them. Dissatisfaction of government with government, people with government, and government with people, seems now to be deep and universal. You cannot place your finger on a single country upon the map of Europe, in which there are not now the active elements of ominous dissatisfaction, which in their maturity shake nations, and overturn thrones. The old system of society, seems everywhere to be on its last legs.

[FROM THE TIMES OF THURSDAY.]

"Great interest was felt to-day in the city, respecting the speech of the King of Holland, which was delivered on Monday at the Hague, and the heads of which were made known late in the afternoon, by the arrival of the Batavia steam vessel from Rotterdam. It has fully answered the public expectation, which was prepared to find in the document, the same unyielding spirit which has characterised the Dutch government, throughout the whole of the negotiation."

THE LATE SIR WALTER SCOTT.

CHARACTER OF HIS WORKS, THE CAUSE OF THEIR SUCCESS, AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE PUBLIC MIND.

The following extract from the leading journal of the day, will show that the interest excited by the death, works, and circumstances of Sir Walter Scott is national.

"But the case was altered when, after his losses with Constable, he had to labour for creditors, or for bread,—to save his family from want, or to relieve his affairs from embarrassment. Then the midnight oil shone on a tasked page,—then the image of "the printer's devil" haunted him as a sign of a dun,—then his worn-out faculties could not always be braced for a new day's exertion by "kind nature's calm restorer." Hence, no doubt, the paralysis with which he was attacked nearly two years ago, and from which he never recovered the full vigour of his masterly intellect. In saying this, we mean no reflection on his creditors, for whom he wrought; nor on his family, who permitted the exertion. Indeed, we know that when, while on his way to Naples last year, his friends pressed upon him the necessity of not exerting himself, and of not allowing the objects which surrounded him to excite his strained imagination, he replied—"You may as well put a kettle of water on the fire, and bid it not boil."

When we mentioned on Tuesday that the profit of these immense labours, in revising and explaining his works, had answered the demands of his creditors, "though they had left nothing for his family or children," we find that we had greatly miscalculated the amount of his obligations as well as the proceeds of the sale of works, though extraordinary. He has paid the debt of nature, before he could pay that of his more forbearing creditors. After devoting all his property to the former purpose,—with the exclusion of Abbotsford, which is entailed on his eldest son,—his estate will still be 60,000*l.* or 80,000*l.* in debt. To meet this, his only available assets are his household furniture, his books, a few unfinished manuscripts and letters, which will compose ten volumes of correspondence with nearly all the distinguished literary characters of his time."

The same journal, then calls upon all the English people, and especially upon the countrymen of the great novelist, to step in, and make an honourable provision for his family.

CHARACTER OF HIS WORKS, THE CAUSE OF THEIR SUCCESS; AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE PUBLIC MIND.

The last of these works has now issued from the fertile imagination of this celebrated writer. His life was laborious—his talents splendid—his works numerous, and his success complete. Perhaps it is not too much to say, that it would be in vain to look, either among the living or the dead, for a writer so long and so uninterruptedly popular, or for a man more excellent in character or respectable in conduct. His works are in all countries, and in every body's hands; like the atmosphere, they encircle the globe; and like the apostles, they speak all languages. From the known principles and views of our paper, it may be expected that we shall not look very favorably on such works, or regret that the last has come forth. We do not regret it, but still, with all our prejudice against this species of literature, and with our own peculiar views of society, we feel that we can delineate the character, account for the success, and exhibit the effect of these works, with the greatest impartiality.

Sir Walter Scott was not an historian or a biographer, though he abounded in historical and biographical facts, and founded some of his most successful efforts, upon these facts. It is the addition to, and the mixture of, fancy with fact, that constitutes the materials of his works. Facts which

are generally understood to be "stubborn things," in his hands became plastic. Their sturdy chastity, which was proof against ordinary seducers, yielded to the blandishments of his imperial fancy, and a very large family was the natural consequence, a family at whose baptism the public stood sponsors,—a family who are inmates of every house, and favorites at every court,—who have a trumpet in every tongue, and a memorial in every bosom. This union of fancy and fact, constitutes Sir Walter's productions, works of *taste & imagination*; taste, whose elements are sensibility and judgment; sensibility to feel, and judgment to discriminate; imagination, whose province it is to combine and put in form, the materials which are collected by fancy. Though there is *great talent* in these works, we cannot say that there is any *intellect*. They are effeminate, as a necessary consequence of being beautiful; beauty being of the feminine gender. They are, though of the very highest order of such works, a sort of literary man-millinery; in horticulture, they are a garden *all flowers*. When we read them, we feel as though we wanted something to eat; and our disciples with such works as these, would resemble the soldiers of Napoleon on the earliest part of the retreat from Moscow, when they were clad in costly pelisses and shawls, and had gold and silver plates and cups, but were totally destitute of bread and meat. These works proceed on no principles, rectify no errors, advance no science, relieve no burdens; nor extricate society out of any difficulties. They will not advance the anticipated millenium one single step; and if suffering man, had no better substantial help than that which these works can offer, he would be in a sad plight indeed.

But it may be said that these works have alleviated human sorrows, and lightened human burdens, in the pleasures which they have afforded. Granted. But, how little is the worth of a *charm*, compared with that of a *cure*! At most, they have but operated as a temporary charm; which when spent, care and sorrow have resumed their seat, and commenced their cankering operations. Their effect on human cares which corrode, and evils which sting, is similar to that of the fumes of burnt brim-stone on a nest of wasps; they suspend animation, but do not extinguish existence. We most esteem the works which intend to kill the evils at which they aim, whose occupation is not *play*, but *work*.

The success of these works in obtaining and securing readers, has been without a parallel, and no man has in any age been so great a friend to printers and publishers, as the author of Waverley. It is necessary, and may be instructive to account for this success of works of imagination and taste, over those of intellect and science amongst men whose superior faculty is the intellect, to which science owes all her discoveries—civilized life, all its substantial enjoyments—machinery all its invention and application—and man his real or imaginary superiority over the brutes. It is an indisputable fact, that every faculty and power that is capable of strength and growth, grows and strengthens with exercise, and languishes and sickens without it. Children grow up as they are educated; and the boy is the man in miniature. When those who are now men, were boys, their understanding was not cultivated through the only proper medium, their senses, or disciplined by its only proper corrector, daily and hourly facts of which they were or might have been witnesses. Instead of this, their attention was directed to invisible beings; their memories filled with the contents of catechisms, and their imaginations with the scenes, occupations, and sufferings of another world. It is not at all surprising then, that they should be pigmies in intellect and giants in ima-

gination; capitalists in faith, and paupers in knowledge.

Houses are well furnished—minds ill; and fields and gardens are in a much better state of cultivation, than judgments and affections; fancy sits on the throne, and fact on the footstool. Is it not very distressing to know, that there are millions who breathe the air, who know nothing of its gases; see through the light, and yet know nothing of its composition; warm by the fire, and know nothing of it, but that it will burn; eat food in ignorance of its elements; own a body, without knowing any thing of its structure; inherit a nature, without knowing its laws; and sustain a character, without knowing how that character has been formed. And yet these ignorant people pretend to know much about invisible beings and an invisible world, and a future state, and a thousand other distant and subtle essences and entities, which, whether they are above, around, or beneath, they cannot tell; what they eat, what they drink, and whence that they are clothed, they know nothing; profoundly ignorant of their real shape, they make them of any and of all shapes; and not knowing their precise residence, they believe it to be everywhere. The further these are removed from comprehension, the more firmly they believe; and the further distant they are, the more they profess to know of them. In these cases, when destitute of data, silence is the best proof of a sound understanding; their fluency of speech betrays they have but very little of that precious article, and this scanty pittance is not attributable to the parsimony of nature, but to the errors of art. Cultivate the understanding and it will grow; neglect it, and it becomes stunted and dwarfish. Let the understandings of children be trained in the school of daily facts, which this world presents; let them understand corporeal beings first, and then spiritual ones if they have any desire—let them become acquainted first with this world, and then they may look to the next—let them *know* first, and then let them believe what they can afterwards. Such an education as this, which we are labouring to give, would work wonders in society. It would silently, progressively, bloodlessly, and entirely revolutionize it. It would cast all political and ecclesiastical reform into the shade. It would make novel writing a very unprofitable calling, and would call out men of science, and business, and practice. It is entirely owing to the unhealthy and effeminate state of the public mind, which state is owing to education, that the great magician of the North, has so successfully bound mankind by his potent spell.

The principal effect of these works of fiction on the public mind, is to feed its disorder, which ought to be, and which must now be reduced. Nothing will now suit the public, but *light* reading, as the catalogues of all circulating libraries do abundantly testify. Treatises of science, fact, business, and utility, are too heavy for the public mind to carry, and the generality of public instructors, instead of being a little above their readers, and endeavoring to raise them by degrees to a proper standard, descend down to their level and cater for their voracious and unhealthy appetite; and to such a height has this disorder at length arisen, that the very books after which the public is craving and greedy, are precisely those which should be withheld; and the unpopularity of a work, is now no inconsiderable proof of its excellence.

Works of fiction, necessarily give their readers a distaste to the sober realities, ordinary business, and repetition of scene in real life. The stimulated imagination creates a world of its own, in which it retires, sucks honey from its own flowers, feeds on food of its own growth, and starts like Proserpine

at spectres raised by its own incantations. Now as it is in real life that we must act our part, whatever disqualifies us for *real* life, must do us serious injury. Persons whose minds are filled with works of fiction, frequently make serious mistakes in their calculations of real life, and are often swamped, stranded, or wrecked. Their wrecks should inspire succeeding voyagers with caution. We know some persons who became comparatively useless, and now hang and are likely to hang burdens on their friends, from incessantly reading works of fiction.

Another result of these works, is the nourishing of a *sickly sensibility*, which diverts the mind from the distress which requires relief, to that which admits of embellishment. Here the poor are great sufferers by Sir Walter Scott; much greater we suppose, though entirely unintentional and unsuspected on his part, than his greatest creditors. Lank and lean poverty in alleys, lanes, and courts, is rarely sought out and relieved by novel readers. Hunger is a species of suffering which has its seat in the appetites, and not in the passions. The passions confer distinctions, the appetites none; consequently, suffering, which has its seat in the passions, may be wrought by the hand of genius into a variety of forms and combinations, and draw delicious tears from the eyes of readers. But what novel writer, what muse ever attempted to adorn the sorrows of poverty, or the pangs of hunger? These are incapable of embellishment, and on that account are totally devoid of interest, yea further, they are absolutely disgusting to the taste of novel writers and novel readers. What immense mischief must works of this description do, and they do it in a manner secret, unsuspected, and delightful. The fact of this mischief is unfelt amidst the fascinations of fiction, and the poison of the serpent is forgotten in the beauty of his scales.

Another pernicious result of works of fiction, is, that they emasculate the intellect, and disqualify it for deep thought and laborious investigation. Novel readers skim like swallows over the surface of all deep waters. They are neither qualified nor disposed to enter into a train of reasoning, which leads, step by step, to the triumphant close of demonstration. Science to them is dry as sea biscuit, calculations are too laborious for their intellectual delicacy, and causes are buried too deep for their penetration. They are light substances. Light reading supposes light minds, and trifles can only please triflers. Their soft intellect is easily cast in every mould; hence the variety of opinions upon almost all subjects, whereas, all real hard thinkers are generally found to agree in opinion. If people were thinking, they would look at facts *only*, and then they would soon be all of one opinion; but they follow fancies and fictions, and then they differ, and show that a nation of novel readers can be formidable to nothing but their own welfare, and serviceable to none but their own enemies.

A. B. C.

London, 18th October, 1832.

ROMILLY ON TITHES.

TITHES.—The following plan for the abolition of tithes, which has the recommendation of practicality, moderation, and good sense, is stated to have had the approbation early in life of the late Sir Samuel Romilly: "Let a Bill be carried; which, shall abolish, *in toto*, that hateful practice of tithing, which has done more harm to the cause of religion than all the immorality of the world put together. For this purpose let every proprietor of lands be obliged to purchase the tithes of his estate, by a fair valuation of their worth, at the current price of land; not however by the actual payment of the principal sum, but by subjecting his property to the regular discharge of interest thereon, at the rate of four per-cent. These points secured, let there be a

much more judicious distribution of the property of the Church: first, by lopping off all useless trunks, which serves only to disfigure the bill, or deprive its extremities of their proper nourishment; and afterwards by making a suitable provision for every necessary branch left remaining of that venerable stock."—(*Morning Herald*.)

This is Sir Samuel Romilly's method—our's is the following:—as the occupants of livings die, let the livings die also; and the tithe, which constituted that living, be restored to the land from whence it was taken. Then would all land become, by degrees, as all land was once, ought to be now, and will at length most certainly be—**TITHE FREE**; and let the Church of England be supported as Dissenting interests are supported, viz. by **VOLUNTARY SUBSCRIPTIONS**.

DISSATISFACTION AND TROUBLE AT THE CAPE.

The old system of society is breaking up every where; restlessness and dissatisfaction are spreading amongst the blacks as well as the whites. The cause of their dissatisfaction and its cure, are one and the same amongst all people, and in all places.

We have had a file of Cape of Good Hope papers this morning, which communicate some further intelligence from the Mauritius. The Governor, Sir C. COLVILLE, had issued on the 8th June the following proclamation to the slaves:—

"**BLACK SLAVES!**—Some bad subjects have told you that the King has ordered that you shall have your liberty; do not listen to them. It is not true. The King desires you to obey your masters; if you do not do so you will be punished. If you are guilty of any riot, disorder, or commit any excess, you expose yourselves to be condemned to death. The more people seek to excite you the more submissive should you be to your masters, in order that they may consent to grant you fresh favours, as they will be able to say that you have become better.

"The King protects you; he also protects your masters and property above all. He therefore desires that every one do obey the law. My duty is to punish all those who commit disorders, and I will do so with severity.

(Signed)

"C. COLVILLE."

The feeling of irritation existed greatly at the Mauritius, as may be inferred from the following issued by the Committee of the Colonists, which had styled itself "the Council:—

"ORDER OF THE 5TH JUNE, 1832.

"No longer acknowledge the tribunals, keep the shops shut, stop all business. Do not recognise the Protector nor his assistants, nor pay any imposts. Let the Assessors go no longer to the Court; stop the sale of all arrack so long as Jeremie and Thomas shall be in the Colony."

MISTAKEN BENEVOLENCE.

CORK FOUNDLING HOSPITAL.

We have frequently spoken of the misdirected kindness of the British public. The spring is good and valuable; the stream is winding, muddy, and misdirected. If the productive powers of men, had full and fair play, there would be no more necessity for those public charities which relieve poverty, than there is for another sun in the firmament. Enlightened kindness would now direct the mind to discover and combat the *cause* of distress, and not to nibble at the *effects*. Many people think that they do much for their fellow creatures, by subscribing to benevolent institutions; but how much more real good would they do, by contributing to understand the "Science of Society," and to assist in putting the tottering fabric upon another foundation. One sovereign expended in this way, would, we are certain, do more good than *one hundred* expended in supporting public charities. Indeed there can be no calculation of the superiority of contributions for the support of truth instead of error; the perma-

nent removal of causes, instead of feeble and temporary struggle with the effects. These public charities, which can have no existence in our system of society, are sometimes also conducive to the very evil, which, with the very best feelings, they purpose to relieve. In Scotland, where there are no poor-rates, there are very few, if any paupers. Whereas in England, where there are poor-rates, paupers swarm. The following fact though of a different description illustrates this truth.

"In the city of Cork, the population of which is *one hundred thousand*, there is a Foundling Hospital, and from a parliamentary paper it appears that there are almost two hundred foundlings annually. In Edinburgh, which contains *one hundred and forty thousand* inhabitants, there are not we believe four children exposed in a year."—(*Times of Monday*.)

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.
EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ALL persons who are favorably disposed to the principles upon which business is transacted at the Exchange, & which principles were luminously explained in another part of this paper, in answer to a letter which appeared in the *Times* of Tuesday week are informed, that the following articles are wanted as deposits in the Exchange:—Provisions of all kinds; Broad Cloths; Kersymeres; Linens and Cottons; Leather; Canebottom Chairs; Beaver and other hat materials; Brushes of all kinds; General assortment of Ironmongery; Shoes; Ladies double galashed boots, from 1 to 6; Leather double sole Cordovan; Brunswick Ties, 1 to 6 straight, and right and left; Brunswick Ties Slippers; Lasting backed pump boots, straight, right and left 1 to 6; Double soled lasting backed pump boots; Double soled galashed lasting backed pump boots; Children's black shoes of all sizes; Coats, Great coats and trowsers of all kinds; Shoes of all kinds; Beds, mattresses and blankets; Plain and useful cabinet furniture; Cooper's ware; Workmen's tools, Coals, and handsome Watches, &c., &c.

In consequence of business being greatly impeded by small deposits, the Governor and Directors of the above Exchange, give notice, that they will not receive any deposit of less real value than forty hours, or nominal money value of twenty shillings.

Our doors for deposits will open at ten and close at four; for the Bunk and Exchanges they will open at ten and close at six.

THE NINTH FESTIVAL OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, established for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the **INSTITUTION FOR REMOVING IGNORANCE AND POVERTY**, Gray's Inn-road, on **MONDAY, 5th Nov., 1832**. Tickets of Admission, Visitors, 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner of Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Easton-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street, and 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit **Two Persons** under Sixteen Years of Age.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BERGMAN, Holywell-street; and PURKISS, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. NO. 34.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN.—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are indebted to J. Hudson, Anonymous, Radical, and Emma Louisa Sergeant, for their communications.

THE CRISIS.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27.

OUR WEEKLY BUSINESS AT THE INSTITUTION AND EXCHANGE.

At our meeting on Thursday evening, which is always open to discussion, observations, and questions, an individual stated, what he conceived to be, a grievously low valuation of his deposits, to which Mr. Owen briefly replied. It appears to us, that the standard by which many depositors judge of the qualifications of our valuing committee, is not whether their valuations agree with what we hold out that they should, and with what they always do agree, viz. the price of such articles in the best markets out of doors, but their correspondence with the valuation which the depositors had previously fixed upon their property. So that if the valuations are below the price, then the depositors exclaim that they do not understand their business, and are unfit for their situation! But if the valuation of the committee coincides with their valuation, or exceeds it, then they are silent. Now why should not ignorance lead the valuing committee, sometimes beyond the mark, as well as to suffer them to sink below it at others? The valuing committee have no interest whatever, in the valuations which they put upon articles; neither have the governor nor directors; since all the profits of the Exchange, which will be easily ascertained by the monthly publication of the accounts, are not appropriated by them to their own personal service, but will be applied to the interest of the productive classes.

Mr. Owen then proceeded to instruct the audience in the science of society. He went at length into the four branches, of education, production, distribution, and government. Previous to this, he had elucidated the science of human nature, and demonstrated that it was built upon facts which were indisputable. He had his large model of the

buildings, and arrangements of the new system of society before him, to which he frequently pointed, and by which he illustrated his plans. The numerous and attentive audience appeared to drink deeply of the streams which flowed from the rock of truth, which he struck in the wilderness. He stated that he should continue to lecture on this science. On Sunday morning, the Rev. Thomas Macconnell lectured according to advertisement, "On the influence which works of fiction, particularly those of Sir Walter Scott, have had on the public mind." He was requested afterwards to print the lecture, but declined, on the ground that his occupations would not admit of the time necessary to write it out for the press, he not having any of it written already. The audience was large. In the evening Mr. Owen delivered a lecture in the great lecture room to an overflowing audience, explanatory of his experience, proceedings, and projects at seven o'clock, and the Rev. Thomas Macconnell lectured on "The present state of society in Ireland," at the North end of the Institution, to a very numerous, respectable, and attentive auditory, at half past seven.

The business of the Exchange is much of the same extent and character as last week. Order has been brought out of confusion, and experience teaches wisdom. Some of the small depositors have taken our advice, and put their little different valuables together, and made one deposit under the present regulations, which might, under our first method of receiving goods, have amounted to half a dozen, which would have required the personal attendance of six depositors, whose goods would have required six distinct entries, which entries would have required six different cheques on the Bank, which cheques would have required six distinct registers, and six distinct payments! Who does not see that the Bank restriction act, without really excluding the small depositors, enables us to do business to a much greater extent than before? And the greater the extent to which our business reaches, the greater will be the profits which we shall have to appropriate to the interest of the productive classes. We are solicitous that these profits should be at the largest possible amount, and therefore, adopt such measures as are best adapted to secure so desirable an end. Several deposits, some of them very heavy, have been made of articles suited to the approaching season; and our Exchanges have been both very extensive, beneficial, and satisfactory. Our negotiations for premises, in which to establish respectable and responsible Equitable Labour Exchanges in the metropolis, having lectures attached to them, are now in considerable progress; and

the committee who were appointed at our last public meeting, "to take into their consideration the circumstances in which our Equitable Labour Exchanges would place middle men of all descriptions," are bringing their unremitting and unostentatious labours to a satisfactory close, and have called by an advertisement which appears in another part of this paper, a public meeting to receive their report.

FROM THE TIMES OF THURSDAY WEEK.

SIR,—A short time since I saw a letter in the Times, from a tailor, stating that he had purchased cloth &c., which he had made up into a coat, and that he took it to Mr. Owen's Labour Exchange, where he had only obtained the cost price of the raw material, if I remember right, about 11. 16s. after waiting two days for an answer. I thought at the time my brother chip had either gone to a bad market, or Mr. Owen's committee were very unreasonable. To satisfy myself, I thought I would have a spec. Yesterday I took a coat and trousers (both misfits:) the great coat contained three yards of cloth at 12s., the making and trimmings 20s., together 21. 16s., for which I received 21. 14s., 2s. being deducted on account of its being out of size. The kersymere and trimmings for the trousers, cost 15s., making 7s., for which I received the full price 22s. I was paid in labor notes within a half hour from my entering the Exchange, which I laid out to my satisfaction.

I send you this statement, in justice to Mr. Owen's system, having no connexion with him, or any one connected with his establishment. Trusting to your impartiality in inserting the contents of this letter. I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

JAMES BUTLER.

32 Fore street, Oct. 18.

COTTON SPUN AT MANCHESTER IN A WEEK.

[EXTRACTED FROM MR. PARE'S SPEECH.]

"At one manufactory in Manchester, one hundred and sixty spindles are kept in incessant motion, and produce 1,200,000 miles of cotton thread per week. By other machinery, much more than this quantity is wove into cloth; and if all the machinery in Manchester were in constant work, it would produce four hundred millions of miles of thread in a week, a length, sufficient to encompass the earth one thousand six hundred times!" And yet, wonderful as this is, and it is no more wonderful than true, it is comparatively nothing, to what might, under another system of society, be effected. Cotton might then be spun in a week, sufficient to gird the universe, and to make garments for all the inhabitants of all the planets!

SITTING OF THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS AT LIVERPOOL.

THE following account of one of the public meetings, called by the Co-operative Congress, which recently transacted its half yearly business at Liverpool, is extracted from the Liverpool Mercury, the leading journal in that commercial and populous town. As far as the report extends, it is copied *verbatim* from that widely circulated paper. We have also appended to the report of the meeting, the comment of the Editor.

SHEFFIELD CO-OPERATIVE BAZAAR, LABOUR EXCHANGE, AND WORKMAN'S MART, LIVERPOOL.

This mart opened on Tuesday, in the large Assembly-room, King's Arms, Castle-street. Delegates and salesmen attended with cutlery, and tea and coffee-pots, &c. from Sheffield; stockings and lace, from Leicestershire; coat cloths, waistcoat pieces, shawls &c. from Huddersfield and the neighbourhood; flannels, &c. from Rochdale; co-operative publications, samples of goods, and labour exchange notes from the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn-road, London; linens, sheeting, diapers, &c. from Barnsley; stuffs, &c. from Halifax; shoes and clogs, from Kendal; prints, from Birkacre; &c. During the week the mart has been visited, and sales have been effected to a considerable amount, principally among some of the most respectable families in town, for which the poor workmen feel very grateful; and, as they have a quantity of cheap goods left, particularly suitable for their brother workmen, they hope they will attend and give them the same encouragement they have already experienced from their more opulent friends, to enable them to cover the expenses necessarily attending the present meeting of Congress; and as their cause is the cause of every labouring man in the kingdom, they hope this appeal will not be made in vain. The Bazaar opens every morning at ten o'clock.

At seven o'clock, a public meeting was held for the purpose of enabling the delegates to explain the system of co-operation, and describe the progress already made by various societies in different parts of the kingdom, but principally in the manufacturing districts. The attendance was numerous and respectable.

Mr. JOHN FINCH was called to the chair, and briefly explained the objects of the meeting. He observed that the subject they were met to discuss was one which involved the civilization, improvement, and happiness of the whole human race, and that the men they were about to hear, were delegates chosen from various societies on account of their superior talents and industry, and sent to Liverpool to transact the business of thousands and tens of thousands of their fellow-workmen, who, by small weekly savings, and the profits of trade, had accumulated capital sufficient to purchase materials on which to work, and find employment for those members who would otherwise have been thrown upon the parish for relief. He concluded by introducing to the meeting—

Mr. PARE, of Birmingham, who said they were met to discuss a most important question, equally interesting to the rich and the poor, since the rich knew not how to protect their property, nor the poor how to escape that poverty in which they were plunged. The subject was one which called for the most serious attention of all classes. The distress existing in the country was absolutely frightful. He came recently from Birmingham, where the most deserving of the workmen were walking the streets in a state approaching to actual starvation. He knew scores of industrious mechanics and artisans who were formerly accustomed to earn £3 or £4 per week who were now wheeling barrow loads of sand, weighing nearly half a cwt., up a hill one mile, and the empty barrow back again for the sum of one penny, and out of the money thus earned they had to support themselves, their wives, and children. (Cries of "Shame, shame.") That was the ordeal which the parish officers of Birmingham

deemed necessary before they admitted applicants for parochial relief; it absolutely prevented thousands from applying to the parish at all, and the consequence was, that the poor creatures were pining away their lives in back streets and alleys, and dying unpitied and unknown. A district society had recently been established for the purpose of finding out these miserable objects, and the reports made by the visitors to the town were really frightful in the extreme. Within the last 50 years, machinery has accumulated in a manner truly awful. In 1792 it was calculated by the most able statistical writers and political economists, that the machinery in this country was equal to the labour of ten millions of men;—in 1817, owing to the great improvements made in the steam-engine by Boulton and Watt,—in the spinning jenny by Arkwright,—and the innumerable inventions for facilitating labour to which these inventions gave rise,—machinery increased most prodigiously, and in that year was calculated to be equal at least to the labour of 200 millions of human beings; at the present day, the machinery employed was equal to the labour of 400 millions of stout, active, and well-trained labourers;—it could produce in a week what were called glut in the market, then down came prices, there was consequently a great reduction of wages, and such enormous quantities of wealth were produced, that the workmen were absolutely doomed to starve in the midst of abundance. In the cotton trade, some spindles which used to revolve only fifty times in a minute, now performed six, seven, or eight thousand revolutions in the same time. At one manufactory in Manchester, 160 spindles were kept in incessant motion, and produced 1,200,000 miles of cotton thread per week: by other machinery much more than this quantity was woven into cloth,—and when all the machinery in Manchester was at work it would produce 400 millions of miles of thread in a week, or sufficient to encompass the earth 1600 times. This was a slight specimen of the amazing powers of steam-engines and machinery. But he would take off a good round Birmingham discount, and suppose that the machinery in this country was only equal to the labour of 50 millions, instead of 400 millions;—now political economists told them that every labouring man was capable of producing as much as six or eight men could consume;—take it at six, and, after making this immense discount, 50 millions multiplied by six gave sufficient to supply 300 millions of people,—yet though there were in this country only about 25 millions of people, more than half of them were without a due proportion of the necessities of life, to say nothing of its comforts and luxuries. (Hear, hear.) This was quite sufficient to show that there was some fundamental error in the framework of society. In the year 1827, Mr. Peel, after stating that the working classes could not be relieved, said he wished they would take the management of their affairs into their own hands, and in a few months afterwards Co-operative Societies were found springing into existence. Government said "we can do nothing for you,"—and then the workmen said, "we will try what we can do for ourselves," and they set about establishing Co-operative Societies. These societies were first commenced at the latter end of 1827, and from that time down to the present they had been increasing very rapidly. A few men at Brighton were the first to form a society of this nature. In the county of Clare, in Ireland, a little colony had already been founded on the co-operative system, under the auspices of Mr. Vandaleur, and the colonists were growing flax, manufacturing it, and exchanging their products for other commodities. Exchanges of this nature were now beginning to be much facilitated by the issue of labour exchange notes, and the establishment of Equitable Labour Exchange Banks. Three or four of these banks had been established within the last few months in London, and one within the last fortnight. A lecture entirely devoted to this subject would be delivered on Thursday night. The workmen felt that they wanted some good medium of exchange, and they were now beginning to make money of their own without any danger of being either hung or

transported. The notes circulated from the labour banks had already been the means of exchanging many thousand pounds worth of goods, which would otherwise either not have been made or remained on the hands of the manufacturers. The workmen delivered their goods at the store, and received in return their value in exchange notes, calculated from the value of one hour's labour, which was taken at sixpence and upwards, including the cost of the raw materials, and with these notes he could procure an equal value of other commodities of which he might be in want, from the store where all sorts of goods were displayed, with their price in labour and materials ticketed upon them, and the consequence was that they were no longer obliged to wait till some second party got money enough to pay for the goods, but deposited them, and received their value at once in exchange notes. There were already about 250 shops in London where these notes were taken very currently at par. (Hear, hear.) The co-operative system was thus calculated to embrace the whole of society, and there was no doubt that if properly followed up it would produce the best effects on all classes. (Loud applause.)

Mr. HURST, a delegate from twelve co-operative societies in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, next addressed the meeting. He observed that the working classes had long been considering the means of bettering themselves, but had as often been disappointed:—the further they had gone the worse they had become. Some told them that they must be patient, passive, and obedient: they had been all this. (Applause.) Others told them to petition the Government; they had done that also; they had laid their grievances before the Government; they had explained the evils which oppressed them, and they had laid before them documents to prove from the testimony of their employers and the parish officers, that there were not fewer than 13,000 individuals within a compass of about twenty miles living on less than 2½d. per day. (Hear, hear.) He had himself, not many weeks ago, been trying to explore these distressed districts; he had himself visited thirty families, taking the worst and the best together, and taking the number of the families and the amount of their income, and averaging them, he found that in those thirty families, 187 individuals were living on less than ½d. per day. (Shame, shame.) These statements were sent to London, attested by authorities not to be disputed. With such things going on, they might well not know what to do; ministers were to be pitied, and the working classes did pity them, for they believed that never were men more perplexed in the world. They had tried all sorts of plans and schemes to avert the impending storm, but all had been in vain, and what puzzled them most was to find out the cause. They all knew there were no effects without a cause, and in trying to find out the cause they quarrelled about it. Were he to enumerate the various theories that had been advanced he might keep them there till to-morrow. There was at one time, as Mr. Pare had told them, a committee sitting at one side of the House to inquire how it was that there were too many loaves,—and another at the opposite side to find out how there were so many mouths; some told them that it was over-production, and over-population,—but for his part he could not reconcile these statements with each other, nor could any body else. Various other causes were named, so that at last the workmen did not know which to believe, as they were deprived of the means of getting knowledge or information by increasing hours of labour and lessening comforts. In his part of the country they had been compelled to labour, not only twelve, but sixteen or eighteen hours a day,—and, if human nature could endure it, they would be made to work the whole twenty-four, and the country would not be a farthing better for it. Not long ago a man came to Huddersfield, and told them that Mr. Attwood, of Birmingham, could call together by moving his little finger 500,000 men, could have them armed in ten days, and in another ten days could take all the magazines. He (Mr. Hurst) got up and confronted that man, and told him that they wanted no more Olivers. That the work

men would not break the peace, or destroy the lives or property of their masters and employers,—and the weapons of their warfare were morality, truth and knowledge, which was power. (Loud applause.) In one place they saw a cheap shop with a bill in the windows, "Goods selling here at prime cost;"—on another, "Goods selling here at 50 per cent under prime cost,"—and what did all this mean but national robbery, and national ruin? (Hear, hear.) Men were thus seeking to supplant their fellow-merchants and fellow-traders on the ruin of their country. When the merchant came down to contract with the manufacturer, he tried to get the goods at the lowest possible price; and if the manufacturer said "For every reduction of 2d. in the price of a yard of cloth, I am obliged to reduce the wages of my men," the merchant replied, "What are the men to me? It is cash you know, and if you will not take it others will." That cash had a dreadful sound in the country, but the workmen were trying to do away with it. Well, the manufacturer took the contract; and how did he make up the 2d. a yard? Did he deduct it from his own profits? No. From the expenses of his own establishment? No. They should hear how he made it up. "Well, John, you have brought your piece?" "Yes, Sir." "I dare say you want more well, but I cannot afford to give the same price for it,"—and then pulling a long face, and seemingly very sorry, he said, "I have made a most dreadful sacrifice in a bargain for your sake, to keep you from the workhouse, John, or from the parish. There is no demand for goods. I am glad to get an order on almost any terms to keep you employed; I have been obliged to make a great reduction and must have this for 2d. a yard less than the last." And what said John? Why he said nothing, but his heart was in his eyes, and his thoughts were at home, if a home it deserved to be called, and he thought of his disconsolate and heart-broken partner, his ragged and barefooted children, his furnitureless house, and the rent-day at hand. He saw thousands around him out of employment; he knew that if he went out another would take his place, and remembering that half a loaf is better than no bread, he took the west and the warp and went weeping home. (Hear, hear.) Where was Mr. Lockwood, the great manufacturer of Huddersfield? Where was that great man at Bradford who failed the other day for £80,000? And what said the gaol and prison-keepers? Why they said, "We cannot do with any more;" and if this system went on for a little while, a very little while longer, they would have nothing in this once great country, the envy of surrounding nations and the glory of the world, but prisons, treadmills, paupers' houses, barracks, and a few lords' mansions. (Hear.) Did they not think that it was time for a change? It was supposed that there were now 200,000 souls connected with the co-operative system, and never had any system been so rapidly developed before the world, made the same progress in so short a time, or produced the same physical advantages, to which even the immense charities of this country, and the eight or nine millions of poor-rates were not to be compared. At Huddersfield when they first attempted to put an end to the unnatural war between the men and their employers, finding that they could not maintain their families, pay their rent, and live without either being rogues or thieves, they wanted the masters to advance wages, but the masters said they could not compete with foreigners if they did. "How then is it,"—replied the men,—"that the Americans say they cannot manufacture with you by forty per cent? look at their tariff. It is competition that oppresses us. Let us have work, and give us fair wages, and we will create for you three or four times as much trade as the foreign trade amounts to. If you act upon this system, you will soon make foreigners come upon their knees to us. We do not blame them for doing what they think right for their own country; we cannot expect them to care for us; but it is high time that we should begin to care for ourselves." (Applause.) The masters would not do this; the workmen were ordered to turn out; and during this unnatural contest £200,000 had been paid to men to walk about with their

hands in their pockets, meditating mischief against their employers. Their objects in commencing co-operation was to put an end to this war; to a considerable extent they had succeeded; nearly the whole of the masters in Huddersfield had given an advance in wages, and instead of the men being seven years without a new coat, and some of them ten, they would soon be able to get three coats in the year. The cause was one eminently deserving of the support of every lover of his country and mankind, and he was happy to say that it had met with such support from several members of the higher classes, amongst whom he might mention the Right Hon. Lady Byron, who had engaged to pay the expenses of that room, observing that she should never be ashamed of supporting a cause so noble, so godlike, so peculiarly calculated to emancipate the working classes and save the country. (Loud applause.)

Mr. SCHEMINGTON, a delegate from Loughborough, and several societies in Leicestershire, observed that the working classes in his neighbourhood had been nearly in the condition of the Irishman's horse, which was nearly taught to live upon nothing, when it unfortunately died; but having rather more brains than the horse, they determined not to die, but to see what they could do to help themselves. At Loughborough they commenced with subscribing 6d. a week, and when the subscriptions amounted to £2, they bought a few pounds of candles and other things, commenced trading, and had now accumulated the sum of £400. (Hear, hear.) At first they experienced some difficulty, as the shop-keepers refused to deal with them, and even returned the gold that was sent to purchase goods; but now they were very willing to furnish goods, even without gold;—one gentleman had advanced them £190, another had lent them £30, and a third had offered them some land. (Applause.)

Mr. WILSON, a delegate from Halifax, stated that in May 1829, he and eight other persons laid down a shilling each, and with this nine shillings, and £5 lent by his brother, they commenced business in a small room in a back entry. Their numbers had increased; they now occupied a large shop at £27 per annum rent, and were now worth £240, and had begun to find labour for some of their members. (Hear, hear.) Sixteen other societies had commenced since then in that neighbourhood, and there were specimens of their productions then in the room. By their articles these societies had no connexion as a body with any strikes for wages,—with any disputes between masters and men; or with any political party whatever. They said they were fast tending to the condition of the poor Irish; and with the poorhouse and parish relief before them, they endeavoured to better their situation, for they considered that if they applied for parish relief, they should be degraded, and could not lift up their heads and walk erect, as every free, honest, and hard-working Englishman ought to do. (Applause.) The property accumulated in this way by small subscriptions, adding the profits of trade, within three miles round Halifax, now amounted to about £3000, and it was very probable that, but for these societies, the whole of this sum would have been swallowed up in vice and intemperance. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CARSON observed, that having been instrumental in forming a great number of societies of this nature, he might be allowed to enter into some details as to their nature and effects. The town of Liverpool now began to feel a little of that distress which had been so long felt in many parts of the country. It was a lamentable fact that the more poverty increased, the more vice and intemperance also increased, and there had recently been a very great increase of intemperance in this town. It was one of the objects of the co-operative system to check these evils, and it had already in several instances produced the best effects. At Lamborough Green, in this county, a place so noted for vice and immorality, that it was hardly safe for a respectable man or woman to go there at any time, one of these societies had been established, and within two or three months they had a well stocked shop, a school and reading rooms, and instead of going to the public

house at night, to drink and fight, they went to the reading room, and as they got power, acquired the knowledge which enabled them to use it properly. (Applause.) One society had in that room nearly 400l. worth of woollen goods; another 200l. worth of cutlery; and others had sent various articles not with a view to take any advantage of the resident shop-keepers, but to defray the expenses of the half-yearly congresses which had been held in London, Birmingham, Manchester, and now in Liverpool.—Their articles were of the first description, for they had resolved not to deceive the public; their goods were what they professed to be, not like Peter Pindar's razors, made for sale and not for wear. The workmen did not now endeavour to better their condition as slaves; they would never be content till they stood erect, and called no man master, and he was sure they would accomplish it. There were now not fewer than 700 societies of this nature throughout the country, and they were daily increasing. At Brighton there was a female co-operative society, consisting of milliners and satin-stitch makers, who had clubbed together and got a shop of their own, at which, when any of them were out of employ they went and worked at baby linen and other articles, thus preserving themselves from penury and want, and the temptation to crime arising from those evils. (Hear, hear.) Co-operative societies were formed to redeem working men from a state little better than slavery;—the only difference between the masters and men was capital, and the men having the knowledge and the means had now found out that they could produce capital. Dr. Malthus recommended the Government to send 4 or 500,000 industrious bees out of the hive, at an expense of 30l. a man, thus estimating Englishmen at 30l. a piece worse than nothing. (Hear, hear.) But the working men had learnt a lesson from the bees;—they had seen how the bees gathered honey during the summer, and they had also observed what passed in the hive when the honey was gathered. The bees then began to look about them, and seeing some big, lazy, fat drones, they asked, "how have you got so fat? We never saw you working in the fields,"—and then they began to shoulder him a little till they got him pushed out of the hive, and if he were very factious six or seven of them flew off with him to a distance, and pulled off his wings to prevent his coming back again. (Laughter and applause.) The workmen were now creating wealth for themselves, and the means of exchanging it, by a system which would be explained to the meeting. Goods were now being brought to the Labour Exchange in London in wagon loads;—upwards of 250 shops had already bills in the window, saying "Equitable Exchange notes taken here,"—and even the bills at some of the play houses had at the bottom of them this notice, "Mr. Owen's notes received here." (Hear, hear.)

Mr. EDMUND TAYLOR, the representative of a society of 3000 members at Birkacre, stated that a very few months ago, the first pound was laid down towards an establishment which now rented green fields, orchards, &c., to the amount of 600l. per annum, besides a muslin and silk printing concern. They had two printing machines, and between fifty and sixty printing tables, which would soon be in full operation; they had between thirty and forty journeymen calico printers constantly at work, and were beginning to enjoy comforts and advantages to which they had hitherto been strangers. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. STYLES, the representative of the Equitable Labour Exchange Bank in London, conducted under the auspices of Mr. Owen, stated that the institution was an experiment, to ascertain how far the idea of selling goods for a fictitious representative of wealth could be done away with. In London, it was found that the principal difficulty the workmen had to encounter was that of finding a market for their goods, whilst at the same time, thousands of other workmen might be in great distress for the want of those very articles which the others had to dispose of. It was this which first suggested to Mr. Owen the idea of labour exchange notes, for the purpose of facilitating the mutual interchange of commodities. According to the plan now adopted, workmen brought their goods to the receiving department of a

the Exchange Bazaar, and were required to give a statement of the cost price of the article, and the time expended in its production. It was then submitted to a valuation committee, and next day the owner, if satisfied with the award, received a draught on the Exchange Bank, in labour notes, equivalent to the value. He then went round the bazaar, where articles of all descriptions were displayed, with their value in exchange notes ticketed upon them, and he was enabled to procure any thing for which he had occasion to the amount of his deposit. Several respectable and influential individuals had already come forward to support the institution. One lady and gentleman, who were very ardent friends to the improvement of their fellow-creatures, had let a portion of land to the society, the rent to be paid in these notes; and several cottages had also been let to members on the same principles. (Hear, hear.) Much good had already been done by this system, and there was hardly any calculating the beneficial effects it would produce if supported by the well-disposed of all classes. (Applause.)

Mr. Wigg begged to say a few words in reference to the lecture which he proposed to deliver on Thursday evening. The labourers were now creating capital for themselves, without being beholden to the upper classes, though the object would be much sooner gained with their assistance than without it. The working classes could do without the rich, but the rich could not do without them. The first society in London had met with the most gratifying success; and when the working class began to feel the advantages of it, he felt persuaded that the system would run like lightning through the world. The men were already leaving their masters to take their productions to the Labour Bank, because they could there get a higher price for them; and the system must ultimately produce the most signal change that was ever witnessed in the progress of society. In almost all countries, and Great Britain among the rest, unexampled distress prevailed, and yet the power of production was infinitely greater than in any former age of the world. As none could have any true interest in opposing the progress of truth, they ought all to join in considering what was necessary to be done in the present crisis of affairs; and it behoved all parties, the rich and the poor, the religious and the irreligious, to unite together for the purpose of examining what was necessary in order to allow the cause of civilization and improvement to go on unimpeded. To these subjects he would devote his attention on Thursday evening; and though he was but a poor man, with but small opportunities for improvement, he trusted that he should have the candid and patient attention of his audience whilst he laid before them the fruits of his personal observation and experience. (Applause.)

Thanks were then voted to the Chairman, and the meeting separated about a quarter past ten o'clock, apparently much gratified with the proceedings of the evening.

["We have devoted about four columns of our publication of this day to the report of a meeting held at the King's Arms, in this town, on Tuesday evening, the proceedings of which will be found well deserving of the serious attention of all those who take any interest in the welfare of the labouring classes of the community, upon whom the wealth and security of the country mainly depend.

Our readers will, we think, be astonished to find that men, who, according to their own declarations, have had few of the advantages of education, can express themselves with much more clearness and propriety than the generality of those who have possessed those inestimable advantages under the most auspicious circumstances.

However some of our readers may differ with the co-operative societies, as to the nature of the means by which they propose to relieve the grievous distresses of their fellow countrymen, we think they must admire the good sense and moderation evinced in the speeches delivered at this meeting, which, in our opinion, would not suffer in comparison with the oratorical effusions of some of our most vaunted political economists;—in the great essentials of

simplicity and lucid arrangement, many of our most popular orators would do well to take a lesson from the unassuming and unlettered men who bore a part in the discussion at the King's Arms."—*Liverpool Mercury*.

MORAL PHYSIOLOGY.

The edition of Moral Physiology, advertised in to-day's Crisis by Mr. Watson, has not been revised by me. The alterations from the American edition which appear there, were furnished, in my absence, by a friend of mine, who was desirous it should be as correct as possible, and in whose hands I had placed a corrected copy; but a large number of typographical and other errors and omissions—some of them materially affecting the sense, and which, I trust, in a subsequent edition the publishers will correct—have escaped notice.

I am now engaged in revising an edition of the same work for Mr. Brooks, of Oxford-street, for the accuracy of which I shall be able to pledge myself. It will be illustrated by a frontispiece, executed by an able artist, and containing, in my view of it, an argument as powerfully convincing as any adduced in the work itself. Its publication will be duly announced.

Those who wish a cheap and common edition of the work will find Mr. Watson's at sixpence, such an one. Those who desire one in a larger type, more correctly printed, on better paper, and with frontispiece, at one shilling, will wait for Mr. Brooks'. I have no interest whatever in either. Never having taken out a copy-right for any of my writings, because I disapprove the principle of copy-rights altogether, they are public property. But I should be glad if any one who desires to make use of them as such, would submit the proofs to me for correction. I shall willingly bestow the necessary time, to avoid being made to talk nonsense in virtue of the proof-readers' sins of omission and commission.

ROBERT DALE OWEN.

October 19, 1832.

FRESH APPLICATION OF STEAM.

"The extensive metropolitan bread manufactory lately erected at Belgrave-place, Pimlico, at an expense of nearly 40,000*l.*, under the superintendence of Mr. Smith, the distiller, of Milbank, is constructed to bake by steam; and the steam that evaporates from the bread will be distilled into spirits (which are to be used in the preparation of paints.) The bread will be put in and taken out of the oven by steam."—*Globe*.

MAN travels, prints, spins, pumps, weaves, and sows by steam. Now he has discovered how to put bread into the oven, bake, and take it out again by steam. Such a method first excites a smile, then extorts admiration, and at length secures adoption. Such applications show the beneficence of nature; and the skill of the creature. Labour is dispensed with, resources are multiplied, the mind is ennobled, but the perplexities of society are increased. Machinery is adopted with timidity, and man dares not do what he knows is capable of being accomplished; he is intimidated from producing more property, lest he should reduce in value what is already created; and he fears to do away with labour, lest he should increase paupers. As long as the producers of wealth have no control over the medium by which it is circulated, so long this must be their painful and perplexing condition, that the more they produce, the cheaper must such productions be made, to secure a portion of the circulating medium, and lower must the labour which such productions require sink in value. The contrary is the case, precisely in proportion as society agrees to effect exchanges of property, through the instrumentality of exchange notes of its own creation.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

POPULATION.—OWEN v. MALTHUS.

This day is published, price 6*d.*

Corrected and re-printed from the Sixth American Edition,

MORAL PHYSIOLOGY; or, a Brief and Plain Treatise on the Population Question. By ROBERT DALE OWEN.

The principle of utility is the foundation of the present work.—*Bentham on Morals and Legislation*.

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AN ADDRESS ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE CLERICAL PROFESSION.

By ROBERT DALE OWEN.

Watson, 33, Windmill-street, Finsbury Square.

SOCIAL MISSIONARY and TRACT SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING HUMAN HAPPINESS.

THIS Society, consisting of members and friends of the Institution of the Industrious Classes, will hold a General Meeting on the afternoon of Sunday next, the 28th instant, in the great Lecture Room of the said Institution. The chair to be taken precisely at 3 o'clock.

It is hoped that all the members will be able to attend on this occasion for the dispatch of important business. Persons of both sexes and all ages desirous of joining the Society by subscriptions of one penny per week and upwards, may do so on application to the Secretary at any of its meetings.

By order of the Committee,

ROBERT ALGER,
Secretary.

London, 25th., Oct. 1832.

PUBLIC MEETING.

ON WEDNESDAY, November 8th, A PUBLIC MEETING will be held in the large Lecture room of the Institution, Gray's-Inn-Road, at 12 for 1 o'clock, to receive the report of the committee appointed at a late public meeting, "to consider and devise the best means for relieving the non productive industrious classes from their present distress, and from the anticipation of much greater, and to report thereon."

THE NINTH FESTIVAL of the ASSOCIATION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, established for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE and POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on MONDAY, 5th Nov., 1832. Tickets of Admission, Visitors, 3*s.*, and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner of Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street, and 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BERGE, Holywell-street; and PURKISS, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
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THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. No. 35.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN & ROBERT DALE OWEN.—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

WEEKLY PROCEEDINGS.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25.

Mr. OWEN continued his explanation of the Model, representing the buildings proposed for a Community of 2,000 persons.

He stated, that, under these arrangements, whenever fairly carried into effect, each individual would have at his or her command more local privileges and domestic comforts, than any individual can obtain now.

According to this plan each adult, male or female, would be the possessor of two rooms, a bed room and sitting room, besides having the use of various public buildings, public walks, baths, refectories, &c. Less than a complete arrangement of this kind, Mr. Owen said, he would never recommend for a single subject of the British Empire. With the means at our control to give to each individual all the real advantages which a palace could furnish, it seemed to him worse than useless to provide for any portion of the human family as for paupers. (Hear, hear.)

A gentleman in the body of the meeting asked if Mr. Owen contemplated the continuance of the arrangement according to which one day in seven is now set apart for devotion, relaxation, or amusement.

Mr. Owen replied, that, as no individual would be over worked on any day, it would not be necessary to rest for a whole day once a week; and that he was convinced, that ultimately all days would be considered alike.

A gentleman asked if one acre for each adult was considered sufficient.

Mr. Owen replied, one acre for each individual, man, woman and child, on the average of soils. He thought this amply sufficient, when the land should be properly managed.

A gentleman remarked, that in such a state of society, where there was no praise or blame, no merit or demerit, no approbation or disapprobation, man would be a mere sensitive plant, and there would be neither virtue nor vice.

Mr. Owen replied, that there would always be approval or disapproval of conduct, according to its consequences; but not individual praise or blame, as now administered.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28.

MORNING.

Mr. MACCONNELL delivered the morning lecture, on the Exchange System.

He opened his address by adverting, in eloquent terms, to the vast importance of the subject; as involving the consideration of a measure which he believed to be the only practical and efficient bridge over which mankind may pass from the Old System of Social Arrangement to the New.

He then proceeded to review the progress already made, and the obstacles still to be overcome. The Exchange Notes, he said, were already taken by many shopkeepers and others unconnected with the establishment. Yet was it also true, that they were yet very far from being received, as they must be, before the Establishment can be declared fully successful. They must be desired, not suffered; must be preferred, not taken in default of any thing else; must be received not reluctantly but gladly; as gladly, at the least, as the current coin of the realm.

Why, the speaker asked, are they not so taken now? Is it because they are sanctioned by no well-known name? Robert Owen's is as well known as that of the Director of the Bank of England. Is it because, like the paper money of this country, they represent not real wealth? A walk through our Exchange is the answer to this. Is it because such a note has ever been dishonored? It is known that it is not. Is it because there is no distress to be relieved? All London cries out against such a conclusion.

What is the reason, then? It is to be found, in the ignorance, the prejudice and the cowardice of general society. How are these to be removed? By lectures delivered in every portion of the metropolis.

He recommended that these be at first delivered on week days only; and on Sundays only at the Institution in Gray's Inn Road: this, in order that prejudice be not, in the outset, too strongly excited.

Every thing must be done by a regular and matured plan. How admirably has the organization of the Methodists effected their purposes! It ought to be imitated by Co-operators.

He especially recommended, that, at the close of each lecture, an opportunity should, in every instance, be freely given for questions and explanations. He had often, he said, seen more effected by one single short but happy answer to a question, than by a long elaborate lecture.

He reminded his audience what wonders eloquence and perseverance had in all ages, effected; he spoke of John Knox, the Scotch reformer; of Wesley, the mild founder of Methodism; of Peter, the hermit, who roused all Europe to arms and sent millions to perish in Palestine. What they had done in a weak cause, may not others do in a strong one?

He advised the immediate appropriation of such funds as might be necessary for an object, which he considered to lie at the foundation of all great success in this cause. Such money, he averred would bring in, even in a pecuniary point of view, a ten-fold remuneration.

He concluded a long eloquent address by recommending Union as the one thing needful for success.

EVENING.

Mr. OWEN read from, and commented on, a portion of his "Essays on the Formation of Character," the first work he gave to the public, originally published in 1813.

ter," the first work he gave to the public, originally published in 1813.

In adverting to the arrangements formed at New Lanark for the instruction of youth, Mr. OWEN explained among other things, that the boys were regularly trained to all the chief military exercises; it was found as easy to form Spartans to day as it was in the days of Lycurgus. (Hear, hear.) Were this the general practice throughout this island, we should be saved the expense of a standing army; (hear, hear.) we should have no such contrivance at all to make slaves of British Citizens. (Loud applause.)

At the close of the lecture, Mr. OWEN stated, that he hoped to aid in forming several branches of the Exchange, not only in London, but throughout the country. (Great applause.)

He declared his belief, that several small establishments, commenced in London, not in connection with the Gray's Inn Road Institution nor on the same plan, were calculated, by the erring though well-meant proceedings of their managers, greatly to injure the cause. As he had first brought forward this plan, he felt, in a measure, responsible for any injury which the public might receive from such attempts; and deemed it therefore his duty publicly to express this opinion, that all might be on their guard.

The room was, as usual, extremely crowded.

SOCIAL MISSIONARY AND TRACT SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING HUMAN HAPPINESS.

(REPORTED BY THE SECRETARY.)

WHAT! another Missionary Society! Is not the world already overrun with Missionaries and Tracts, and what is the result? Do they not every where carry the seeds of disunion and division of all kinds, till at length, the fruits of their proceedings are shewn in rebellions, massacres, and the prostration of all that is excellent in human nature? What has Jamaica lately witnessed, but a repetition of the tragedy which has been over and over again acted by Missionary Societies, where, under pretence of preaching "peace and good will," they instilled enmities; and while holding out the attractions of freedom, took special care to rivet on the mind, chains which ensure a thousand fold greater slavery than that enforced by the planters. And in the beautiful islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, have we not seen the narrowing influence of sectarianism, corrupting the simplicity, without correcting the ignorance, of the converted native; adding to the rude passions of the untutored savage, the worse prejudices of the excluding zealot. Enough then—more than enough have we had of Missionary Societies—it will be said. Let us have no more of them.

But our Missionary and Tract Society is, in every thing but the name, almost the opposite of those above alluded to. It holds not one principle in common with them. They set out with an exhortation to

believe,—we say “examine.” They point to miracles, we refer to facts: in short, while they begin with believing, and end with a shew of reason within certain prescribed limits, we in the first place, give reason the most unbounded scope, and end with that faith which is induced by the clearest conviction. This Society is only of recent origin: it held its first quarterly general meeting, on Sunday afternoon last, at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Robert Dale Owen having kindly consented to take the chair. The meeting was well attended, and the business listened to with great interest. The Report stated at length the various proceedings of the Society, “that it had formed Missions in the fields near the metropolis, throughout the past summer—sold and given away fifty thousand tracts, with a considerable number of the “Crisis”—held weekly discussions for the advantage of its members—and that it is now using its best efforts to create an enlightened public opinion, in order to the introduction of Rational Communities.”

The resolutions brought forward on this occasion will still further explain its views:

1st. That it is of the highest importance, nationally and universally to give the greatest possible publicity to the principles and objects of this Institution, and especially to urge upon the public, by argument and example, the adoption of that most valuable fundamental principle, which is the only foundation for solid union and real prosperity, namely: “That the character of Man is formed for him, and not by him.”

2nd. That to carry into effect this desired publicity, societies should be extensively formed, united in principle, and coincident in action, by means of which, a new and superior public opinion may be rapidly created, in order to introduce without violence, “the change from error and misery, to truth and happiness.”

3rd. That the Social Missionary and Tract Society, which has emanated from this Institution, is one of such Societies, and that its proceedings during the few months of its existence, have been crowned with the most cheering success.

The remainder of the resolutions were adjourned, on account of the lateness of the hour till Sunday next, the 4th of November, at half past 2 for 3 o'clock, in the great Lecture Room of the Institution, open to the public.

EDITORIAL.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 3, 1832.

I HAVE been requested by my father (whose time has been for some time too completely occupied in our Labour Exchange to devote any portion of it to editorial duties) to aid in the superintendence of the Crisis, as its editor. Having resolved to pass the winter in London and to occupy my time as usefully as possible, I accept a situation, the faithful discharge of which I conceive to involve no inconsiderable influence in aid of the great cause of human improvement.

When my father writes in the editorial department, it will be under the signature R. O.; my articles will be signed R. D. O. It seems to us correct in principle, that each individual, however similar his opinions to those of another, should be responsible for his own opinions, and his own opinions only. An adherence to this principle, we think, would greatly diminish the number of inconsistencies, which now too often disfigure the editorial columns of our contemporaries.

ROBERT DALE OWEN.

In another part of our paper will be found an account of our weekly proceedings on Sunday,

and on Sunday evening. These shall be regularly continued, and shall be given in as much detail as our contracted limits permit. Wherever it is practicable, the report of any lecture, address, or public speech, as given in the Crisis, will be submitted to the revision of the individual who may have delivered it, to prevent error or unintentional misrepresentation.

The proceedings of the Labor Exchange will also be regularly noticed, whenever anything is found favorable or unfavorable, in the progress of the business there. When favorable, the report is encouraging, and when unfavourable it is still instructive, to others, who may be about to imitate the experiment here commenced.

R. D. O.

THE MASK SLIPPING OFF.

It is curious to observe how, from time to time, the nominal advocates of things as they are, betray their secret convictions that much of what they ostensibly venerate as sacred is a mere farce.

At a meeting of the electors of the Tower Hamlets held at the Mermaid tavern, Hackney, a Captain Marryat, who presented himself to the electors as a candidate was pretty sharply cross questioned on the occasion. The following is one of the questions and answers as reported in the *Times* of to-day.

“MR. GREGORY, a Dissenter.—I wish to know, whether the gallant Captain thinks it just and fair that I, a Dissenter, should pay for the expenses of a Church Establishment to which I do not belong, and from which I derive no benefit. (Loud cries of “Hear.”)

Captain MARRYAT.—I cannot deny that it is rather hard upon a Dissenter to pay the clergyman of the church of England; but the question simply is, whether the present or the dissenters' establishment should be the established church of the State. (Cheers and “No. no.”) I must with great respect observe, that we are all very apt to be religious, when our religion costs us nothing (a laugh); but somehow we fall off in our zeal, when called upon to pay for our godliness. (Hisses and cheers.) *The fact is, that we should all become dissenters, if the circumstance of being a Dissenter exempted us from the payment of tythes;* (both parties loudly cheered this sentiment) and so there would be an end of the present church of England, as by law established! (This sentiment was also cheered by both the friends and the opponents of the gallant candidate; particularly by the latter who cried out: “Well done my old skipper, you have let the cat out of the bag with a vengeance.”)

A resolution was submitted to the meeting, that Captain Marryat's explanation was satisfactory and that he was a fit candidate; and an amendment was proposed by a Mr. Nun, and seconded by Mr. Gregory, declaring the explanation unsatisfactory and the Captain unworthy the suffrages of the borough. On a show of hands, a large majority of the meeting appeared against the gallant Captain. His friends persisted amid yells, groans and cries of “Off, off; we won't have him at any price,” in an endeavour to obtain him a hearing, but without effect.

What a farce is this “as by law established” system becoming! A candidate for parliament openly declares, that the tythes alone keep the National Religion afloat; and that every member of the establishment would give up his creed if he could but give up his tythes along with it! And the whole meeting, without distinction of party, join in applauding the sentiment! thereby tacitly acknowledging their conviction, that the

whole ghostly machinery rests upon nothing but some ten or fifteen millions a year chiefly furnished by those who know all the time what a humbug they are supporting!

Mark this! you who desire to read aright public opinion. Mark this! all honest heretics who fear to speak your thoughts on the mummery that surrounds you. Ay, and mark this even you time-servers, who trim your sails to the popular breeze, you “all things to all men” personages, who kneel down and worship whatever you imagine to be the idol of the day. The mummery has lost its popularity; and you will lose your time and pains in longer wearing its mask or propping its ruins.

Those who frequent the popular meetings of the day, cannot fail to be struck with the heartfelt applause with which any sentiment tending to expose the craft of the clerical profession is usually hailed. As an instance may be adduced the reception given to the opinion in regard to the influence of all religions, expressed by Mr. Owen, at the meeting held in our Institution last Thursday week.

Oct. 19, 1832.

R. D. O.

THINGS THAT ARE GOING ON AROUND US.

“By its fruits ye shall know it.”

It is truly a painful task to wade through the details of suffering and crime, or, as Cowper expressed it, “each day's report of wrong and outrage with which earth is filled”—as exhibited in the daily journals.

This morning's Herald, to select one instance from among thousands, contains the trial of a man charged—one hesitates almost to transcribe the fact, and it would be utterly incredible, were it not proved by judicial evidence—charged *with burning his wife!* The witnesses stated that he had been daily, for months, in the habit of beating her; that one man has twice interfered when the blows seemed to threaten her life; that “she was scarcely ever without the marks of violence on her person;” that one day he “knocked her down twice, felling her to the ground;” and other most revolting acts of barbarity. The catastrophe is almost too horrible to be detailed. He was in the habit of spending nearly every shilling he earned at the ale house, leaving his wife to support herself by washing &c. One day he suspected her of taking half-a-crown and spending it for herself. In the evening in a fit of rage which must have amounted to madness, he seized her and held her by her hands on the fire! until the poor creature was so dreadfully burnt, that she expired in torments the next day!

In the police report of the same day, a constable stated that in the last three months *forty* persons had thrown themselves from London Bridge with intent to commit suicide.

In the first case, the man is hanged; in the second, the magistrate declares that things are really getting too bad; that suicide is felony, and that an attempt at suicide should be punished as such: or else we shall be continually hearing of such cases.

And nothing more is done! Surely society cannot long remain blind to the fact, that to evils so crying as these, something more than paltry palliatives must be applied. Every one knows, that it is as impossible that a human character capable of such dreadful cruelty as the above, could be formed, *if the most common attention were given to its training*, that this is as impossible as that in broad sunshine there should be no light. And every one knows, too, that a degree of suffering, which prompts human beings, by dozens, to put a voluntary term to their existence, is a

scandal to the society in which it exists,—a scandal which will continue to weigh upon us as a nation, until magistrates do something more than declare suicide felony, and exclaim that things are really getting too bad.

Oct. 25.

R. D. O.

BRITISH LEGISLATORS

Recommending a violation of Religious Liberty, and proposing to enforce an old Jewish law, no where sanctioned in the New Testament.

A SELECT committee of the House of Commons have been making a report "on the observance of the Lord's Day." The gentlemen of the committee say, that it is government's duty to enforce the commands of the Almighty, and that it is one of the most explicit of these commands, that the first day of the week be kept holy.

It is a pity that men will not express themselves distinctly. If the committee had phrased it, "to enforce what the individuals composing the government, conceive to be the commands of the Almighty;" then the case would have been correctly stated: and then the reply would be obvious to a child: "what right have you to decide for us, or for any one but yourselves, what is a command of God?" A Mahometan declares one set of precepts to be the commands of God, a Jew another, a Christian a third: and this latter sins expressly against his own law ("Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind;" "Judge not that ye be not judged;"") when he dictates to the consciences of his fellows.

But apart from this. Is there in the Christian Law, any command to keep holy the first day of the week? *There is none*; no such law; nothing that can be interpreted into it. Christians are no more bound by any declaration of their Scripture to keep Sunday, than they are to abstain from pork, or to put an idolater to death, or to stone a sabbath breaker, or to conform to any portion of the Jewish ritual.

Christians doubtless read the Crisis, now and then. If any one of these will furnish us, in reasonable brevity, with a proof from the Bible, that they are bound by their law, to keep the first day of the week, it shall be inserted and replied to.

If no such proof can be adduced, what must we think of men who, on pretence of advocating Christianity, not only recommend a violation of their fellow-citizens' liberty of conscience, but actually propose to support by the arm of the law, as Christian, an ancient Jewish law, no more binding on a Christian than that of circumcision?

R. D. O.

O. P. Q.'s DEFINITION OF A "LIBERAL."

WORDS are of little importance, compared to things; yet it is important that we should use the best, most expressive, and most explicit words, and that we should all understand their definitions.

Party terms are especially vague. It is therefore with pleasure that I find, in one of the late numbers of the Morning Chronicle, the following good definition of a word, which has always seemed to me the best to designate that great party, whose cry is "Onward!" in opposition to that other party, whose watch-word is "Hold back! Beware of innovation!"

R. D. O.

"The word 'Liberal,' as applied to the political opinions of Frenchmen, or Europeans, is of modern date. In Latin it is *liberalis*, in French it is *liberal*. A *liberal* in England, if we are to take the great Lexicographer as our guide, is,—

1st. 'Not mean, not low in birth, not low in mind.

2nd. *Becoming a gentleman.*

3rd. *Munificent, generous, bountiful, not parsimonious.*

The liberal are secure alone,

For what we frankly give, for ever is our own.'

Leveaux, in his admirable "Dictionnaire de la Langue Française," has supplied us, however, with a better definition of what is meant in our days, by a liberal; and, as the article is pithy and appropriate, I will give it verbatim.

'LIBERAL—worthy of a free soul—noble—generous—who is delighted to do all he can to be useful to others. In this sense we say, that such a man has liberal ideas.

'But this word has been used for some time in a larger sense, it now signifies the abandoning of personal interests founded on injustice; of prejudices or abuses of the passions, in behalf of the general good, and for the greatest possible advantages of human societies, and the happiness of the individuals who compose them. Thus we say, liberal ideas—liberal institutions.'

Now then, with Johnson and Leveaux together, I think we shall be able to make out a tolerably accurate definition, of what those who love liberty, civilization, the human race, and the greatest-happiness principle, (which is the only sound principle in human society) mean by the term 'Liberal.' 'A LIBERAL,' then, is a man who is not mean; who is not low-minded; who acts as becomes a gentleman; who is munificent, generous, bountiful; who has a free soul; who is noble; who is delighted to do all he can to be useful to others; who abandons all personal interests founded on injustice; who does not indulge in prejudices, nor in the abuse of his passions, but sacrifices all to the general good; who relinquishes all for the greatest possible advantage of human societies, and the happiness of the individuals who compose them; and who finally strives to the utmost of his power, in the small or great sphere in which providence has placed him, to render the greatest possible number as happy as possible, for the longest period of time.

This is a 'Liberal.' I defy a Royalist—I defy a Tory—to claim this title. He cannot do it! He may be a good father, an excellent husband, an admirable tax-payer, and an inimitable title contributor; he may be a sincere friend and a virtuous member of society; but he cannot be a patriot—he cannot be a 'LIBERAL.'

CONTRADICTION IN ARTIFICIAL LAWS ILLUSTRATED.

ALL laws except those of nature, which alone deserve the dignified appellation of laws, either overpower the mind with their multiplicity, bewilder it with their variety, mock it with their uncertainty, or startle it with their contradiction. There are laws common and statute, civil and ecclesiastical, severe and lenient, active and obsolete. The laws of honour belong to the higher classes in society; and are generally felt and acknowledged, to be very binding. There are many in the upper walks of life who obey no laws but these. Obedience to them is, however, in the case of duelling, dangerous, owing to the civil law having made duelling murder; and disobedience to the calls of honour is in some cases almost equally perilous. The following fact is a case in point.

T. M.

"If an officer fight a duel he is ruined. He either shoots and absconds, or is shot, and lies still. Between these extremes, stands the law. A trial, a sentence for murder, and other agreeable objects dance before his eye. Now a-days a gibbet may play a prominent part in the spectacle. But what if he refuse a challenge, and decline a duel; Mark! —A court-martial was held at Vellore, Jan. 9, on Ensign J. A. Crawford. 4th Native Infantry, for "having submitted to be called a liar by Ensign W. Lawless Seppings, of the same regiment, with-

out taking any measure to remedy the insult." The court found him guilty, and sentenced him to be discharged from the company's service, which was confirmed."—*Derby Paper*.

UNEMPLOYED ARTISANS AT BIRMINGHAM.

"The unemployed artisans of our town have resolved, we understand, to march through the streets every Monday, for the purpose of keeping before the eyes of the public their numbers and distressed condition. We sincerely hope they will soon have some better mode of employing their time. On Monday last, from 2000 to 3000 of them appeared in one of these processions."—*Birmingham Journal*.

THE first step which Equitable Labour Exchanges will take, in improving the condition of the working classes, is the furnishing them with work. When their employers can find through the medium of Equitable Exchange notes, a market for their goods, which they might seek for in vain, through the channel of money, then they can give more employment to their men; and if an Equitable Labour Exchange were established in the populous manufacturing town of Birmingham, then would these painful processions of artisans, whose time is unoccupied, speedily and permanently cease.

T. M.

RAIL ROAD FROM BRISTOL TO LONDON.

THE mind of man is now full of projects. A rail road to connect these two important places is now projected. When completed, it will be another step towards the overthrow of the present order of things. The projectors and proprietors of these new modes of travelling are totally in the dark as to the ultimate and eventful issue of these measures. They do away with labour, and nature is every day multiplying labourers. The space between machinery and unemployed human labourers is every day becoming less; we are labouring to avoid the contact, which would crush whatever came between them.

T. M.

"It is in contemplation to establish a railroad from this city to London, through White Horse Valley. The probable expense is estimated at £1,500,000; two thirds of which sum it is certain the Government will advance at four per cent. interest."—*Hereford Times*.

TURKEY IN EUROPE.

TURKEY must now be added to the long and distressing list of agitated countries. The aspect of Europe is like that of a troubled sea, which cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. Vessels of state are tossed on the surface, and monsters of evil riot in hideous deformity underneath. Nation is rising up against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. Men are whetting their swords, instead of turning them into pruning-hooks, and pointing their spears instead of converting them into ploughshares. The horn of war seems about to be blown. Nothing but "Our system of society can reach the source of these maladies and unseat them. Every other method has been tried and failed."

T. M.

"A letter from Smyrna, dated September 5, states that they daily expected to learn of important events having occurred at Constantinople, towards which city the Egyptians were rapidly advancing, and must then have been within a few days' march, as they passed Koukia twenty days before, and had been joined by the people every where in their progress. (The government at Constantinople was in a most critical state.)

[The following article, written for the Crisis, was first forwarded, at the suggestion of a friend, to the editor of the Morning Advertiser, from whose paper of the 20th of October, it is now copied.]

A VERY STRANGE ARGUMENT.

(Translated from the Politico-Economist language of the Conservatives, into plain English.)

SIR—In the Post of this morning, is an article signed "T." written with some ingenuity, to convince the working man, that those who "wickedly suggest to him the absurd idea, that labour is entitled to share in the profits of capital," are his worst enemies; that it is of no consequence to him whether he pays tithes and taxes, and lives under the burden of corn laws or not, inasmuch as "the average value of labor must at least be equal to the cost of his maintenance." The inference is, that it is the employer, not the employed, who bears the burdens of our government; and that, though the laborer does actually pay tithes, taxes, &c., he receives all back from his employer, in the shape of an increase of wages, which increase would not exist, but for the existence of government burdens.

Truly the gentlemen of the Conservative corps reason coolly, if not lucidly enough! "The value of labour must be equal to the cost of its maintenance." Or, translated into plain English:—*A man cannot very conveniently live, or labour, without eating, nor without having a shirt and a pair of trousers to cover him; so that somehow or other, despite of tithes, taxes, corn laws, and all the rest of it, the English laborer will always contrive to get bread (or potatoes at any rate) and water, as well as a shirt and trousers.*

Well! suppose it is so. The instances of actual starvation do not amount to thousands yearly, and there are seasons of the year, when the Irish peasantry are not to be seen by hundreds on the shores of their ill-governed island, gathering sea weeds to allay the cravings of hunger. Suppose, then, that even the enormous imposts of the most profligate government of Europe, cannot deprive a man who labours twelve or fourteen hours a day, of potatoes and salt. Then, if you admit the inference of the Tory correspondent of the Post paper, all things are well, and we need not trouble our heads about them: men live, is not that sufficient? They are scarcely ever starved, and what right have they to complain? They ought to live contentedly; and would live contentedly, but for those "who wickedly suggest to them" that a man may reasonably expect something more substantial than potatoes and salt.

This is rather late in the day, to assume such a position. In feudal times, when the *serf* was an animal to be fed and used, this anti-starvation argument might be well enough; but to-day the *serf* has become a citizen: he has rights, and ventures to think himself entitled to comforts even beyond bread and water. "T." will not succeed in convincing him that these modern ideas are "but wicked suggestions," leading to his ruin.

But at any rate, (it will be urged) the laborer is no way oppressed, by paying some 40 or 50 millions a year to Government. When the benefited clergyman enters the hut of the Irish laborer, and takes from him a tenth of his moveable income, the laborer is nothing the poorer for it. Nay—for, if the principle be true at all, it is true to any extent—if, instead of a tenth, he took one half—two thirds—three fourths of the poor wretch's pittance, the plundered peasant would be no real sufferer! "*Labour must be equal to the cost of its maintenance.*"

Or again, if instead of the nation paying forty or fifty millions a year to those who administer its public affairs, it paid two hundred millions, or five hundred millions, or any sum short of what might be deemed the national income, it would in no way concern the labourer. The employer would have to pay all, and "*labor would still be equal to the cost of its maintenance.*"

Or, in a word, the producer may be robbed, plundered, oppressed, legally fleeced to any degree, it will do him no harm—subtract nothing from what is due to him. The magical sentence explains this wonderful phenomenon—"Labour must always be equal to the cost of its maintenance."

I will not insult the writer of a decently-written, and well-expressed article, by supposing that he saw distinctly what his arguments lead to, or that he meant to say, what he substantially has said. The politico-economist phraseology usually requires translation; and when any propositions so outrageous as the above are advocated, a plain reading into English is all that is wanted. No decent man would seriously hold, and no decent paper choose to publish, in approval, a translation of the article which has led to these remarks.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
Oct. 18, 1832. R. D. O.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR—A copy of a letter, which was first given to the public in the "Times," is inserted in No. 32 of the Crisis. The writer of that letter is David McCoig, 6, Bridgewater Square, Barbican, who is a master tailor, and not, as he has stated in his letter, a journeyman. He is however, as he states, a poor man, and has a wife and three children. He did not buy the cloth in consequence of representations to which he alludes, but he bought it for the purpose of making it into a coat, for a customer who had previously ordered it. It was made in a great hurry, and very badly made and cut, and proved to be a misfit, and consequently displeased the customer. McCoig then sent it to your Bazaar. I do not know exactly what quantity of cloth was then spoiled, but I think not above a yard and three quarters. I am also ignorant of what he did pay, or may have to pay for the cloth, but I am certain, that as good may easily be had, and is generally sold in retail shops for money, at from ten to twelve shillings a yard. I take the trouble of stating the above to you, as I think that no man who knows the value of cloth and tailor's work, and who has seen or may yet see the coat, can conscientiously say that at your Bazaar Mr. McCoig was offered too low a price; particularly when your general scale of estimation is taken into consideration; and also, as I am desirous to see the Labour Exchange have at least fair play, and that it be not hurt by false statements.

When the coat was offered at your Bazaar, I was a journeyman of Mr. McCoig's, and am certain that what I have stated is true. You may publish all, or any part of this letter, that you please.

I am, Sir, wishing you success,
Yours respectfully,
DAVID SCOTT.

MORAL PHYSIOLOGY.

I HAVE given to Mr. Watson, the publisher of Moral Physiology, at his request, a list of the errata which have crept into his edition of the work; he prints these on a small fly-sheet to be stitched into the pamphlet. I may add, lest my remarks of last week should have been misunderstood by any one, that he has got up the work very respectably, and that, as it went through the press during my absence from London, it was impossible for him to submit it to my revision.

R. D. O.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter from S.—, Manchester, on the subject treated in Moral Physiology, reached me safely. The writer will accept my thanks for the important facts he communicates, and the suggestions he makes. I shall not lose sight of them; though at this moment, I am unable to offer a decided opinion on the details which he sends me.

The proceedings of the "Fourth Co-operative Congress" have this moment, just as our paper goes to press, been put into my hands. It seems to contain much interesting matter, and will no doubt be read with avidity by our friends. See Advertisement.

R. D. O.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

LIVERPOOL CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS.

Just Published,—Price Sixpence,

THE PROCEEDINGS of the FOURTH CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS, held in Liverpool, on Monday, October 1, 1832, and by adjournment on each of the five following days; reported by order of Congress, by Mr. W. Pare of Birmingham. Printed and published by William Jackson, 67 Gravel Lane, Salford, Manchester.

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NOTICE.

TO ARCHITECTS, TRADESMEN, and the PUBLIC IN GENERAL.

THE Society of Carpenters, held at the Argyle Arms, Argyle street, Oxford street, hereby give notice, that they being anxious to gain a living for themselves and families, they are prepared to take any buildings, repairs, alterations, or fitting up of any premises whatever, for part cash and part Labour Notes, they having no Clerks or other useless servants in their employ, are enabled to furnish any one that may favour them with commands, with the best materials and workmen, on much lower terms than the public have been in the habit of paying to the master tradesmen.

N. B. Any persons, by communication with the Secretary as above, from twelve till one o'clock, may rely upon having good and efficient workmen to conduct and execute their commands, as all persons are balloted in that become members of this Society.

By order of the above Society,
Oct. 29th. ETSHDOWN, Secretary.

PUBLIC MEETING.

ON WEDNESDAY, November 7th, A PUBLIC MEETING will be held in the large Lecture room of the Institution, Gray's Inn-Road, at 12 for 1 o'clock, to receive the report of the committee appointed at a late public meeting, "to consider and devise the best means for relieving the non productive industrious classes from their present distress, and from the anticipation of much greater, and to report thereon."

THE NINTH FESTIVAL of the ASSOCIATION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, established for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE and POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on MONDAY, 5th Nov., 1832. Tickets of Admission, Visitors, 3s., and Members Half-price, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Short-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner of Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Hermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street, and 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

One Visitor's Ticket will Admit Two Persons under Sixteen Years of Age.

Printed for, and Published by, the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published also by STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BARRER, Holywell-street; and PARKINS, Wardour-street; may be had of all Newsmen.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. No. 36.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN & ROBERT DALE OWEN.—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

WEEKLY PROCEEDINGS.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1.

Mr. OWEN continued his explanation of the model of a Community.

He read to the audience the detailed calculations, as given in the "Report of Proceedings in Ireland;" exhibiting the exact amount of various productions to be obtained from a given number of acres; the number of laborers required; the amount of provisions and clothing for a population of 1,000 persons; the amount of capital and yearly charges of every kind.

The account exhibited a yearly profit of about £7,000 per annum, to redeem a debt at first incurred of £45,000. Mr. OWEN challenged examination of all the details presented, in the confident conviction, that no error whatever would be found in them; a conviction derived from the fact, that these detailed calculations have already been submitted to many of the most practical men in the kingdom, who admitted their accuracy.

Mr. OWEN stated, that he had spent eight months in Ireland in collecting the materials for these calculations; calculations which he believed no other person had collected in the same detail, and which, whenever the system should be fairly brought before the public, would, through the influence of public opinion, compel its adoption throughout the civilized world.

At the conclusion of his address Mr. OWEN read a letter from a member, who expressed his opinion that much harm and loss had accrued to the Institution, by the division of efforts and the frittering away of energies, resulting from a number of petty and premature experiments, incapable of producing any essential benefit, but capable of leading off the public attention from the great effort here.

A person came forward to express his dissatisfaction with the above letter. He wished to see experiments tried every where and under every different form. He thought nothing could be done until wages were raised. He said machinery had been the ruin of his family and of many others; and he thought the Labor Exchange little better. It would bring the producers very soon to the workhouse. (Laughter.)

A mechanic stated, that a number of his fellow workmen had formed themselves into a society of journeymen, who had resolved to labor for themselves, not for others, and to deposit the articles produced in the Labor Exchange. (Applause.)

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 4.

MORNING.

ROBERT DALE OWEN delivered an address *On the Influence of Works of Fiction on the moral and intellectual improvement of Society.*

The subject, he said, resolved itself into a con-

sideration of the influence which such works have exerted, and the influence they are capable of exerting. In other words, the question was: May imaginary narratives, if written with judgment and talent, be beneficial? or, are they necessarily injurious?

He thought this an important question; because the influence of such works, felt alike by the child, the adult, and the aged, was, whether exerted for good or for evil, very great. One of England's shrewdest statesmen had said: "Let me have the writing of the National Ballads, and I care not who has the making of the Laws."

In reply to the opinion, that it is irrational to be attracted by a narrative of fancy, he replied that he did not think so. What is the most important knowledge we can acquire? A knowledge of man, of his passions, qualities, capabilities. What is the best way of acquiring this? The very best way is by mixing among men. And the next best way? By reading correct representations of men and manners. Such are sometimes given in works of fiction, and such might always be given in them.

Suppose it be required to teach children the natural history of some animal—say of the tiger. How should we set about it? The very best way would be, to mount your pupils on a *houidah*, convey them through the jungles of the Indian continent, and rouse the creature in his lair; or, at the least, to enter a menagerie, where a tiger, although in his tamed and subdued state, might be seen. The next, most effectual method would be, to exhibit a characteristic, spirited drawing of the animal, in some natural attitude.

It may be objected to works of fancy, that, not detailing facts but imaginations, they are falsities, and, as such, useless. The same argument holds against a drawing of a tiger. However characteristic of the general character of the species, it represents, with perfect accuracy, no particular individual. But in both cases, that of the tale of fancy and that of the drawing of fancy, if the general likeness be preserved, real knowledge is imparted; and imparted, too, in the most natural and most agreeable manner. The tale and the drawing will probably make a much more lively—ay, and much more accurate impression on the mind, than any abstract precept, general assertion, or dry description.

To say to a child "be good" is to convey to its mind no definite idea: but relate to it some well conceived tale illustrative of goodness; and you awaken its attention, gain its feelings, convince its judgment, and probably permanently influence its conduct.

Then again, if we are to portray men and women as they should be, it will not do merely to relate what has happened. We must conceive something that has not yet been; must create the characters anew, place them anew, and give them new senti-

ments. We must write rational, nobly conceived, but yet imagined narratives.

As a sample of the mode in which he thought important, and impressive lessons might be conveyed in narrative form, the speaker read a tract, written by him some years since, entitled "Darby and Susan," exhibiting the cruel influence which those who recommend men and women to abstract their thoughts from earth and fix them on heaven, often exert on the simple and ignorant mind.

And, in conclusion, he put it to his audience, whether a lesson so conveyed was not more likely to be distinctly understood and long remembered, than any mere abstract statement of the fact desired to be conveyed.

EVENING.

Mr. OWEN opened the meeting by reading the two following letters; the first from a Unitarian lady of Liverpool, and the second from a gentleman of the same city in reply. Mr. O. stated that these letters had been placed at his disposal by the gentleman alluded to, but who six months ago entertained principles very different to those he now holds.

Liverpool, May 3, 1832.

"I thank you, my respected friend, for the perusal of the papers which you put into my hands the last time I had the pleasure of seeing you. I have read them with that warm interest their important contents demand, from every friend of our species. Lady —'s letter excites my warmest admiration and most devoted respect, we must love moral worth, and respect intellectual cultivation wherever found; but surely to meet with them where the "bewitcheries" of external circumstances throw their dangerous influence, bespeaks a mind of no common materials! How difficult to regret the sufferings, which most likely have cherished and produced such fruits! Long may she be spared to us in this nether world, to bless and improve her fellow creatures! How well I can understand, and how deeply feel interested, in the hopes and fears she experiences for you, and the cause on one point, but that excelling all others in importance, I mean on Mr. Owen's disbelief of revelation; but, my respected friend, I go even farther than she; perhaps you may think too far, when I give utterance to the genuine conviction of my mind, and say, you as a Christian, are "unequally yoked" with Mr. Owen. Alas! how can that structure be even raised, regarding which the architects disagree as to the foundation,—the chief cornerstone! There is much in Mr. Owen's system I love, and much I think, very practical, if we were all Christianized;—but lo! he refuses the only power, he or any one can ever effectually work with! The only power at all competent to subdue the violent passions, direct the noble energies to worthy objects, and give holy motives to human action, he in speech, and in written articles, rejects. Presumptuous man! on what a sandy foundation dost thou

presume to rear a structure so beautiful in its design, and so grand in its object, as the regeneration of human society.

Are we not told, and do not you and my friend believe the truth, that the Gospel of Christ is a blessing to the poor? and shall we systematically withhold it? I quite agree with Mr. Owen, in the idea that we are the creatures of circumstances, and so perfectly convinced am I, that to withhold revelation from society, would inevitably place it in the most desperate of all external and internal circumstances, that I could not prevail on myself to move a finger in such a concern. I esteem Mr. Owen as you do, in point of benevolence; he teems with the heavenly attribute; but my admiration will never induce me to become, even in appearance, his follower. Perhaps you will tell me I can go with him as far as I think him right; but I like to begin from a good point. I can't prevail on my conscience to make a start. When I move in these matters, it must be with "Thus saith the Lord," not "thus says Mr. Owen," or Mr. any body else.

Excuse me, my dear friend, but I regret more than I can express, that your fine energies, expansive benevolence, and physical powers, should be all but wasted on such an unpromising, such a visionary plan, when there are so many objects worthy your attention, and more practicable.

I am unacquainted with your ideas on the subject of a parent's care, for the pecuniary interests of his family. I esteem it a duty, not to be forgotten in any object of philanthropy, to make a comfortable provision for children, especially for daughters; to omit the endeavor to do this, is as great a folly, in my mind, as to be anxious to accumulate, and leave to them a great store of "this world's goods." If we leave our children dependant on others, and even on their own powers entirely, in these times of competition, we most likely leave them to great difficulties—I am speaking of daughters. I hope my good friend will excuse the warmth, and unreservedness of my manners, and give me credit for that kindly feeling and sincere respect, which alone can excuse such a freedom. Your friend Mr. — went from home a few hours after our arrival here, and remained a week, since his return I have had no opportunity of speaking to him. I will take great care of all the letters and papers you gave me, until a convenient time comes of returning them. I know not whose "Hints" these are on Co-operation; but they are the best, and the most rational observations I have seen—perhaps Dr. King's. With kind respects to Mrs. — and all your family, believe me, Your's respectfully,

Mrs. —.

Much respected Friend,—I received your very kind letter, and sincerely thank you, for the deep concern you manifest, for my religious sentiments and feelings. I have always considered my religious duties, as my highest, next my duties to my family; those of my station next (but to which the greater part of my time must be devoted) and my personal pleasures as the last to be attended to. I have studied religious subjects attentively for many years, have read my bible much, and heard the opinions of nearly all the contending sects; but, if you will allow me to state my sentiments truly, I am dissatisfied with them all; because I see plainly, that fetters and shackles are thrown upon the freeborn mind by them all.

What minister of religion of any sect, even our own, is at liberty to seek for truth, and openly profess and teach it? Are not all the different sects, bound down to their creeds, and catechisms, and articles of faith; and would not the Unitarian Minister, however exemplary his piety, however diffusive his benevolence, or transcendent his talents, lose his situation, though his family should be reduced to poverty in consequence, if he should dare to state a change from any of the favorite opinions of the party to which he belonged? Are not all religious teachers, then, deeply interested in shunning enquiry, and concealing unpopular truth? And how can any man of sense and reflection, listen with patience to the instructions of men placed in such circumstances?

I must confess, that after having regularly attended public worship nearly fifty years, I am sick and tired of the present inefficient mode of religious instruction, and look upon the whole host of parsons, as interested advocates of error.

Nor am I altogether satisfied with their book. It is a book which cannot be read in a family, by a reflecting man who has any regard to decency, chastity, good morals, or refined feelings. I have been compelled more than once, to shut it in disgust on such occasions. I allude more particularly, to the Old Testament. Genesis, the other books of Moses, the historical and prophetic books, all abound with passages, at which modesty must blush; and the book of Solomon's Song, I look upon as infamous. After all the labor that has been bestowed by so many learned and good men, to prove the authenticity of the books of the New Testament, many of them are still left in a state of great uncertainty. The book of Revelations, even supposing the evidence satisfactory, no man can understand, as is evident, from the ridiculous interpretations that have been put upon it, by eminent divines of the most opposite opinions. The epistle to the Hebrews, cannot be proved to have been written by Paul. Peter himself, as well as many of our best Unitarian writers, acknowledge that there are many things in the other epistles, hard to be understood. I have been reading the gospels with my daughter lately, to enable her to give answers to the Rev. Mr. Thorn, from "Field's Questions," and I find there, numerous contradictions, which persons fully acquainted with the subjects they were writing about, could not well have fallen into. I cannot give credence to the beginning of Matthew and Luke, because they contradict each other, and therefore, both cannot be true; and, as they relate unnecessary and useless miracles, I do not think either of them entitled to credit. I admire the character of Jesus; I venerate his benevolent and useful life, and his heavenly precepts "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them;" "a new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another, by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples;" and "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" but I cannot say, that I think his character altogether perfect. Would not his conduct towards the fig-tree, be considered angry and petulant in any other individual? and is it consistent, when he orders his disciples to arm themselves with swords, and even to sell their garments to buy one? Surely, these could not be produced, for the purpose of returning good for evil. Nor does his conduct in the case of the swine, well agree with this principle. Either the accounts are in some respects erroneous, or these cases will appear as inconsistencies in his character to men of reflection.

But further, though I consider the moral feelings he inculcates in the above precepts, calculated, if acted upon, to bring about all the beneficial changes in society, contemplated by Mr. Owen and his followers; and though I believe they emanated from a light from above, and which probably was as great as the world was then prepared to receive and act upon, still I cannot but think them incomplete without the addition of other principles to illustrate them, shew their necessity, reasonableness, and practicability; which principles are not made known in the Gospel. One in particular, (in which you say you entirely agree with Mr. Owen) namely, "that we are the creatures of circumstances." Why do nations calling themselves Christians, go to war? why do they destroy offenders against their laws? why do Christian governments, oppress and enslave their people? why are there bitter religious and political contentions, strife in neighborhoods, quarrels in families, and between individuals? It is because men do not know a satisfactory reason, why they should love their neighbors as themselves, and return good for evil. The gospel gives these precepts, it is true; but it is only from the New Science of Society, that men learn the reason why they should be obeyed; which is, that man is the creature of circumstances; that his character is formed for, and not by himself, by his original organization at birth, and the circumstances in which he is afterwards placed.

As to making a provision for my family, I utterly despair of ever being able to do so in the present state of society. I have through life, exercised myself to have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man. I have always been frugal in my habits, and have neglected no opportunity that has offered, for bettering my condition; but the demon competition thwarts all my exertions to rise towards wealth. I have food and raiment; but I cannot be content, so long as I see the great majority around me, wanting every thing. I will use every exertion to put my children in the way of producing comfortably for themselves, by their own labor of mind or body, but I do not conceive that it is any part of my duty, to try to leave them in affluence, and thus enabling them to become useless members of society. I think my money will be better spent, in promoting the general good.

My family are all in good health, and desire to be remembered to you. I must again thank you for your kind concern, and for your good and high opinion of me; but I am sure I do not deserve your lavish praise. In return, I assure you there is no lady with whom I am acquainted, with the exception, perhaps, of the distinguished individual to whom you allude, whose candor, good sense, literary attainments, and benevolent disposition, command more of my esteem and respect, than your own; for which reason, I have unbosomed myself the more freely. My apology for suffering your letter to remain so long unanswered, is, my numerous avocations in my business, my family, and many other things. And I have chosen the present time, for the purpose of drawing your thoughts and attention for a few moments, from the irreparable loss you have sustained.

It is time for me to conclude. If I am in error, please point it out; for I seek for truth as for hidden treasure. At all events, since these opinions have been forced upon me by circumstances over which I have no control, I am sure you will pity, rather than blame me for them, however uncharitably I may be judged by others.

I am, with great respect, Madam,

Your sincere Friend,

Liverpool, Oct. 23, 1832.

J. F.

Mr. OWEN then read the following letter:

Dear Sir,—I have had a great deal of censure passed upon me with respect to my conduct in regard to my deceased partner, who was interred on Sunday last, October 28th, in Islington burial ground. It has been stated that I did not pay due respect to her. My answer to that is—that in life our sole object was to promote each other's happiness; and, for nineteen years (the period we lived together) we did, as far as circumstances would permit, enjoy a life of perfect tranquillity and happiness, as all who know us can testify.

My wife's dying language was—"You tell me, and I believe it, that death is but a change of matter from one form to another, and I hope you will act upon that principle, and let my remains be interred without any funeral pomp or religious ceremony;" which last wish I intended to fulfil, but the minister interfered, and insisted on performing what he called his duty, in spite of our feelings and our expostulations. After he had concluded, one of our friends delivered an appropriate address.

My motive for writing this, is, first to shew the religious world, (as they are called) that persons whom they term infidels, can die with such serenity of mind as they, the religious, seldom possess. Secondly, to show the necessity of having a place to deposit the remains of our friends, so that our feelings may no longer be outraged by such interference as this, on the part of those in whose dogmas we have no belief whatever.

Begging to inform you, that you are at liberty to make what use you think proper of this communication, I remain, dear Sir, your's respectfully,

And a disciple of the New System,

THOMAS WILKES.

Barnsbury Park, Islington, Nov. 4th, 1832.

Mr. OWEN, in allusion to the abuse complained of, said the ceremonies as now performed by

the clergy at Christenings, Marriages, and Burials, were nothing more than an ecclesiastical interference to obtain money from the people; and that it was high time such abuses should be remedied. (Immense cheering.)

Mr. OWEN said he would read them one other short letter from a plain, honest man, and then proceed, as usual, to read from the "Essay on the formation of Character:"

Sir,—A number of individuals who hold in the greatest veneration that benevolent system of Society developed in your excellent work, "The Crisis," feel a strong desire to withdraw themselves from the present, wretched, forlorn, and miserable state of Society, and join with the co-operative world in endeavouring to banish poverty, vice, and misery from mankind, and restore them to that elevated state in society to which nature designed them.

With this view we have united ourselves together, and commenced a weekly subscription of three-pence each, in order to raise a fund that may suit such purposes, and have every prospect of a rapid increase to our number.

If, Sir, with the multiplicity of your business you could spare a moment to direct and advise us how to establish ourselves upon a sure foundation, or recommend us to any works that may instruct us in the formation and good government of such an Institution, you will confer upon us a lasting benefit, for which we shall ever feel grateful.

We remain, Sir,

Your's, with the greatest respect,
JOHN HARRISON,

Bath Street, Northampton sq.,

President.

Nov. 1, 1832.

SOCIAL MISSIONARY AND TRACT SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING HUMAN HAPPINESS.

(Reported by the Secretary.)

THE adjourned general meeting took place, as appointed, on Sunday afternoon last, in the great room of the Institution, when the following resolutions—being the remainder of those inserted last week—were carried unanimously:

4th. That the means proposed by this Society for the attainment of its objects are—

1st. The gratuitous distribution, loan, and sale of tracts and such other publications as the Society may determine.

2nd. Public lecturing in the open air or otherwise.

3rd. The appointment of qualified members to attend the public proceedings of other societies of whatever kind, in order where opportunities may offer, to point out that which appears partial or injurious, and to unite in what is general and beneficial.

5th. That the Society feels bound to acknowledge the liberality and kindness which the Governor of this Institution has ever shown in regard to their proceedings, and especially for the use granted them of the large Lecture Room whenever it shall not be engaged for indispensable purposes—a kindness and liberality which have animated the Society in its early endeavours, and which it is trusted will have served to place it on a firm basis.

6th. That we do now pledge ourselves to use our best exertions for the advancement of this and of every other Society founded upon the principle stated in the first resolution.

7th. That in acknowledgement of the kindness and attention shewn by Mr. Robert Dale Owen, he be now requested to accept the office of permanent President of this Society.

The last resolution having been put by the mover, and most cordially agreed to, the chairman summed up by expressing his ready acquiescence to give the Society all the support in his power, but feared from the engrossing nature of his previous engagements, that his active share in the Society's business would be very limited. He said the Social Missionaries had chosen the two great levers of society—the press, and public speaking—and that by confining themselves to the statement of facts and the putting of plain questions to the exclusion of dogmatism

and remote assertion, they would, he was confident effect much good, and materially assist in bringing forward the change founded upon the true principles of human nature, and consequently the true source of human happiness. He said with respect to the formation of character, that like all other principles, it required the utmost clearness of exposition, and that it was nothing more than the doctrine of necessity applied to all the causes affecting mankind. The chairman concluded, by expressing a hope that the next quarterly Report might be found as encouraging as the present one, and that from the increased means of the Society, the business transacted would be still more enlarged.

At the termination of this, as well as the former meeting, many names were added to the Society, and donations were liberally put into the plate: the Society is thus enabled to go to press with additional funds, in order to the extensive circulation of works which materially affect the removal of error and the progression of truth.

A course of lectures is in preparation by the Missionaries, the first "On the management of children," will be delivered in the great room on Sunday next at 3 o'clock—open to the members of the Institution, their families, and friends.

Nov. 6, 1832.

LABOUR EXCHANGE.

THE Business of the Exchange is daily improving, and its future prospects are likely to realize great advantages to the working classes, who are the more satisfied as they become better acquainted with our principle of transacting business.

Among the difficulties we had to contend with in the commencement of our Exchange, one of the most important has been the existence in various parts of the metropolis, of Exchanges professing to be established upon our principles, and sometimes stating that they are connected with us; the effect of which has been, in many cases, that persons who have deposited goods in the Gray's Inn Road Exchange, at the cost price, have gone to some of these bazaars with the notes they received here, and afterwards returned to complain that we had deceived them, for when they went to our Branch at such a place, they were charged at a much higher rate than we allowed for goods here. This evil, however, will soon correct itself. Let the depositors of goods, in passing through our stores observe the prices marked upon the articles, as deposited, with the commission added to it. By doing so, they may convince themselves that we adhere to our principles. Thus, too, any error that may occur in marking off the goods, or any incivility, or inattention of the servants of the Establishment, may be immediately corrected, upon the persons who observe or experience such, giving information of the same to the Governor or Secretary.

There has been a considerable demand in the Exchange this week, for shoes and winter clothing.

E. NASH, Secretary.

EDITORIAL.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 10, 1832.

TIME-SERVING.

Almost necessary in ancient times. No longer so. Great advantages which modern Reformers have. Honesty's fair prospects. Time-serving in France. How miserably it failed. France in her foreign relations. The Constitutionnel and the National. Republicanism in France. Its boldness. May it succeed!

A TIME-SERVING policy, used, in former days, to bring many more advantages (or rather fewer disadvantages) both to nations and individuals, than it now does.

When a man's head was the forfeit for an im-

prudent word, as in the dark ages, there was more than an excuse for temporising, for stating only half truths, for speaking of reform in a whisper. The old distich—

He that fights and runs away
May live to fight another day;
But he that's in the battle slain
Will never live to fight again—

may be a cowardly one, but it is a true one also; and was *once* applicable, in sad seriousness, to the situation of the friends of liberty throughout the world. To political heresy, the answer used to be the bowstring—and to religious heresy, the stake. Now these, if not *convincing*, were at least *silencing* answers. Not the coward only, but the enlightened patriot might well, under such circumstances, keep silence, or speak in parables. Plain dealing was then fool-hardiness, not courage; it was a fruitless sacrifice of lives, and of lives valuable to the good cause.

But times are changed now. Heresies, political and religious, are still, no doubt, in the eyes of many, offences; but they are not *capital* offences. A reformer risks his popularity, but not his life. He may be brow-beaten, but he cannot be burnt.

At this day, then, what was once fool-hardiness, is only courage. Those exertions which were formerly all but useless to the world, and fatal to the individual, are now productive to society, and attended, if now and then with odium, yet not with danger to the life, and scarcely to the liberty of those who venture them.

While, under these circumstances, it must be admitted, that things are not yet as they should be, inasmuch as persecution of any kind for honest opinion is a folly and an injustice, it must not be forgotten that much—very much is gained. The reformer's language need not now be expressed in the Asiatic tone and phrase: "May thy slave speak his opinion and live?" but rather in that of the Athenian: "Strike me! but hear me."

If things go on in this way, honesty, even in matters of politics and religion, may soon become, not only in theory, but in practice, the best policy: and the great, hitherto so profitable business of National Chicanery, may, by and bye, scarcely yield five per cent. on capital invested. Then, and then only, will rogues cease to follow it.

National time-servers have had some sharp lessons read to them lately. The half-way policy, the "all things to all men" system, has been fairly tried in France under Louis Philippe and the *juste milieu* faction. What is the result? Have they been praised and glorified, as those who gull mankind, have till now, so commonly been? Have they succeeded in placing France, if not in a happy, at least in a dignified position? in making her feared, if not admired, by other powers? Nothing of all this have they done. They are

hated at home and despised abroad. Their Machiavellian tricks, which in former times might have secured them power and honor, are now seen through, and laughed at by every mechanic in Paris, almost by every peasant in the departments.

O. P. Q., in taking a survey of the position of France among the European powers, reviews, in a late number of his spirited letters, her present relations with Germany, with Austria, with Belgium, with Italy, with Spain, with Russia, and, alas! with Poland. His review, only too true to the facts, exhibits in strong colors, the weak, vacillating, unworthy situation, in which time-servers have placed that fine, generous country. "What is the present situation of France in Europe?" he asks: "I answer in one word, IT IS DEPLORABLE."

He is right. It is deplorable; and what has made it so?—TIME-SERVING. Applying paltry palliatives, instead of radical remedies; patching up an old coat that is worn to the last thread, instead of making a good, decent, new one; putting new wine into old bottles (or rather old bubbles) to the bursting of the vessels, and the spilling of the wine.

These things will not last long. A Parisian correspondent of to-day's *Times*, a defender of Louis Philippe and the time-servers, says, there are now but two parties in France, Louis Philip's and the Republic. The republicans, he adds, are daily becoming bolder and more plain-spoken. The *Constitutionnel* (the *Times* of Paris, with an enormous subscription list) has been making overtures to the *National*, the leading republican journal, conducted with much spirit and ability, to unite on the basis of the charter of 1830. The *National* boldly and distinctly refuses; in such terms, says the correspondent of the *Times*, as induce the belief, that the Republicans of France have support and resources far beyond what they are known to have. These editorial movements are very important, as indicating the state of public opinion. The *Constitutionnel*, like all journals that have very large subscription lists, and make great profits, speaks just what it believes will please the majority of its readers. It is a very useful weathercock, and may be depended on to indicate the political currents, as safely as any common vane to mark the atmospheric ones. Its veering informs us, that in France the political gale is blowing towards a republic.

I am heartily glad of it. There may be a thousand political evils and abuses under a republic; there are, in the American republic. But there is far less opportunity to introduce, and far more difficulty to sustain, these under republican, than under monarchical institutions. The people may starve for want of employment under a republic; but there is a much better chance of procuring employment for them, than under an old time-worn monarchy. The great plans of fundamental reform,

which can alone avert the crisis which an overgrown system of commercial competition is hurrying on, may be overlooked, even under a republic: but they are much more likely to be fairly canvassed and practically tried, when liberal principles prevail, than when an unprincipled government, like Louis Philip's, dashes the nascent spirit of Enterprise, and dulls the energies of Reason's friends.

Success, then, to the Liberals of France! They cannot be supposed to see the whole road they will have to go, ere peace and plenty be secured to their nation. But they see a step or two, and seem resolved to take them. May we imitate their zeal and courage! Faint-hearted spirits never won a noble cause.

Nov. 3, 1832.

R. D. O.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO MR. OWEN.

RESPECTED SIR,—Permit me to intrude a few moments upon your kindness, by submitting the following remarks to some of our friends, who will, no doubt, be present this evening, sincerely trusting they will not be thrown away.

I have been deeply concerned, in witnessing amongst many who call themselves Members of the Institution, such an inclination to embark their energies, their talent, and industry in undertakings, separate from the great body of the Institution, such for instance, as is the establishment of the Bazaars at the Gothic Hall and elsewhere, the Agricultural Association, &c., &c., or any of those undertakings which tend to divide the members from the general body. I have no doubt whatever, that the intentions of these individuals are pure and upright, but at the same time, I am quite sure that they are, while in the pursuit of these best of intentions, doing the Institution more injury, than the most powerful enemy it has. They are quite unintentionally, destroying the basis upon which alone, we shall be able to raise the standard of rationality. They are unintentionally feeding the already prejudiced mind of the public, with the most substantial and powerful motives, which alone induce them, still to oppose the introduction of the Rational Social System, because, by their thus directing the members from one fixed object to others, however good they may be in principle, disunite a great number from the general body, and consequently, weaken in a great degree its efficiency, and if the measure which was introduced, "The Labour Exchanges," were to fail I have no hesitation whatever in saying, that it would be owing to these premature schemes and bubbles being broached amongst the members, engendering at once disunion and destruction, and to these causes alone, must even a check upon its proceedings be attributed.

I do therefore, most earnestly call upon all true members and disciples of the principles of Mr. Owen, to set their faces in *toto*, against all schemes or propositions whatever, however good they may be, providing they affect in the most remote degree, this bond of union.

"The Labour Exchanges" were established as a means to an end, and now that they are begun, all our efforts should be directed to the success of that measure. In fact, we ought to do as Mr. Macconell so ably and powerfully recommended, on Sunday morning last, "to do one thing only at once, and to do that one thing well." Having once accomplished that, proceed to another, and so on, until we arrive at our destined haven, and unless we unite as one man, for the accomplishment of one great object, it will be in vain to expect that any melioration can be effected for the human race.

The great object we have in view, is to stamp value upon the circulating medium which is created

by the industrious members, and the shortest, the most sure and effectual way to do this, is to extend these establishments as much as possible. We should then get a supply of most of the necessary articles of consumption, within the walls of each establishment, which would show to the public at once, by facts that could not be controverted, that any person might obtain more of the necessities and comforts of life, with an Exchange Note of any of these establishments of forty hours, than he could obtain for his sovereign. For my own part, such is the importance which I hold the necessity of the establishment of these banks, that I would very cheerfully sacrifice all I have in the world, in the cause, and if it were necessary, almost life itself; believing as I do, that society will never be able to reach the opposite shore of prosperity and happiness, unless by means of this "Bridge," it being constructed of but one arch, with one of its abutments firmly placed on this side, upon the strong ground of necessity, and on the other on an equally strong basis, the ground of truth. And as soon as a sufficient quantity of the material is collected and united, this "Bridge" will be complete, and society may then pass over in safety and without confusion. It is useless to attempt crossing this rapid and dangerous stream by any other means, as all ages of the world, by their various unsuccessful endeavors, have proved. I do therefore once more call upon every individual present, to immediately put his shoulder to the wheel, by offering himself as a fit subject, to form one stone of this great unity, as he may be assured, however humble his station may be, or however exalted; he cannot be of more service to himself or society, than by being converted into one of these particles of granite, which, when united, all the power and violence of the torrent of ignorance, superstition, and folly, will not be able even to shake, much less destroy the structure.

I should not have troubled you with this, but as I cannot avail myself of the opportunity of attending this evening, I trust it will be accepted as an apology.

I remain, respected Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT MERES.

Constitution Row, Nov. 1st, 1832.

PUBLIC MEETING. The public meeting held in the great lecture room last Wednesday, went off in the most satisfactory manner. A report and memorial to government were adopted, and a number of gentlemen addressed the Meeting on subjects connected with the contents of these documents. The Rev. Dr. Wade filled the chair. The early hour at which our paper goes to press, prevents our giving the proceedings in detail this week. They shall appear in our next number.

At the urgent request of the friends of co-operation in our principal provincial towns, my father leaves London next Monday for Birmingham, there to lecture, and thence to proceed, for the same purpose, to Manchester, Liverpool, and probably other neighbouring towns. He expects to be absent about a month. His progress and proceedings shall be given in the Crisis.

R. D. O.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Will Allen Devenport call at our Institution? "An Owenite's" suggestion is good. Can he inform us where a copy of the work he recommends may be procured.

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THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. No. 37.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN & ROBERT DALE OWEN.—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

WEEKLY PROCEEDINGS.

A Public Meeting for the purpose of taking into Consideration the increasing Distress of the non-productive and Industrious Classes, and to devise efficient means for their permanent relief.

ON Wednesday, a public meeting was held at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road, to receive a Report of the Committee appointed on a former occasion. The Rev. Dr. Wade was called to the chair.

In opening the meeting the Chairman said that it ever gave him pleasure to assist at such meetings as this; the more pleasure now, because the reports of such meetings would no longer be confined to the walls of the meeting itself, nor to the immediate organ of this Society, but might find their way to the public through the *Daily Press*—through the medium of a true friend to the people, the *True Sun*. (Applause.) He said he was ever proud and pleased to aid the industrious classes in their endeavor to benefit their condition. He never did so but when called upon for his assistance, but when so called upon, he considered it his duty to co-operate with all good men, be they, like himself, Christians, or be they of any other creed, or be they of no creed at all.—(Great applause.) He rejoiced to learn that his friend, Mr. Owen, proposed visiting Birmingham, in furtherance of his benevolent object, which, if he understood it, was not to pull down any class, but to raise all classes to virtue and happiness. The curses which now weigh on the country were said to be chastenings from God, while, in truth, they were but the results of the folly and ignorance of man.—(Applause.)

Mr. OWEN then read the Report of the Committee, from which we give the following extracts:—

"The Committee was appointed to take into consideration the best mode of relieving the industrious non-productive classes, from their present distresses, and from the anticipation of much greater future suffering; and report thereon at a subsequent meeting.

"From the information which they patiently collected, they found that there was no profitable employment for a large amount of capital, which is daily accumulating in the hands of a comparatively few overgrown wealthy individuals, whether landed proprietors, manufacturers, commercial men, or great capitalists, trading in public securities, domestic and foreign. They also found that no large additional amount of capital could be beneficially employed in the extension of agriculture, manufactures, or commerce; that there was in each of these departments much unemployed labor, wasting most injuriously for all parties—that the professions were oversupplied with young applicants, seeking the means of very humble support.

"The present state of society may be compared to

a large army in the confusion of a route; all around each individual is danger, doubt, and dismay,—every one trying to save himself; but in the disorder they are impeding each other, and hasten on the ruin of all, while those who should direct the whole, and create order, are without the knowledge, and, therefore, without the power; and, however much they may deplore the mischief, and personally suffer by it, are unable to check its daily increase. Your Committee are therefore convinced, that instead of society being left, as heretofore, to form itself by accident, without any foresight whatever, to run into every kind of disorder, an arrangement, proceeding from the Government, should be formed, to place all individuals in the stations most beneficial to themselves, and the whole will be ultimately found to be the only method by which the population of this, or indeed of any other country, can be efficiently and permanently conducted to prosperity.

"Your Committee is, in consequence of these reflections, induced at once strongly to recommend those arrangements which common sense and experience prove to be at this juncture, absolutely necessary to relieve society, and prevent it falling into utter disorder; they also venture to propose for your adoption, an application to Government, to afford the means of placing all the unoccupied producers and non-producers of wealth upon land, under such new arrangements as will be permanently beneficial to all parties.

"These new arrangements will contain the means to form general order in every department of society, instead of the present disorder which is universal throughout the whole business of life. Thus, in every separate portion of the population, there will be formed the due proportion of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, of education, and of local Government. In fact, by these means, each well-formed nucleus of society will contain, within itself, the most beneficial amount of capital and labour applied to the production of wealth, to its distribution, to the general formation of character, and to the police or Government.

"By these means, your Committee are of opinion, that immediate relief may be obtained for all the industrious non-producers, and for the immense mass who are out of employ among the various classes of producers, not one of whom, in a well-governed state, ought ever to be idle for want of useful occupation. For by the arrangements to be proposed, the agricultural population, now out of employment, will be beneficially engaged in producing new wealth, in a superior manner, from the soil, by spade cultivation. The manufacturing population now out of work, will be advantageously occupied in producing more manufactured wealth; the innumerable unnecessary distributors of wealth will be employed in agriculture or manufactures, or in matters of police; and the surplus of the population, unoccupied in the various profes-

sions will also be found advantageous employment in one or other of the previously named departments.

"For all will be beneficially occupied in producing wealth, or in distributing it, or in adding to form a superior character for the population, young and old, or in matters of police or local Government.

"Your Committee, being deeply impressed with the necessity for this change, in the shortest time in which it can be effected, are also of opinion, that the fund requisite to carry this measure into full and successful practice, may be obtained, beneficially to the Government, and to the landed, manufacturing, and commercial interests, without inconvenience to any part of the population.

"These funds may be so raised, without injury to a single individual, by Exchequer Bills, and appropriated to the objects previously stated, and charged with interest, the same as paid by the Government.

"The advance of these funds to be under the direction of Commissioners appointed by Government, to prevent any part of them being appropriated without ample security.

"The amount of the funds to be thus raised, to be in proportion to the actual benefit found by experience to be derived from the adoption of these measures.

"The credit of the country will thus be applied without loss or inconvenience to any one, to give, in the most direct manner, beneficial employment to those who are now seeking employment in agriculture, manufactures, trade, and commerce, and by the national prosperity that would be created by the new industry thus directed, more revenue will be obtained, than the amount of the loan to be advanced."

Mr. OWEN, in moving the report, said that the great difficulty between this and other public meetings, convened for similar objects, was, that while they merely found fault, here was a practical remedy proposed. To do this efficiently, much extensive experience, and much knowledge of human nature are required. Unless violent means be resorted to by the famishing, to procure food, (a remedy which would afford even momentary relief but to a very partial extent, and would produce the greatest disorder and mischief) some such remedy as that now brought forward, must be generally adopted.

Mr. MACCONEILL seconded the motion. After adverting to its great importance and valuable character, he said that he feared there would be only too much unanimity in regard to its adoption—too much, because a thing is never so much valued, as after a fair and hard battle has been fought for it. Had he to designate the character of the report, it should be in two words, "Enlightened kindness." He adverted to the zeal of the Committee; whom the rising sun found, day after day, at their labors, and who were often lighted home from them, by the moon's silent rays. He deemed it especially important to remind every one, in urging such plans as

these, that as much kindness, at least, as may be found elsewhere, ought ever to be, and has in this case been found here, in the anxious labours of this Committee. True, they could not be called direct producers of hats, of shoes, of wheat or barley, or other necessities; but they had produced something—a most important document. True, they had not been paid for their labours; but were they the less valuable on that account? Was the disinterested nature of such efforts, and of such men as our excellent Chairman, not an evidence of the inherent goodness of human nature?—(Great applause.) He thought the natural influence of shopkeeping was unfavorable to the growth of mind, and therefore he expected little approbation for the Committee, except that of their own bosoms. Were such exertions necessary? Were they enlightened as well as kind? It sufficed not that endeavours should be merely amiable; many most mistaken endeavours were so; those charitable endeavours, for instance, which, if this plan succeed, would be no longer required.—(Applause.) Was it then enlightened? It sought the cause of the evil. It sought it, not in mere reduction of taxation, for that would do little for the people. If twenty millions of taxes were taken off tomorrow, it would merely be a change of appropriation of that amount by the payers of taxes, not a gain of that amount to the people. He thought the proposal to employ the spade, exceedingly important; as removing the objection urged by many, that production could not keep pace with population. The report states, that capital could not be, with advantage, further employed on land; and the chief reason was, the weight of burdens on it; more especially that most enormous of burdens, and he knew the worthy Chairman sufficiently well, to be assured he would receive the remark in the same spirit it was made. The most invidious were the clerical burdens—the tithes.—(Applause.)

Mr. SAVAGE begged to reply to a remark of the last speaker, who seemed to think that the Radical Reformers of the present day expected nothing but a mere reduction of taxation: but Reformers expected much more than this. They expect, from a reduction of taxation, to deprive a corrupt Government of the means of oppression, of a standing army; to reduce the host of tax-gatherers; to do away with an Established Church—(Great applause)—with all tithes—with all stamp trammels on a free Press; in a word, to prevent the governing few from trampling on the governed many.

The report was carried unanimously.

Mr. OWEN proposed, instead of merely talking on the subject, to take a step at once in advance; to show the government what means were in their power, and to urge them to give an answer, as to whether they would do something effectual for the people or not. It seemed to him that Government was appointed, and was well paid, not only for looking on supinely when a people were suffering, but for doing something for their permanent relief. He moved that a memorial, founded upon the report of the Committee, and embracing its sentiments, be presented to Government.

Mr. SIMPSON, in seconding the motion, said that no Government ever had more lavish means to remove suffering and ignorance, which were not of nature's producing, than our Government now has; and no Government, perhaps, that seemed less capable of applying them. He thought a reduction of taxation, though very desirable, not an efficient remedy for present distress; it would throw many more persons into the market of producers. He had for ten years advocated these principles; usually without employing Mr. Owen's name; in order that the subject itself, unconnected with the influence of any name, might "have free course and be glorified." He concluded by saying, "We must continue to knock at the gate of Government, until they hear our prayer and relieve our every want."

Mr. WADDINGTON begged leave to say a few words. He did not approve of going to the Government with memorials, as he knew that the Government would do nothing in the business. He approved more of their going to an ironmonger's shop with half-a-crown to buy a spade, and to set a

man to work on the soil. It was well-known that one man would produce by agriculture as much as would support a dozen—twelve, as much as would support 144; and he would undertake to show that in nine years by locating persons on the land according to his system, fifty millions of souls might be supported by the labour of little more than four millions of people. He had himself commenced an experiment with one man, and if he did not locate a thousand within three years, he hoped his tongue would cling to the roof of his mouth.

The resolution was then agreed to unanimously.

Mr. OWEN then read the memorial, in which it was stated that the memorialists found their capital daily diminishing and their industry of less value; and that their families consequently suffered great privations. Under these circumstances, they determined, if possible, to discover the cause of this their downward progress, and they soon ascertained that there was too much of the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life produced to afford an adequate return for their skill and industry. They, therefore, became convinced that some fundamental error existed in the constitution of society. They attributed much of the distress to the late improvements in machinery, without an adequate improvement in the science of Government; and they recommended as a remedy, which, from long study, they knew to be the only remedy that is competent to remove the evil at once, openly, fairly, and honestly to apply the credit of the country to give a superior national education and superior national employment to all the industrious classes.

Mr. RIGOLISWORTH said, he rose with especial pleasure to second the adoption of the resolution, because it was connected with no party or faction. All parties, as such, were bad. The Tories, as a party, wished the advancement of the few at the expense of the many. The Whigs, though most of them, probably, honest in their endeavours to improve society—"No, no"—though many of them honest, were actually effecting but little. They had a set of harpies around them who preyed on the vitals of the country. What man, what woman, could look on the face of the new-born infant, and think, with unmixed hope and confidence, of its future prospects? Mr. Owen's plans were calculated to make the birth of an infant a matter of rejoicing, and not, as too often it now is, a cause of fear or regret.—(Applause.)

Mr. GAST thought little was to be expected from Government, yet he thought it well to urge the matter in all ways. For his part, though he was no advocate for physical force, he was for moral force; and by the moral force of public opinion alone would any great reform ever be effected? If the memorial would aid in carrying Mr. Owen's benevolent plans into effect, it should obtain the countenance of every honest man throughout the kingdom.

Mr. ROBERT DALE OWEN in moving that a deputation be appointed to present the memorial to his Majesty's Ministers, said he would not have added a word at this late hour to what had already been said, except for the purpose of calling especial attention to one measure touched on in the memorial, to wit, that of national education. In his view of the subject, if there was one thing more especially than another the business of Government, it was to care for the good education of every neglected child. What was the express province of legislation? To care for and protect the weak, the oppressed, and the injured. And who so weak, so unprotected, so injured, as a child deprived of education? When a man was knocked down in the street, or had his pocket picked, was not Government blamed if it afforded no redress—if it provided no remedy for the evil? And were not evils, ten thousand times more crying, exhibited in the situation of those thousands of poor children, who were not tempted to evil but forced to it; not exposed merely to vice, but nurtured in it, in the purlieus of our metropolis. In ancient days it was an admitted principle that it was Government's province to educate. Lycurgus, as Plutarch tells us, "resolved the whole business of legislation into the bringing up of youth." So ought we to do; and

till we do so, nothing effectual and permanent can be expected. The expense of such a system had been urged as an objection; when the same objection was made to Jefferson, the most enlightened of American Statesmen, his reply, as played on record, was—"The tax which will be paid for educating the common people, is not one-tenth of that which must be paid to kings, nobles, and priests, who will spring up among us if we leave the people in ignorance." We cannot say, as Jefferson did, who will spring up, but who have sprung up. But with us the question still is, whether the tax shall be paid to prevent or to punish—to educate or to hang and imprison?—(Applause.) What would we not give to re-educate ourselves, which is impossible! Shall we not exert every nerve to do what is possible, to educate our children?—(Applause.)

Mr. SAVAGE seconded the resolution, not so much in the hope that Government would do anything effectual at present, as because he thought that every offender should have an opportunity of mending his ways. When it is evident that those who govern the country are prepared with no plan of efficient relief, it implies no presumption in the humblest individual to step forward and urge upon them such measures as he may see capable of relieving the suffering of the nation. He was glad the memorial was to be presented. His Majesty's Ministers must attend to the representations of the people, when urging on them the various reforms which public opinion calls for, or they will be swept from their situations.—(Applause.)

Mr. WEST (from Kidderminster), after adverting to the great importance of the measure, said if a better system could be devised, he would hold up both his hands for it; but if not, he would urge this on with all his powers.

Thanks were then voted to the Chairman for his conduct in the chair, after which the meeting dispersed.

LABOUR EXCHANGE.

We have made a contract with an experienced baker who will henceforward furnish to our Exchange a full and regular supply of bread (beginning next Monday) on the terms of half cash, half Exchange Notes, which will be exchanged on the same terms. We purpose to make similar contracts with other provision dealers in the course of the week, and shall report progress; we are now prepared to receive offers on these terms. We are also making arrangements, pursuant to a resolution passed at the last meeting of the members, for taking the commission in cash, and further for superseding the necessity of restricting our deposits, as hitherto, to a value above forty hours; which arrangements will be carried into effect next Monday week.

PUBLIC MEETINGS THROUGHOUT THE METROPOLIS.

LAST Tuesday evening, a numerous and respectable meeting of citizens, all of the Methodist persuasion, was held in the Methodist School room, Lambeth, to discuss the principles and practice of Labour Exchanges, at which some of our friends were present, and were much gratified with the temper of the parties assembled, and the spirit in which a few observations offered by them, were taken. The meeting was adjourned to a future day.

Last Wednesday there was a second meeting at the George Tavern, Commercial Road, where our friends last week, were so much pleased with the zeal and feeling shown by a most respectable audience filling the room to the door. This week's meeting was equally satisfactory, and a committee was appointed to extend a knowledge of the principles, in that populous neighborhood.

Yesterday evening there was to be a third meet-

ing at Bermuda, for similar purposes; the two former having been productive of much good.

We have received a friendly offer of the gratuitous use of the Deptford Mechanics' Institution, for lectures, and shall avail ourselves of the same, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made, of which due notice shall be given by public bills.
R. D. O.

OUR LECTURES AND DEBATES.

My father, previous to his departure last Monday, for three or four weeks, on a visit to the middle and north of England, requested me to take his place as lecturer on Sunday evening. In consequence, I shall lecture to-morrow evening at the usual hour; the subject, an important one I think: *On the evidence men have for belief in supernatural beings, and the consequence of that belief.*

It may not be known to some of our readers, that we have for some Sundays past, regularly had two lectures delivered simultaneously on Sunday evenings; one in the Great Lecture Room, the other by Mr. Macconnell, in the room at the North end of the Institution. Both were filled last Sunday, and both will be kept open in future. Mr. Macconnell will also lecture on Sunday mornings as usual; his subjects to-morrow are, morning, "On the Signs of the Times," evening, "On the Causes and Cure of Poverty."

Our Thursday evenings will, for the present, be devoted to discussions. The subject for debate next Thursday is: "Whether the belief in a life hereafter, be, or be not, conducive to the success of effective plans for the improvement of man's present condition."

It is hardly necessary to repeat, that on all occasions, there is opportunity afforded at the close of the lecture, for questions or observations, from any of the audience. A chief objection to the salaried teachers of religion is, that they will not do likewise, but insist on asserting unquestioned, and preaching unreplicated to.
R. D. O.

EDITORIAL.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 17, 1832.

REGARDING CREDULITY;

Its amiable nature, and the Evils and Errors to which it gives rise.

YOUTH is given to credulity. Like the charity which is defined by Paul, it "Hopeth all things, believeth all things; and thinketh no evil." An uncorrupted child knows nothing of doubt or suspicion. These qualities are necessary, but they are not amiable; they are necessary, because the world is wicked: they are not amiable, because to doubt and to suspect hardens the heart, alienates the affections from one's fellow-creatures, and dashes that generous, confiding temper, which even those cannot but love and admire, who know that it too often leads to suffering and disappointment.

There is scarcely a stronger proof of man's innate goodness, than the difficulty with which he ceases to believe, and the many lessons that are necessary to teach him, that falsehood and ignorance surround him: that men are often deceivers, oftener still deceived: sometimes erring dishonestly, to serve a selfish purpose, sometimes

honestly, for want of a habit of accuracy and of patient research.

None of us, perhaps, habitually bear in mind how little the accuracy of any historical narratives can be depended on. We are apt to say—"Surely the authority of men who wrote at the time may be safely trusted." A journal of to-day furnishes a good commentary on the assertion. It tells us: The *John Bull* says, "Sir Walter Scott married a lady, Miss Charpentier, daughter of a Swiss emigrant;" "Miss Carpenter, daughter of a gentleman of Jersey," says Allan Cunningham; "Miss Carpenter, daughter of a merchant at Lyons," according to Chambers; and "Miss Charpentier, a French emigré," if we may believe the *Atlas*. So much for the accuracy of contemporary writers.

Here there is evidently no motive, no intention to deceive; and one would imagine, scarcely an opportunity to be incorrect; the individual being so universally known, and his family relations, like those of all celebrated men, having doubtless been so much canvassed, and, at any rate, being so very easily ascertained. Yet see the result.

If we call to mind what a host of narrations, not simple and likely ones only, but most extravagant and incredible ones; not of a few years old, but dating back some hundreds, some thousands of years—if we call to mind what a multitude of mysterious, inexplicable, marvellous legends are believed by the millions; are made by them the authority for their codes of morals, their rule of life, their test of right and wrong—if, I say, we call to mind all this, we shall marvel that a structure so stupendous as our laws and religion should have stood so long on so faithless a foundation.

But this is not all. We shall look forward, not without anxiety, to the time, when the huge structure shall fall in; and we shall cast about in search of what may be raised to shelter us, when our ancient habitation shall lie in ruins. It was to aid men in the search of this substitute that the Crisis was commenced, and is conducted.
R. D. O.

WINTER TRAVELLING IN AMERICA;

AND MANNERS IN THE BACK WOODS.

AMONG those who are looking forward to a better state of things than that which surrounds us here, are many whose eyes are turned to the Western Hemisphere, and some, perhaps, who yet expect to find a home in America. To such the following sketch of a journey which I made last winter across a portion of the States of Ohio and Indiana, will be interesting, while to others it may not be useless. It is a beneficial thing to become acquainted with manners and customs differing from our own; and when this cannot be done by travelling ourselves, the best substitute is to be found in the journals of others. Perhaps there is no country that has not its advantages and its disadvantages, peculiar to itself; certainly there is none, in the manners and customs of which, the

good is without alloy, or the evil without redeeming advantages. The one is useful as a guide, the other as a warning beacon.
R. D. O.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREE ENQUIRER.

New Harmony, Dec. 25, 1831.

I purchased a horse and equipments in Cincinnati, and set off, in the depth of as severe a winter, as I remember, for this place. If you have ever to undertake a similar journey under similar circumstances, take my advice and do as I did. Get you a good pair of fur-lined over-shoes or rather mockasins, (of Indian tanning and manufacture are the best) fur gloves, warm leggings and a good thick horseman's cloak. Take my word for it, you will want them all; that is, if you are visited with a temperature such as we have experienced for the last week. During the whole of that time, the thermometer, day or night, never rose higher than 12 degrees below the freezing point; and on Thursday the 15th inst., it stood at *fourteen below zero*. On that day, I started from Lawrenceburg half an hour before sunrise, and rode twelve miles to breakfast; a fool's feat, which I advise you not to imitate, and which I do not intend to repeat. I suffered, it is true, no other inconvenience from it than three or four hours' purgatory in the Laplander's hell, (quite as rational a conception by the way, as our more tropically imagined one of fire and brimstone); and a good, hot breakfast restored me to comfort again: but on the very same day, as I learn since my arrival here, a neighbour of ours, Mr. Ronalds of Illinois, was nearly frozen to death in crossing one of the prairies. When found, he was unable to assist himself, and it required some days' nursing to restore him.

If this mode of travelling was tardy and fatiguing, it afforded me, in return, an opportunity of seeing a good deal more of the inmates of our western forests, than if I had, with greater speed and comfort, descended the river. I passed through Lawrenceburg, New Lexington, Salem, Paoli, Petersburg, and Princeton; and a portion of the road, I assure you, is rough and wild enough, especially between Paoli and Petersburg.

Have you ever put up at a real backwood's cabin? If you have not, you have still to see life under one of its rudest, and, in this western region, of its commonest forms. True, the hunter-warrior, who once threaded the forest-path with his life in his hand,

—who, born and nursed,
In danger's paths had braved her worst;
Upon whose ear the signal word
Of strife and death was hourly breaking,
Who slept with head upon the sword,
His fever'd hand must grasp in waking—

(it ought to have been *rifle* not *sword*, but then, you know, the rhythm and jingle would equally have been marred)—the solitary soldier-pioneer, the man of instinct, of hardihood and of adventure, whose heart never faints, whose eye never quails, whose hand never trembles,—the man who, almost as fairly as his red-skinned enemies, merited Campbell's graphic portraiture,

Impassive, fearing but the shame of fear,
A stoic of the woods, a man without a tear—

—such characters of rude grandeur are, indeed, no longer to be found. But the successor of him who waged equal war on the red man and the buffalo, is not without his interesting characteristics. His rifle, if it no longer defend his life, at least furnishes his table. If he have no mockasin trail to follow, he can yet track the deer as sagaciously as did his predecessor. His forest-instincts are still strong, his roving habits still predominant. To reside three years on the same spot seems to him a degree of tame stability unworthy the character of an enterprising man; he talks of being cramped for room and crowded out by his neighbours, when he finds two or three log-huts within six miles of him; and deems it an all-sufficient reason for a change of residence, that the turkeys are becoming scarce, or the deer getting shy, or the range gradually contracting to some paltry ten or twelve thousand acres only.

Finding that it would divide my day's journey more equally, I resolved to put up for one night in the woods, about six or seven miles on this side Paoli, where, I was told, I should find a cabin. I reached it about nightfall, fastened my horse to the fence, and entered. The "old woman," as a back-woodsman calls his wife, even if she be but eighteen, (in this case, however, she had some twenty years more on her shoulders, and was therefore what even in France would be called "of a certain age")—the mother of the family sat in idleness by the fire, surrounded by six or eight half-naked and dusky-looking urchins. I enquired if I and my horse could be lodged for the night.

"We don't put up travellers here," was the quiet, almost sullen reply.

"But, my good woman, it is five or six miles to the next cabin, the night is dark, the road miserable, and I really can't go any further."

"We're not fixed for accommodating strangers. We have only one fireplace."

"Well! and can't I warm myself at that one, as well as if you had half a dozen?"

She smiled; and whenever you can get a woman, old or young, to smile, there is a fair prospect of her becoming reasonable.

"If you choose to take up with such treatment as we can give you"—she began.

"Oh!" said I, "it's not the first time I've been in a log cabin. Where is your stable?"

She pointed to a log-but which I should have been sorry to sleep in during a windy night, lest, ere morning I should have met the fate of Samson and the Philistines. I installed my horse, however, in the place, found some good fresh blades for him; and as, (thanks to my backwoods life) I am an indifferently good groom, he did not suffer. In the way of parenthesis, let me advise every one who travels on horseback, to attend to his horse himself; and, whether in forest, hut, or city tavern, either to feed and groom him with his own hands, or stand by and see it done. If he does so, he may find as I did, his steed improves in spirit and condition the farther he goes; if he does not, he is sure to have him neglected: but to return.

When I entered the cabin again, I found an intelligent looking, but raggedly dressed, young man, in treaty with our landlady for a night's lodgings.

"There" said she to me, as he went out—"there is a family of settlers travelling through all this snow and cold; two women, he says, and a little child with him. I can't turn them from the door to pass a night like this in the woods. But where you'll all find room to lodge, I'm sure I can't tell."

"I can sleep in my cloak before the fire, and I suppose they can do the same. There need be no difficulty about room."

But to say truth, when I looked round the cabin, it did not appear a particularly suitable building for a tavern. It was of hewed logs without chunking, so that you might have studied astronomy very conveniently without rising from your chair; had no windows, unless two square holes (before which were hung checked aprons, as in contempt and independence of the glazier's labors) were entitled to the appellation. The floor would have been an excellent spring board for an equestrian company. There was a small portion of the cabin divided off from the other by what sailors call a *bulk head*, and there stood two beds, close to one of the aforementioned apron-windows. There was (quite a superfluity this!) a stone chimney, falling to decay; and there was a door, which I assure you is by no means a universal article of comfort in similar habitations; an old bed quilt or torn sheet frequently superseding its necessity.

(To be continued in our next.)

AMICABLE ADJUSTMENT.

THE parish register at Bermondsey Church, contains the following singular entry, made in the year 1604.

"August.—The forme of a solemne vowe made betwixt a man and his wife; the man havinge been longe absent, through which occasion the woman

beinge married to another man, took her again, as followeth:—The man's speech.—"Elizabeth, my beloved wife, I am right sorie that I have so longe absented my seaffe from thee, whereby thou shouldst be occasioned to take another man to be thy husband. Therefore I do nowe vowe and promise, in the sight of God and the compaignie, to take thee again as mine owne; and will not onlie forgive thee, but also dwell with thee, and do all other duties unto thee, as I promised at our marriage." The woman's speech.—"Raphie, my beloved husband, I am right sorie that I have, in thy absence, taken another man to be my husband; but here, before God and this compaignie, I do renounce and forsake him, and do promise to keep my seaffe onlie unto thee duringe life, and to performe all duties which I first promised unto thee in our marriage."

The entry concludes thus: "The first day of August, 1604, Raphe Goodchild of the parish of Barking, in Thames Street, and Elizabeth his wife, weare agreed to live together, and thereupon gave their hands one to another, makinge either of them a solemne vowe so to doe, in the presence of William Stew, parson, Edward Coker and Richard Eire, Clerks."

Rational people these. Others would have made a tragical romance out of it.

PREMIUM ON IDLENESS.

THE following circumstance came to my knowledge the other day. A gentleman residing in Buckinghamshire, had occasion to employ a man in his garden. A laborer with a family, applied for the situation.

"How much do you expect a day?" the gentleman asked.

"Oh Sir," said the man, "any thing you please. It is of no consequence."

"No consequence! you don't mean to say it is of no consequence to you whether I pay you a sixpence or a shilling a day for your labor."

"Yes, Sir, I do. Whatever it falls short of my regular allowance, I shall get from the Parish: they are bound to make it up."

"Then why do you work at all?"

"Why, Sir, I think I may as well do something towards my support when I can; but I don't get a sixpence more for it."

If such a system as this be not offering a premium on idleness, what is it? This man was evidently both able and willing to labor. What a satire on the present state of society, is the fact, that such men are supported in idleness, instead of being permitted to support themselves by labor!

Oct. 18th, 1832.

R. D. O.

MISCELLANY.

The Saint Simonians.—Our readers probably all know, that the leaders of the Saint Simonians were tried some weeks since as impostors, were condemned to fine and imprisonment; and that they immediately appealed to a Superior Court, by which, much to its credit, they were acquitted.

They seem now disposed to mix as much as possible with the people, among whom, chiefly perhaps on account of the government persecution, they are rather popular. A late Paris paper states, that on the Sunday previously they dined in a body to the number of 70, or 80, in an eating house (*guinguette* they are termed) outside the Barrière of Menilmontant, and afterwards danced with the public until ten o'clock, when they retired in a body. They cannot adopt more effectual means for rendering themselves popular with the French. With them sociability covers a multitude of sins, and very properly too. Few qualities are more practically conducive to human happiness.

Novel Cure for Drunkenness in the New World.—An American paper states, that drunkenness, in one of the newly-settled countries, has been, in a great measure, prevented, by a wholesome regulation which obliges every offender to dig up a stump of a tree, for each time he is found in-

toxiated; and a contemporary remarks, that this is rather a novel way of rooting out intemperance.

Education in Workhouses.—Yesterday (Nov. 1.) a fine intelligent boy was brought before Mr. Murray, the sitting Magistrate, in order to be bound apprentice to a hair-dresser. It appeared that the boy had been three years in Mitcham poor-house; that he could not write a word; that, in reading the largest print, he had to spell every word before he pronounced it; and that his time, in the workhouse, had been nearly exclusively devoted to gathering willows and making baskets! The magistrate severely censured the conduct of the parish authorities, who seemed disposed to sacrifice a child's well-being for a few shillings. It would be more gratifying to see such abuses eradicated than merely to hear them censured.

A Hard Question.—A Mr. Merrill recently asked the Lord Mayor at an election meeting, whether, if elected, he would vote for measures permanently to employ the unemployed through the kingdom. His lordship replied, that he would vote for a repeal of the most oppressive taxes, which would doubtless have the effect of giving employment to many. No very satisfactory answer, this. If nothing else is to be done for the poor, except the repealing of a few taxes, theirs is a hopeless case indeed. One might as well expect to cut down an oak, of a century's standing, with a penknife.

A titled Preacher.—Religious fanaticism among those of elevated rank is so rare, that one learns with surprise, that Lord Mandeville, son of the Duke of Manchester, preached at a Methodist chapel, near Lurgan in the county of Armagh, Ireland, to an overflowing congregation. Some among his hearers, appear to have come for other than devotional purposes; for, before he left the chapel, he announced to the congregation that his gold watch had been stolen, during his passage through the crowd; an announcement which caused great confusion. One offender, it seems, remained unconverted by his Lordship's eloquence. This rare zeal is more creditable to the heart, though not to the head, of Lord Mandeville, than is the easy indifference of his more clear-sighted but less honest compeers, who usually laugh at the whole system in secret as humbug, while in public they profess to venerate it as divine.

Employment of the Poor in France.—A late number of the *Moniteur* contains a Royal Ordinance, constituting a committee, for the purpose of forming a Patriotic Society, for employing the poor, and all the able-bodied mendicants, by establishing an Institution for cultivating the waste lands of the kingdom, and establishing manufactories, upon a plan similar to that of the colony of Frederikssoord, in Holland. I cannot say I expect much from the "Royal Ordinance" of a Bourbon. But every experiment of the kind will do good; even when undertaken, as in the present case it probably is, merely with a view of getting rid of beggars and troublesome paupers.

A Paternal Government.—A late number of the *Herald*, after reminding its readers how much is said about "paternal governments," adds: "The records of juvenile crime and vagrancy, furnish the most miserable satire upon 'paternal governments,' that can well be conceived; and not less striking proofs of that total want of anything like an endeavour to prevent crime, which we have so often, but hitherto so unsuccessfully, deplored. As a mere matter of calculation and interest, laying the question aside, there cannot be a doubt but that it costs ten times more in the end, to give up these unhappy children to destitution and perdition, than it would to render them not only useful members of society, but the nation's best strength. The disciples of the Malthusian school can hardly require a greater triumph, than our conduct in this respect affords them. Population may well be deemed excessive and pernicious, where it is allowed to encumber and impoverish, instead of benefitting the State."

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THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. No. 38.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN & ROBERT DALE OWEN.—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1832.

[ONE PENNY

WEEKLY PROCEEDINGS.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

THE subject proposed for discussion was: "Whether a belief in a future state of existence be, or be not, conducive to the success of effective plans for the improvement of man's present condition."

Mr. AUSTIN being called to the chair, stated that regulations had been adopted restricting the time to be occupied by each speaker to twenty minutes, and declaring all personalities and invective allusions to particular sects or parties to be out of order.

Mr. MACCONNELL argued, that as a man's heart cannot be in two places at once, it seemed to him that the thoughts of another would injuriously call off man's attention from the errors and abuses of this; that it too often reconciles the mind to the sorrows and miseries of earth. He asserted nothing regarding the existence of a future state of being; he deemed it just as irrational to deny as to affirm its existence. (Applause.) It also placed the ideas of right and wrong on a false foundation; circumscribed enquiry, fostered endless grounds of dispute and has caused, in practice, frightful persecutions and lamentable disunion among mankind.

Mr. SAVAGE said that, in taking a view opposed to that of the last speaker, he defined not "a future state of existence" as it was popularly defined, to mean the orthodox heaven or hell; he thought the scriptures taught no such doctrine. He admitted that we could know nothing, but we might believe much, regarding a future life.

A STRANGER, from the body of the meeting, protested against the opinions he had heard expressed. He had been a Christian for forty-five years, and he felt, that he was neither less happy nor less industrious for it, but the reverse. He felt it his duty to God and man to state this.

Mr. GALE JONES said, he was prepared to express the opinion, that all the popular ecclesiastically sanctioned opinions on this subject were highly injurious. (Applause.) He asked what was the peculiar tendency of these doctrines. Was it not to make men submissive to laws, however unjust, and to tyrants however odious? The priest says, suffer here and you will enjoy hereafter: no matter how you are ill-treated, you have your reward in Heaven. (Great Applause.) A man who did good or abstained from evil, merely because of a Heaven or a Hell, acted from motives unworthy of a free man. (The gentleman sat down amid great cheering.)

Mr. ROBERT DALE OWEN compared the influence of a belief in other worlds to that of opium or other stimulants; they give present excitement, at expense of after depression. While it was certain that many excellent and amiable people, and many zealous friends of human improvement, held such

belief, it was no less true, that it was rather in spite of, than in consequence of, their creed, that they laboured to alter ancient abuses: and it must also be admitted, that they were less likely (though many honorable exceptions could be found) to co-operate with all, whether of the household of faith or not, than if they held no exclusive creed.

The debate was adjourned till next week.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18.

The meetings were numerously attended, and the subjects selected seemed deeply to interest the auditory.

LABOUR EXCHANGE.

THE Business of the Exchange proceeds steadily; the Notes issued are daily becoming better appreciated, the mode of Business better understood, and consequently the circulation of the Notes is rapidly extending. As a specimen of the advantage of the exchange system we may adduce the following fact which occurred last week: A working cabinet-maker not having employment, presented a Tea Caddy to a respectable Baker in Kensington, requesting to have Bread given him for the caddy. The Baker not wanting the article advised the man to take the caddy to the Gray's Inn Lane Exchange, which he did, and there deposited it at 25s., which he said was his cash price. It was valued at 23s. to which the Depositor at first objected, but upon looking through the stores he found some veneers and other goods which he was in want of, which were priced so low, that the advantage with which he made his exchange was equivalent to the price at which he deposited the Tea Caddy. The man was perfectly satisfied, and expressed his determination to continue working for the Exchange.

Provisions and Coals are now to be obtained at our Exchanges for half cash and half Exchange notes.

E. NASH, Secretary.

ROBERT OWEN'S PROCEEDINGS IN THE COUNTRY.

THE "Birmingham Journal" of November 17, contains a long and encouraging account of my father's progress in Birmingham, where he has held two public meetings, and, as his private letter informs us, is to hold three more; the last, next Monday at Mr. Beardsworth's magnificent repository. The Journal says:—

"On Wednesday morning last, pursuant to advertisement, Mr. Robert Owen delivered a Lecture on the above important subject at the Public Office, Moor-street. The lecture was announced as pre-

liminary to a series of discussions and public meetings, which it is Mr. Owen's intention to hold, previous to leaving Birmingham, with a view to the establishment of a Branch of the Equitable Labour Exchange now in active and successful operation in London, under his immediate direction. The office was crowded to excess, and numbers went away who could not obtain admission. At half-past eleven o'clock, Mr. Owen, accompanied by several friends, entered, and was loudly cheered."

Then follows the address, from which, as its great length prevents its insertion entire in these columns, we make the following extracts:—

"At the present time the whole population of the world is in poverty, or in fear of it; man is against man, and nation against nation. Men had hitherto been governed by force or fraud, or most commonly by a mixture of both, and governments had the direction and control of all those circumstances which produced vice or virtue. The condition of the most civilized nations was that of poverty and ignorance, though abundant materials existed for the creation of a superfluity of wealth for all, and for communicating useful knowledge to all. The means existed to give the best character to every individual, and to surround him with the most favourable circumstances from birth to death. The principles were universal in their application, and their practice was plain and easy. (Hear.) To come home to themselves, the population of this great and important town, with all the materials to make them happy, were in the greatest misery and destitution. (Hear, hear.) It depended solely upon the men of Birmingham, whether they should longer remain in this degraded state, or whether, within the next twelve months, they should put their town in such a state of prosperity as the wealthiest city which ever existed never knew. (Cheers.) They might be looking to government, or to some great political change, to relieve them from their difficulties; and if they were, he could assure them, they would long look in vain. The government, however well disposed, knew not how to set about it, and political changes alone would bring them no relief. He would, however, show them an instrument by which they themselves might most speedily and securely achieve the whole of their political and moral rights. It was not a deadly instrument, or calculated to injure any one; but on the contrary, would bring content and happiness to all, without exception. "This," said Mr. Owen, "is it,"—exhibiting one of the Labor Notes of the Exchange—this little, and apparently insignificant instrument, though really powerful and all-important, would bring prosperity to all." (Loud cheers.)

The men of Birmingham were in a better situation to adopt the plans he had to propose than those of almost any other town or city in the world. It was necessary they should have men at their head

who were well known and long-tried leaders of the public cause; and here were the Attwoods, the Scholefields, the Muntzes, the Joneses, and many others, who had been long labouring in the public vineyard, ready, he hoped, to come forward and lend a helping hand in this great good. (Great applause.) A dozen of these men were quite sufficient to do that which should be the means of creating prosperity throughout the whole civilized world. Birmingham had hitherto been foremost in creating measures for the melioration of the country, and surely it would not be found wanting on this occasion. —(Loud cheers.)

Men saw around them wealth in abundance, but could not get at it because they had not money. Was it not extraordinary that they who made the substance could not obtain the shadow? (Hear, hear.) Within a few weeks, however, they had adopted a method in London, by which they were enabled to produce money to as great an extent as they could produce wealth, and he assured them he was come to Birmingham to coin them a little money. (Loud laughter.) If the men of Birmingham would only produce wealth, he would undertake to coin all the money necessary to purchase and exchange that wealth, at the risk of being hanged for it. (Renewed laughter, and much cheering.) This discovery was much more important than that of the mines of Mexico and Peru, for it would, in a little time, make them all rich and independent. The industrious producers of wealth would no longer be subject to a cruel, oppressive, and artificial system of distribution, by which they could scarcely obtain even the necessaries of life, but would have a sufficient supply of the comforts, and even the luxuries of life also. (Loud applause.)

These new establishments would provide them with instant markets for useful produce of all sorts, where money would be created to any extent, to meet the wealth deposited, and to enable the depositors to exchange their various productions to any extent, with facility, without loss of time, or the immoral practice of bargaining. (Tremendous applause.) By this system, no credit would be required, nor any bills of exchange, with which there was now so much expense, loss, and trouble. The transactions would be completed at once; and there would be no occasion to make an item in calculating the prime cost of goods, for bad debts, as all tradesmen were now obliged to do. (Laughter and cheers.)

It would, indeed, be delightful to see their various leading men firmly uniting together for the benefit of the mass of the people; and the man who could hold back in such an important crisis as the present, must either be ignorant of the enormous beneficial power which would be at the disposal of the population by adopting the plans which he recommended, or he must have been so unfortunately trained as not to have the good of his fellow-men at heart. (Much applause.) He hoped, however, a sufficient number of the higher and middle classes in the town would step forward at once, to aid and assist the working classes in putting these plans into operation; but even if they should all stand aloof, and refuse their aid, the working classes themselves might, and would, do it without them. (Loud cheers.)

Were he to tell them of all the advantages which would most certainly accrue from the establishment of these exchanges, he should keep them till past midnight; and he preferred, therefore, now that he had given this faint and imperfect sketch, any parties present should ask him such questions as might occur to them on the subject.—Mr. Owen then sat down amid loud and universal applause.—During the next hour, many important questions were put as to the principles and practice of the labour exchanges, which were answered by Mr. Owen to the satisfaction of the meeting. We regret we have not room to insert them. The meeting broke up,

after giving a vote of thanks to Mr. Owen, soon after two o'clock.

SECOND MEETING.

A second meeting was held at the same place on Thursday the 15th. The Journal says:

"Long before the time advertised for commencing the proceedings, the office and all the avenues and staircases leading thereto, were thronged to excess, and for some time there was a loud cry for an adjournment; finding, however, that this could not be accomplished, great numbers went away, who could not get within hearing. Mr. Owen made his appearance, the assembly gave three times three loud cheers."

His address is given at considerable length, and contains a concise and distinct review and explanation of the plan of Labor Exchanges. The Journal says, in conclusion:

"At the conclusion of this address, which was frequently interrupted by loud bursts of applause, Mr. Owen read the Constitution and Laws of the Parent Establishment, recently formed under his auspices at Gray's Inn Road, London; after which he requested that any questions might be put, respecting the principles or practice of his plans, which would give him an opportunity of communicating those particular details which the public would feel most anxious to be in possession of. Several written questions were handed up, in succession, and verbal objections urged, to all of which Mr. Owen replied, and from the manner in which those replies were received by the audience, we imagine they gave great satisfaction."

"At about half past ten o'clock, an adjournment was moved till Friday evening, for the purpose of resuming the discussion. A third meeting was accordingly held last evening, which, like the former, was crowded almost to suffocation; and it will be seen by an advertisement on our first page, that a Lecture will be delivered in Dee's Assembly Room, on Wednesday and Friday mornings next, and also a large public meeting at Beardsworth's, on Monday week, at which Mr. Muntz has consented to preside."

We shall doubtless be able to give further particulars next week. In the meantime, we have to congratulate ourselves, on the evidently favorable manner, in which these novel proposals have been received.

R. D. O.

From, and after Monday, pursuant to the notice given last week, the commission on articles deposited will be received in cash.

EDITORIAL.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 24, 1832.

FRANCE.

THE speech of the French King at the opening of the Chambers, last Monday, most of our readers will have perused in the daily journals. It is strictly in accordance with the whole tenor of his administration—weak, pompous, and false; assuming a tone of security which Louis Philip does not feel, and putting forth claims to public gratitude for his support of the "glorious revolution"—claims at which his very partizans cannot help laughing!

It seems to be the general opinion, that the apparent attempt on the "Citizen King's" life, by a citizen who shall have discharged a pistol at him, as he rode over the Pont Royal to open the Chamber, will turn out, like so many other pre-

tended attempts against the doctrinaire government, a mere trick of the police to excite popular sympathy.

PLEDGES.

A GREAT deal has been said and written lately on the subject of political pledges; or, in other words, of public promises from candidates to support, if elected, certain specific measures. One of the Whig candidates for Westminster, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, has thought fit to take it very ill that any questions are put to him at all. A deputation having waited on him to obtain his answers, Sir John bluntly told them they should have none; "if they were dissatisfied they had better look out for another candidate; he never met any subject in his life with such perfect indifference." His colleague Sir Francis Burdett expresses similar sentiments; he calls the system of pledges "one of self-deception, by which knaves are taught to catch fools."

It is superfluous to comment on a tone and language like this. The time is coming when candidates will consider themselves, as in truth they are, the confidential servants of the public; the acting agents of the people. And who employs a servant, or engages an agent, for any purpose, without ascertaining whether he be ready and willing to do the business required of him? And what man of common sense will find fault with those who, ere they employ him, desire to know what he will do for them? And how are they to know this but by asking him?

It is a suspicious thing, when a man's dignity takes offence at a few plain questions. No man has a right to presume that the public already know all his views; his intimate friends may do so, and may trust him; but, as regards the public, it is a very different affair. If any one has not made up his mind on a particular point, let him say so; if he be not resolved, at all hazards, to vote for a specific measure, let him confess his irresolution. If he stand forward as one of the people's delegates, the people are entitled to know this. Those who seek to conceal it from them act as if they desired to keep the people in the dark. If they do not really desire this, they ought to avoid the appearance of evil. They ought to stand before their constituents, not guiltless only but unsuspected.

R. D. O.

SITUATIONS.

It is a truth, the importance of which we have earnestly sought to urge on our readers, that circumstances form the character; and that to situation, rather than to nature, are to be attributed the master vices of society. In illustration of the assertion, we shall reprint, from the New York Free Enquirer, three short essays on the position of the members of the learned professions, as they are called; and first—

OF LAWYERS.

The situation in which the members of the most influential classes in society find themselves placed, appears to me conducive neither to their own probity and happiness, nor to the welfare of the community. I am convinced, that very many of the errors that prevail throughout our country, and very much of the difficulty which exists in removing these errors, may be traced to this source. I should conceive it much more easy to cure men of their credulities, and to establish rational virtue among them, if it were one's apparent interest to make them credulous or quarrelsome. In like manner, I should expect much less disease among mankind, if physicians were remunerated according to the measure of health, and not according to the measure of disease, that exists around them.

Not that I attribute to lawyers, as a body, the

deliberate intention to sow dissensions; nor to the clergy, as a body, an organized plan of attack on our credulity; nor to physicians, as a body, the desire to see disease prevail. But there are degrees of dishonesty; and a strong temptation placed before a whole class of men, is seldom without its effects. In illustration of these general observations, let us examine the situation and the temptations of one of these professions—that of the lawyers.

To the professed object of the law and lawyers, no one will object. Men act unjustly towards each other, and it is desirable that such injustice should be remedied: men quarrel; and it is desirable that they should be reconciled. The law professes to remedy injustice and to reconcile quarrels, and if its practice corresponded to its professions, law would be one of the greatest blessings in social life. Is it so? Is law a blessing to this, or to any other country? Are lawyers the promoters of peace, harmony, and kindness? Are they not, even proverbially, the reverse?

I will ask yet more: is it not the positive, pecuniary interest of the lawyer, that injustice should spread, and quarrels increase around him? Ought it to be the interest of any one individual in society, that his fellow creatures should be immoral and unhappy? OUGHT ANY MAN TO LIVE BY HIS NEIGHBOR'S VICES? Do not lawyers live, directly and continually, by their neighbor's vices?

Again: Is not the positive, pecuniary interest of lawyers, that the system of law should be complicated, and that it should be expensive? And is it not the positive, pecuniary interest of mankind, that the system of law should not be complicated, and should not be expensive? Are not lawyers, therefore, when called upon to simplify the legal code, called upon to take the money out of their own pockets, in order to benefit their fellow citizens? IS NOT THIS A VITIATING SITUATION?

If the world were honest and virtuous, would not lawyers starve? Are not lawyers poor, in proportion as honesty and virtue prevail? If the lawyer, then, in common with other men, labors to make money, must he not feel that honesty and virtue are, virtually his enemies. If a Devil exist, can he place his children more favorably for vice than this?

I would that I could adequately express the importance which I attach to these questions, and to their answers. If lawyers were few in number, and unimportant in rank, and contemptible in talent, the evil were trifling. But they swarm over our land; three-fourths of our legislators and governors have risen to their situations through the law; and the best talents of our country are developed at the bar.

When a young man evinces, or is imagined to evince, uncommon talents, he is educated for the bar; that, thus, he may rise to honor and distinction. Study and practice render him eloquent, perhaps; and eloquence is all-powerful in a republic like ours. He learns to argue speciously and smoothly, if not soundly; and smooth and specious arguments lead easy, indolent man, almost to any absurdity.

Thus the most talented—and, because the most talented, the most influential also—among our youth, are trained to a profession, the interests of which are against every man, and every man's interest against it. We elect them as our representatives and rulers; and we expect them to legislate for our benefit. One would imagine that we thought human nature could not be injured by any situation, nor seduced by any temptations. One would imagine that we thought all men so disinterestedly good, that they might be safely trusted to act and to legislate against themselves.

I hope and believe that there are honest, worthy men among lawyers, as among monarchs. Because I doubt whether any profession, however vitiating, be effectual to corrupt some noble characters. There are those who will pass through the fire of temptation, and come out, like platina, only brighter and purer. But the virtues of the mass of mankind are not of platina. They melt and disappear, when too strongly tried; and, therefore, the experiment is an unwise and an improper one.

Power is dangerous at all times and in any hands. Let us not add to the danger, by placing it in the

hands of those who must sacrifice their own interests to legislate for ours. Let us not demand too much, that we be not disappointed. Our public officers require all the aid which situation can give them, to act and to legislate wisely and justly. It is to be regretted, that their previous profession should add to their difficulties.

I can see no remedy for the manifold evils that result from the present system of law and legislation, except in paying our lawyers otherwise, than according to our vices; or else, in choosing our legislators elsewhere than from among lawyers. R. D. O.

WINTER TRAVELLING IN AMERICA; AND MANNERS IN THE BACK WOODS.

(Concluded from page 148.)

I had but just time to survey my new residence, when the emigrants entered; two young men, their wives, apparently older than themselves, but perhaps not so in reality; for a backwoods life of toil (and, sooth to say, of personal uncleanness) too often stamps on the young wife and mother the marks of premature age; one bore a chubby infant in her arms, and the other appeared to be near her confinement. Under these circumstances they had travelled, in their waggon, from the southern part of Tennessee, and had already been more than a month on the road.

They crowded in, without ceremony, towards the fire, as to a luxury they had of late seen little of; and I remarked, that our landlady neither welcomed them by word or gesture. One unacquainted with the etiquette of the forest, might have attributed this to unfeelingness; but I had reason, in the course of the evening, to be satisfied that the deficiency was of the forms of courtesy rather than the reality of kindness. When they brought in their skillets, corn meal and fat pork, and had cooked their rude meal, I remarked that she went quietly to the cupboard, brought out a large plate of cold meat, and set it down before them, merely saying, in an almost ungracious tone, "May be you'll like some fresh meat." She then added some milk to their repast, and took the infant from its mother with the remark, "I guess you can't eat and nurse both at once." In several other little matters, too, I observed that she studied their comfort with much judgment and forethought; and yet all was done, it almost seemed, with an intentional disregard of those little decencies and courtesies of manner, which, after all, so much enhance honest kindness, and by which, even when empty, one is half content to be deceived.

And this was done, I pray you to observe, not from any hope of reward; for I heard the young man who first entered say to our landlady: "I want some fodder for my horses, Mister; but I ha'n't got no money to pay for it;" and the reply was: "Well, I guess we can spare what you'll want, any how."

After supper, the whole party, consisting of the settlers' and emigrants' families and myself, congregated around a fire that almost atoned for the chinks and crevices around us; and, in the course of conversation, I was struck with the degree of common sense with which the men spoke on almost every subject that was started. I say the men; for women in the backwoods (whatever satire may say of female loquacity elsewhere) seldom speak at all; that is, before strangers. The emigrants seemed to bear up, with perfect cheerfulness, under their hardships; and their infant, a beautiful baby of five months old, was as fat and rosy—yes, far more so!—than if it had been nursed in the lap of luxury since the day of its birth. Though its mother, too, was dressed as unbecomingly and untidily as even her circumstances could excuse, she seemed to have taken a pride in keeping her infant, not only clean, but even neatly dressed. The little rogue laughed and purred with such consummate good humour, that I really took a fancy to it, and (to the great amusement of the party) nursed it half the evening. I do love children, when the little cubs are, what they always might be, laughing and chubby epitomes of happiness and good humour; but then, to be sure, I can't bear them, when they

have been treated like bits of original depravity, and alternately spoiled and beaten into plagues, peats, whining, fretful, unhappy creatures, a burden to themselves and an annoyance to every one else.

This by the way—I recollect I could not help thinking, as I sat playing the nurse, and surveyed the group lighted by a two-inch bit of candle (stuck by way of candlestick into a chink of the dilapidated chimney)—I could not help, I say, smiling to reflect, into what odd situations a man is sometimes thrown in this world, and how comfortable and at home, after all, one may be in defiance of circumstances. I was aroused from my reverie by an announcement on the part of the landlady, that my bed was ready. As I prepared to enter it: "I'll turn in myself along with you, by and by," said he. "We haven't no great chance of bed clothing here, and the women must sleep in the other bed." The wife, her sister and three or four children were accordingly stowed in what seemed to me a marvellously small space for so many human beings; three or four more children were packed away (in slave-ship phrase) under the roof; the emigrants stretched their mattress before the fire, and thus the arrangements for the night were made, with fewer articles of treaty than Sterne would have introduced.

An hour or two after retiring, I awoke. The night wind blew the window-apron, like a streamer, into the apartment, and poured in through the other openings, so as to keep us in what Franklin would call an *air-bath* all night; the husband snored, like the safety valve of a steam engine, close to my ear; the children screamed by the half hour, the dogs barked, the mother scolded—and yet (thanks to the fatigue of a thirty-five miles ride!) I was soon inaccessible to it all, slept soundly until morning, awoke well and refreshed, and rode twelve miles to breakfast.

I shall not soon forget my night in the log cabin.

R. D. O.

MISCELLANY.

Effects of a Wound on the Brain.—Without touching on the debatable ground of phrenology, it must be admitted by all, that many curious and interesting facts, come to light from time to time, identifying the brain as the immediate source of thought, and even assigning to different portions of the brain, specific functions. In the last number of the "Medical and Surgical Journal," a singular case is narrated. An Irishman named Fagan, a tall and powerful man, had been admitted into St. Stephen's Hospital, Dublin, with a severe wound five inches long, received from a dragoon's sword, in a public house quarrel.

"The sword had cut through the brain and membrane of the brain, and the brain itself had been divided, and the inner table of the skull separated from the outer, and driven in upon the brain. On the fourth day after admission, the operation of cutting a portion of the skull, a quarter of an inch in thickness and five or six inches in length, was performed by Mr. Cusack. The wound was not healed till the 1st of May, and on the 15th he was discharged well. His memory, however, since, has been much impaired, not in words but things. He told the reporter of the case, more than a month after his discharge, that he knew everything as well as ever he did, but he could not put a name on any thing. When shown a button, he laughed and said, 'I know what it is very well, it is a ba, ba, ba—Och! I can't say it,' but there it is, pointing to a button on his own coat."

Specimen of the Misery that surrounds us.—Were not the daily reports of human suffering around us officially given, one would be tempted to doubt the possibility of such wretchedness, in a country claiming to be civilized. The other day a poor fellow actually begged of the sitting magistrate as a favor, that he should be sent to the treadmill, in order to save him from starving! The particulars are affecting, and deserve to be recorded:

A miserable, half-starved looking fellow, ap-

proached the Magistrates' table, and said he had a favour to ask of their Worships.

"Mr. Minshull asked what it was?"

"Applicant—I have to request, Sir, that you will commit me as a vagrant to the House of Correction. I have walked up to town from Sheffield, for the purpose of seeking employment, and I have been unable to procure any. I have wandered the streets for three days, without shelter from the inclemency of the weather, and have not tasted food since yesterday.

"Mr. Minshull said he felt for the distressed situation of the applicant, but could not commit him to prison unless he had committed some offence. He then advised him to apply to the parish in which he last slept.

"Applicant—I admit having committed an act of vagrancy by begging in the streets. I have been begging all the morning, and am now drenched with rain. I have not slept except in the open air, since I have been in London; consequently I have no claim for relief upon any parish here.

"Mr. Minshull—If I send you to prison it will be for a month at least, and you will have to work hard at the tread-mill during that period.

"Applicant—I would willingly work hard, Sir, I have done so all my life. I could get no employ in my native town, and have sought it here in vain, and I now beg you will commit me to prison; there, at all events, I shall have food and shelter.

"Mr. Minshull—I doubt whether I have the power to commit you, as I have no proof that you have committed any offence.

"Mr. Halls—Certainly you have not. The tale he tells may be all false.

"Mr. Minshull—What can I do with this poor fellow? He must not be left to starve.

"Applicant—Either find me employment or send me to prison.

"Mr. Minshull, after again telling him that he would have to work hard there, sentenced him to one month's hard labour in the House of Correction, he having confessed himself guilty of an act of vagrancy.

"The poor man thanked the Magistrate for his kindness."

If there be those who believe, that a state of things under which such horrors are of almost daily occurrence, will long continue, we are not of the number. It is not only that something ought to be done—something *must* be done in the way of relief. A few may starve quietly; the mass will not. The cup of suffering may be long of filling, but the time is at hand, when the drop too much shall make it flow over. Fortunate will it be, if wisdom guide to rational plans of relief, ere that day; or the overflowing may cause an inundation that shall sweep before it, both public corruption and public order, the good and the bad, the oppressor and the sufferer.

After writing the above yesterday, the first thing I cast my eyes on in to-day's (Nov. 16) *Post*, is another police story, in substance, as follows: (the *Post* heads the article with a degree of levity, which does it little credit—BOARD AND LODGING GRATIA. I should be inclined to entitle it)

Another *Satire on our System of Punishment*—A poor destitute lad, named William Thomas, was brought before Mr. Gregory, charged with wilfully breaking a pane of glass in the Blackfriars road. It appears that the lad, the previous evening, had accosted a policeman, requesting to be sent to prison, as he had no home. The policeman refused, as there was no ground of committal. The prisoner then asked what he must do, "in order to get sent to goal," and whether smashing a window would entitle him. The policeman said he had better not, or he would get into trouble. He then walked away, and in about half an hour, heard a window broken, and on going up, found the defendant, who confessed he had broken it purposely, that he might be sent to goal.

The youth had come, it seems, from Bristol. His father and mother were dead, and he had come to London to try to get employment. He could get no work, no food, and no shelter, and thought that he would be better in prison, than starving in the

street. He seemed to feel quite overjoyed, on finding himself committed.

Yet another case.—This morning, (Nov. 17) appears another instance in which the punishment of the law is courted. William Bourne, charged with stealing 14 lbs. of copper from the ship Coburg, said he was starving; he was sentenced to six week's hard labor, for having the stolen property in his possession. He begged to be committed for the capital offence, that he might be transported; but the magistrate said he had no power to do so, though he thought the prisoner "richly deserved it."

If things go on thus, transportation and imprisonment, instead of deterring from offences, will instigate to them; as doubtless, in hundreds of cases, they do at this moment.

Ireland.—The tithe contests continue, in this ill-fated country, with undiminished violence. Last night's mail alone, brings us the three following cases:

"A police exhibition against Danesfort parish was made on Thursday last, but not a single capture effected. Between nine and ten o'clock at night, information was given that the enemy was approaching. Immediately the chapel bell rang, and, of course, the farmers left their beds, and took cover about the ditch. The warning given by the bells was aided, we understand, by the exertions of a respectable widow in the parish, who directed two of her servants to mount horses, and alarm their neighbors. The bell ringing continued till about two o'clock, by which time, it may be presumed, every man in the district was secure from pursuit; but the police courageously persisted, and did not begin to retire till six o'clock. On their way home they called at a gentleman's house, and enquired, was it to collect the people the bell rang? He answered them to the contrary, and said the general understanding was, that on the first toll of the bell, every tithe payer in the parish should conceal himself. They subsequently met a party of women proceeding to dig potatoes, and asked them who had rang the bell? One of the females replied she did not know who had done it in that turn, but she believed it rang by itself, 'as it often does of late, it shivers so much at the sight of a Peeler.' The police returned without a single prisoner."—*Kilkenny Journal*.

"*Ballykealy*, Nov. 8.—On Thursday night at one o'clock, the house of Mrs. Doyle, of Ballykealy, was assailed by a party of police who knocked at the door with the butt-ends of their guns demanding admission, to the great fright and terror of the inmates. They were asked what they wanted at that unseasonable hour? The reply was that they were in quest of a deserter, whom they understood was in that house. Upon being let in, sergeant Stokes (at the head of a party of eighteen men) rushed into Mrs. Doyle's apartment, stating that he had an attachment against her. Mrs. Doyle was at the time in bed, and we are informed that her two daughters were in bed in the same room. Stokes demanded of Mrs. Doyle to come with him. Mrs. Doyle spoke to him, and remonstrated upon the hardship of requiring her to leave her bed at that hour, when Stokes, with a furious oath, swore that if she was not up in five minutes, he would take her as she was. She was accordingly obliged to get up and go with him at that hour, to the police-station at Fennagh. Her family not knowing whether she was taken, came into Carlow to the gaol to look for her, and had to return to Fennagh, where they found her. The amount of the attachment was 4*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, which was paid.—*Carlow Post*.

"*Ballateiglea*, Nov. 6.—On last Thursday, Mr. Terence Kelly, of Ballateiglea, was arrested for an alleged arrears of tithes, amounting to 3*l.* 3*s.*, which was subsequently increased by the expense of 8*s.* 3*d.* costs to 3*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* He was brought to Borris by a party of the police, where he was detained until twelve o'clock at night. At this hour he was told that he should go to Carlow. He and his friends remonstrated against the extreme hardships of such conduct, but it was in vain. He offered 50*l.* security for his appearance in the morning, and consented to have a guard of police attending him. This would not be listened to, he should come on to Carlow immediately. Finding that all his remonstrances

and offers were to no purpose, he requested permission to ride his horse into Carlow—he was refused! and at that hour, midnight, he had to walk a distance of fourteen miles."—*Freeman's Journal*.

No human power can much longer sustain so odious and iniquitous a system. R. D. O.

PROPOSED NEW BRANCH EXCHANGE.

Last Wednesday, a third adjourned meeting was held at George Tavern, Commercial Road: it was numerously attended, and a resolution to form a Branch Exchange in the neighbourhood was warmly received and unanimously adopted. A Committee was chosen to carry the resolution into effect. We shall report their future proceedings.

Mr. EAMONSON, who has rented of us the shop two doors from our Institution is appointed agent for the Crisis. See advertisement. After this week he will sell it, as the other publishers have always done, for cash only; they having complained that they cannot sustain their sale of it except under such an arrangement.

I purpose lecturing next Sunday evening, on *National Education*; the duty of government to provide for it, and of the people to press its consideration on their representatives. R. D. O.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Discipulus' letter was unavoidably left out for want of room, it will appear next week.

J. EAMONSON, Agent for the sale of the Crisis, Bookseller, Stationer, &c., No. 15 Chichester Place, Gray's Inn Road, two doors from the Institution, respectfully intimates that he has taken the above shop of R. Owen Esq., and that he will have on sale, an assortment of Liberal and Rational Publications, with a variety of Pens, steel Pens, writing and blotting Paper, sealing Wax, Razors, red and black Ink, Penknives, Scissors, Wallets, Shaving Cases, Pocket Books, Table Knives, Work Boxes, Carpet Bags, &c., with a variety of fancy articles. Books bought, sold or exchanged; Card and Bill Plates Engraved; Copper plate, Lithographic, and Letter press Printing; Books bound, plain or elegant, to any pattern; Arms, Crests, &c., found and engraved on Stone, Steel, Brass, or Ivory; Cutlery ground and repaired; Razors carefully set, at 2*d.* each; Do. ground and set, 4*d.* each; Table Knives ground and repaired, made like new, 2*s.* 6*d.* per dozen. Any of the above articles repaired, or taken in exchange for new. Goods sold on commission; New Books and Publications regularly supplied and lent to read.

READING ROOM.

Ici on parle Français.

Nov. 23, 1832.

THE TENTH FESTIVAL of the ASSOCIATION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, established for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE and POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on MONDAY, 3*rd.* Dec., 1832. Tickets of Admission—Double 4*s.*—Single 2*s.* 6*d.*—Members, 1*s.* 6*d.*, may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner of Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 57, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street; 9, Cirencester-place; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Bermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 16, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street, and 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

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THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. No. 39.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN & ROBERT DALE OWEN.—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

WEEKLY PROCEEDINGS.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

THE adjourned discussion on the question, "Whether a belief in a future world is conducive to the success of effective plans for the benefit of man's present condition," was continued and concluded.

Mr. ROSESWORTH expressed his conviction, that such a belief was not necessarily accompanied by intolerance, nor necessarily supported by a privileged priesthood. It had hitherto been so associated, and he thought that, in consequence, we were not able to predicate any thing with certainty, as to the effects of religious belief, apart from these extraneous concomitants.

Mr. ——— said he thought all such belief led to a foolish expenditure of time and money, and that it contracted the mind, and shackled freedom of enquiry. He had once been a Roman Catholic, but the evident consequences of any sectarian religious belief, as exhibited daily around him, made him a freethinker, before a single heterodox publication fell into his hands.

A person from the body of the meeting, commenced a rambling, incoherent defence of some peculiar religious creed. We could not distinctly understand his views. He was repeatedly reminded by the chairman, that he was travelling altogether out of the record. He persisted, however, in quoting texts and other irrelevancies, until, after a quarter of an hour, the cries of question from the audience drowned his voice, and he retired.

Mr. SIMPSON, in expressing his disbelief of the doctrine in question, contended that the world would never be permanently improved, until men's thoughts were altogether withdrawn from such subjects.

Mr. ROSEMAN argued the unfairness of connecting the belief in futurity, with sectarian views or angry feelings. He himself knew many cases where no such effect was produced. Sectarianism and intolerance were confined to no particular set of opinions. A religionist or a heretic might equally be a bigot, for bigotry consisted, not in any specific creed, but in an arrogant assumption, that our own opinions are all infallibly right, and no other person's even worth the trouble of examining. (Hear.) He conceived that men were urged on in a career of benevolent usefulness, not perhaps by any faith, and certainly not by any want of faith, but by their own feeling hearts: or rather, by one of two motives; a desire to benefit themselves, or a desire to benefit mankind. Now it will not be argued that believers are, in practice, careless of their own interests, or that, whatever indifference they may profess to the good things of this life, they actually despise them. (Hear and a laugh.) And surely among believers, many might be named who proved by deeds, and not by words, that they loved their fellow creatures. Witness Howard, Jenner, and a host of other names.

Could as many philanthropists be named, devoid of such belief? He concluded by expressing his conviction (though prevented by the terms of the question from entering on this branch of the subject) that a belief in a future life could be rationally proved, and that the influence of such a belief is, in itself, conducive to human improvement, as furnishing a motive to good conduct in addition to earthly motives.

Mr. ROBERT DALE OWEN said, that, while he dissented on the one hand, from those who adduced intolerance, persecution and bad feeling, as the necessary concomitants of a belief in immortality, he dissented also from the opinion, that religious belief was innocent of producing sectarian feeling. If we were to stow away a hundred kegs of gunpowder in the cellars of this Institution, and then to enter the vault with an open light, it would not be a necessary consequence that the building would be blown to atoms: still the experiment would be a foolish and a dangerous one. So, it seemed to him, was it even with the most amiable religious belief. In itself, perhaps, innocuous, and often entertained by men and women who are an ornament to their species, it almost always happened that it was perverted, by accident or design, to a cause of disunion and contention. What was the fact? That, however honorable the exceptions, the mass who held such beliefs, in all civilized countries, did feel alienated from all who believed differently; that, in all civilized countries, the nursing of such beliefs was made a trade off. Thus the evil, though it might not be strictly termed necessary, always did arise; the gunpowder almost always did blow up. (Hear.) He thought, too, that all calculation of consequences in another world, confused men's ideas of right and wrong. (Hear.) He deemed that which, in its immediate and ultimate consequences to the individual, and to society, produced a preponderance of happiness, to be, for that reason and that reason alone, RIGHT; and whatever in like manner, produced a preponderance of suffering, to be, for that very reason, WRONG. Any belief which subverted, or in the least modified this simple standard, seemed to him, in the case of the mass, though it might not always be of individuals, injurious.

The meeting adjourned at half past nine.

ROBERT OWEN'S PROCEEDINGS.

His introduction by Thomas Atwood to the Council of the Birmingham Political Union.

WE stated in our last, that Mr. Owen had reached Birmingham in safety and had held two meetings there, of which we furnished the details. We were not then in possession of the particulars of his introduction to the Council of the Political Union,

as furnished in the Birmingham Papers, from which we now extract it:

On Tuesday week Mr. OWEN was formally introduced to the Council of the Political Union, and to the members assembled (about five hundred), who received him with great applause. At the conclusion of the ordinary business Mr. ATTWOOD rose, and said he had to introduce to their notice a very distinguished philanthropist, the celebrated Robert Owen, who for the last forty years had been labouring incessantly in the great cause of human improvement and happiness; and whose character, talents, and abilities were of the highest order.—(Cheers.) He had had the honour of his acquaintance many years, and knew that with him the prosperity and happiness of the people was a subject of paramount importance.—(Hear, hear.) It was true he had not, as yet, been successful in his great and magnificent projects, but they were of a nature which required study, great labour, moral courage, and unwearying perseverance to effect.—(Hear, hear.) He was now, however, making a grand practical experiment in London, of a most important nature, and which promised to be of great utility to the industrious classes of the community.—(Cheers.) Next to the Reform Bill, which was necessary to all other improvements, he (Mr. Atwood) regarded this experiment of Mr. Owen as among those which were of the greatest importance to the country. As a man, therefore, who was labouring in the public cause, and deserved well of his country, he begged to introduce to their notice Robert Owen, Esq., of New Lanark.—(Loud cheers.)

Mr. OWEN then rose, and, at the call of Mr. Hadley, was greeted by three-times-three hearty cheers from the members assembled. As soon as silence was restored, Mr. Owen said he was at a loss adequately to express his feelings at that moment. He had come into the room as a private spectator of their proceedings, and did not expect either to have been introduced in such a manner by their excellent Chairman, or to have met with so cordial a reception by the assembly. He had watched the proceedings of that Council in its direction of the moral energies of the men of Birmingham, with great interest, and he had good reasons to believe that the bold and commanding attitude which had been displayed by them but a few months ago, had prevented the country from falling into the most dreadful confusion.—(Cheers.) His object in visiting Birmingham was to explain to its intelligent population the manner in which they could most beneficially exercise their skill and labour. If the plans he had to recommend were adopted, there need not be a single unemployed person in the kingdom in a few months, and in twelve months there would be universal prosperity, from which they never need retrograde.—(Loud applause.)

After a few other observations of a like nature, Mr. Owen again thanked them for the kind and enthusiastic reception they had given him, and sat down amid loud applause.

A great public meeting is advertised to take place at Beardsworth's Repository on Monday next, to establish the first provincial branch of the National Equitable Labour Exchange, now in operation in the metropolis; G. F. Muntz, Esq., has consented to preside on the occasion.

MR. OWEN'S LECTURES.

We find the following additional particulars of Mr Owen's third and fourth lecture in the Birmingham Journal of Nov. 24.

On Friday evening last, Mr. Owen delivered his Third Lecture at the Public Office, which was, as on the former occasions, crowded to excess, and hundreds, who could not gain admittance, reluctantly retired. After the lecture, which was a continuation of the one on the previous evening, the time was principally occupied in replying to numerous questions which were put by the audience, on the principles and practice of the Labour Exchange system.

On Wednesday morning last, Mr. Owen again lectured to a very respectable and numerous auditory, (among which were many ladies,) in the Assembly-room of Dee's Royal Hotel, Temple-row. At half-past eleven, Mr. Owen entered the room, and was greeted with loud applause! This having subsided, he said:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I have this morning to explain to you a mode by which the country may, in a very short time, be entirely relieved from its present pecuniary distress and difficulty; and perhaps I cannot do better than read to you some few extracts from a report which I was called upon to make to the large County of Lanark, in the year 1821, on the mode of relieving the then existing distress, and which equally applies to the present period. [Mr. Owen then read a considerable portion of the report which the Birmingham Journal gives at length, but which want of room compels us to omit, and then concluded as follows:]

It now remains that the principle should be generally explained by which an advantageous interchange and exchange may be made of the greatly increased products of labour.

To a mind coming first to this subject, innumerable and apparently insurmountable difficulties will occur; but by the steady application of that fixed and persevering attention, which is alone calculated successfully to contend against and overcome difficulties, every obstacle will vanish, and the practice will prove simple and easy.

To make labour the standard of value, it is necessary to ascertain the amount of it in all articles to be bought and sold. This is, in fact, already accomplished, and is denoted by what in commerce is technically termed "the prime cost," or the net value of the whole labour contained in any article of value,—the material contained in, or consumed by the manufacture of the article, forming a part of the whole labour.

The great object of society is, to obtain wealth, and to enjoy it. The genuine principle of barter was, to exchange the supposed prime cost of, or value of labour in one article, against the prime cost of, or amount of labour contained in any other article. This is the only equitable principle of exchange; but, as invention increased, and human desires multiplied, it was not found to be convenient in practice. Barter was succeeded by commerce, the principle of which is, to produce or procure every article at the lowest, and to obtain for it in exchange, the highest amount of labour. To effect this, an artificial standard of value was necessary; and metals were, by common consent among nations, permitted to perform the office. This principle, in the progress of its operation, has been productive of important advantages, and of very great evils; but, like barter it has been suited only to a certain stage of society. It has stimulated invention; it has given industry and talent to the hu-

man character, and secured the future exertion of those energies which otherwise might have remained dormant and unknown. But it has made man ignorantly, individually selfish; placed him in opposition to his fellows; engendered fraud and deceit; blindly urging him forward to create, but depriving him of the wisdom to enjoy. In striving to take advantage of others, he has overreached himself. The strong hand of necessity will now force him into the path which conducts to that wisdom in which he has been so long deficient. He will discover the advantage to be derived from uniting in practice the best parts of the principles of barter and commerce, and dismissing those which experience has proved to be inconvenient and injurious.

This substantial improvement, said Mr. Owen, in the progress of society, may be easily effected by the general establishment of Labour Exchanges; by the operation of which, the sale of all description of useful property will be effected much more easily than purchases are made now; and by which the value of human labour will be speedily enhanced to a degree, which at present would scarcely be believed. (Loud cheers.) The landholder and capitalist would be benefited by this arrangement in the same degree with the labourer, because labour is the foundation of all values, and it is only from labour, liberally remunerated, that high profits can be paid for agricultural and manufactured products. Depressed as the value of labour now is, there is no proposition in Euclid more true, than that society would be immediately benefited, in a great variety of ways, to an incalculable extent, by making labor the standard of value. By this expedient, all the markets in the world, which are virtually closed against offering a profit to the producers of wealth would be opened to an unlimited extent; and in each individual exchange, all the parties interested would be sure to receive ample remuneration for their labour. (Applause.) It would soon be found that there would be no inducement for manufacturers to produce inferior descriptions of goods, which they were now compelled to do in consequence of the excessive and injurious competition induced by the present erroneous system of commerce. (Hear, hear.) He had himself been actively engaged for fifty years in business and during thirty years of that period he was a very considerable manufacturer of cotton yarn, having a population of about 9,500 individuals constantly in the employ of himself and partners, and under his immediate and entire control. The daily produce of cotton yarn at this establishment was more than sufficient to go twice and a half round the globe. He ought, therefore, to know something of the manufacturing system. (Hear, hear.) He was about to tell them one little fact which would prove to them how much the public were injured by the insane practice of manufacturing what were called cheap goods. (Hear, hear.) He had always been accustomed to trace every operation to its source and to its consequences. Finding that there was a general cry for cheap cottons, among other goods, by which the qualities were compelled to be deteriorated, he tried a variety of experiments to enable him to discover of what quality the fabric ought to be manufactured, in order to be most beneficial to the consumer. Having discovered this, he had some cotton thread made of the desired quality, which was woven into a variety of articles, such as stockings, shirting cloth, &c., for his own use. These articles he found to wear six times as long as those in ordinary consumption, whilst the extra cost did not exceed twenty-five per cent. (Hear, hear.) For the sake of argument, however, he would allow that they cost fifty per cent. more. Now the annual value of cotton fabrics of all descriptions produced in this country was somewhere about fifty millions, which, according to the estimate he had just mentioned, would have cost seventy-five millions, had they been of the best make. But then they would have lasted six times as long, and multiplying the fifty millions by six, it would give three hundred millions, which would have been the value of the articles to the consumers. Thus, then, he had demonstrated, that the loss to the public, by the manufacture of cheap

cotton goods, was no less than two hundred and twenty-five millions per annum. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear," and cheers.) He had no doubt but the same extent of loss was being sustained by the deteriorated quality of other descriptions of goods. (Hear.) All these irrational proceedings would, however, be corrected by the operation of the Labor Exchanges, and they would find that a superabundance of wealth would be created, which would be enjoyed by the whole population. (Loud applause.) Mr. Owen then went into the details of the operations of the Equitable Labor Exchange, founded by him in London, and showed in the clearest manner, the immense benefits which would be derived by both masters and men, by the establishment of a branch in this town. The "exchange," or "labor note," by which the operations of these establishments are carried on, was exhibited to the company by Mr. Owen, who said that it would be found to be an instrument which would effect a greater change in the affairs of the world, than had been effected by all the armies which had ever been in it. (Cheers.) It would be found to be the most secure, and in all respects, the best currency which the world ever knew. These notes were only issued upon real wealth being deposited in the national storehouses, and when any of this wealth was taken out or consumed, notes to an equal amount were brought in, so that the quantity of currency always in circulation, was exactly equal to real wealth in store; and what was a remarkable fact, a run upon the banks issuing this new paper currency, would be of the greatest service. (Laughter and applause.) Mr. Owen continued at some length, and afterwards gave replies to many important questions which were put to him on the subject matter of his address, all of which the queries declared were satisfactory. (Mr. Owen retired amidst the most enthusiastic applause.)

At the conclusion of the proceedings several very respectable manufacturers had a private conversation with Mr. Owen, and expressed their willingness to give every assistance in the establishment of a Branch Exchange in this town, confident that it would be highly conducive to their interests, as well as those of the public at large.

EDITORIAL.

LONDON, DECEMBER 1, 1832.

PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS, (FOR THE RETURN OF MEMBERS)

Illustrated by Franklin's story of the Ass.

NEVER, perhaps, has the great question *whether property or persons shall form the basis of representation*, been so prominently pushed forward as at this moment. The time is gone by when it may be asserted, without question or reply, that a man with two thousand pounds has double the stake in this world to the man who has but one thousand; or, in other words, that wealth is the only good worth protecting, and the right to hold property the only right which legislation need secure to the citizen.

There is an excellent anecdote told of that most practical of philosophers, Franklin, which, though well known west of the Atlantic, may be new to some of our readers. The question was mooted in congress, during the early part of the revolutionary struggle, whether property qualifications should be imperative, or whether a man's right to vote in virtue of his citizenship should broadly be recognized. The Tories of those days strongly argued against the principle of universal suffrage,

as giving to those who had little or no property the right to legislate away the property of their neighbors, and the debate seemed about to terminate in their favour.—Franklin, who had sat till then a silent auditor, rose, at last, and in his plain pithy style, spoke in substance as follows: "Allow me, my fellow-citizens, to propose for your solution a difficulty which has just occurred to me. I am acquainted with a good honest man, a dealer in fruit and vegetables, which he used to convey to the neighboring market on the back of a favorite donkey. The other day he lost this faithful servant by death. While the animal lived, his owner's property was sufficient to entitle him, under the act now before you, to a vote for his representative; but now, having lost this item of his property, his wealth falls below your standard, and he loses his vote. Now the difficulty which I desire to hear solved by my fellow-citizens who have just preceded me, is this:—"In whom is the right of voting actually vested, in the man, or in his ass?"

The effect of this quaint and pithy illustration was irresistible. The property restriction bill was thrown out by a large majority, the principle of universal suffrage acknowledged; and the quiet and prosperous condition of the Union ever since is the best answer to those alarmists, who foresaw nothing but rapine and anarchy, as the necessary consequences of giving each man a vote in selecting those who were to make laws for himself and his children.

R. D. O.

INNOVATION AND ITS DANGERS.

"Thus far shalt thou go and no farther."

If there be cause for regret and motive for exertion, in the fact, that our laws, still far too closely resemble the blood-written statutes of Draco, it is yet undeniable, and it is encouraging to reflect, that they are gradually becoming milder. A late case of shoplifting by persons of rank, (who in verification of the old saying that "there is one law for the rich and another for the poor," have hitherto, though detected in the fact and followed home, evaded the power of the law)—this case of larceny has occasioned some discussion, on the nature of the punishment for such offences.

Some years ago, shoplifting was a capital offence; and if we wish to learn whether the sanguinary statute was carried into effect, we may read the following case as related by Sir William Meredith, in the House of Commons, when endeavoring to correct the depraved taste of our legislators for enactments of blood: "Under the shoplifting act, one Mary Jones was executed. It was at the time when press-warrants were issued, on the alarm about the Falkland Islands. The woman's husband was pressed, their goods seized for debt, and she, with two small children, turned into the streets a-begging. It is a circumstance not to be forgotten, that she was very young (under 19) and remarkably handsome. She went into a linen-draper's shop, took some coarse linen off the counter and slipped it under her cloak. The shop-man saw her, and she laid it down. For this she was hanged. Her defence was 'that she had waited for nothing, till a press-gang came and stole her

husband away from her; but since she had no bed to lie on—nothing to give her children to eat—and they were almost naked: perhaps she might have done something wrong, for she scarcely knew what she did.' The parish officers testified to the truth of what she said; but it seems there had been a good deal of shoplifting about Ludgate. An example was thought necessary (by the Judges) and this poor young creature was hanged, for the comfort and satisfaction of a few shop-keepers. Her infant was sucking at her breast, when she set out for Tyburn!"

"To repeal this law," the late Lord Ellenborough said, "was an experiment pregnant with danger." Just as it is now "an experiment pregnant with danger," to do away with tithes and a church establishment, or to give all men a right to vote who shall govern them, or to let the people hear what is going on around them on an untaxed sheet, or, in a word, to do anything for which we have not a regular precedent. In plain English, it is an experiment pregnant with danger, to let men be ever so little wiser, or advance ever so little further towards reason, than their grandfathers did. Within the range of grandfatherly opinions and usages, all is safe and good and rational. Step beyond the line, and there is neither security nor happiness. Stand still, and the world is safe; go on, be it ever so slowly, and you'll all be robbed and murdered here, and burnt eternally hereafter.

It would be interesting to learn from these prudent defenders of the things that be, what calculation they make about the numbers of "experiments pregnant with danger" that have gone to procure for America, her present national prosperity.

R. D. O.

ONE STEP GAINED IN THE LABOR EXCHANGE.

AFTER some delay incidental to new arrangements, we have the satisfaction to inform the friends of our Exchange, that we have obtained, and shall keep up, a full supply of staple provisions, at half cash, half notes. When we state that we can, at the present market prices, retail fresh meat of excellent quality at *sixpence* per pound, (averaging the various pieces) our friends will discover, that by making their market with us they may aid the cause and benefit themselves; and that, whatever difficulties we may have had to struggle through, we are rapidly approaching the period, when our forty hour notes will be acknowledged even by our opponents to bear the full value of a sovereign.

R. D. O.

MEETINGS.

SEVERAL meetings have been held throughout the week in various parts of the Metropolis—at Bethnal Green, Paddington, &c., and with most satisfactory result; especially that held in the Mechanics' Institution, Deptford, which had been gratuitously offered for the purpose; but our limits this week preclude details.

On Tuesday the meeting to assist the *True Sun* was, though respectfully, yet in consequence of the inclemency of the weather, not so numerously attended as the friends of the liberty of the press and of that honest and able paper could desire. Mr. Lawless addressed the meeting and was enthusiastically received. Having been compelled by business to leave the meeting before it finally broke up, I did not hear, and had no opportunity of replying to, some animadversions thrown out by one of the speakers (an individual not in any way connected with the *True Sun* paper) against the editors of the *Crisis*, as having abstained from giving notice of this meeting in last week's paper. I myself perceived the omis-

sion when too late to remedy it; but common sense, to say nothing of charity, might have suggested to the speaker in question, that it could be but an unintentional omission, and that when one individual has the superintendence and responsibility of such an establishment as ours on his shoulders, and in addition the editing of a weekly paper, it is not very marvellous, that he should occasionally forget a notice, even of that which he is most desirous to aid in supporting.

R. D. O.

OF THE CLERGY.

In our last number I expressed my conviction that lawyers are a class of men unfavorably situated; unfavorably for themselves, and unfavorably for society. Yet I do not think them singular in that respect; for the situation of our clergy seems to me equally unfortunate.

Any extraneous temptation to hold, right or wrong, to our opinions, has an immoral and injurious tendency. It frequently acts as a bounty on falsehood. It sometimes induces hypocrisy. It awakens in us an artificial partiality for our own creed, which is the more prejudicial, inasmuch as we are already, from vanity and habit, much too prone to such partiality. It creates an artificial animosity against all dissenters from our creed; and this too is exceedingly pernicious; seeing that frail human nature is already but too much given to intolerance, and that intolerance is the bane of all kindness and virtue in society. It bids us shrink from free enquiry, however useful; and fear conviction, however well-founded: while conscientiousness requires us to welcome free enquiry, and to yield implicitly to conviction. It acts as a drawback on the discovery of truth and the correction of error.

Thus all artificial inducements to adhere to any creed are mischievous. They add fuel to flame; they increase evils already too great; they flatter our weakness, and encourage our vices. We are addicted to selfish partiality; they increase the propensity. We are inclined to be uncharitable; they render us yet more so. We fear to throw off our our prejudices; they add to the fear. The progress of improvement is slow; they tend yet more to retard it.

Now, it is true that the clergy are not alone exposed to this artificial temptation. There exists, in all countries, and for all men, a premium upon orthodoxy; that is, a premium upon all opinions and customs which are generally received. Men win favor, gain patronage, obtain popularity, and make money, by adopting and defending these. Thus, favor and patronage, and popularity, and money, become so many prizes, offered by society, as the reward of conformity.

But if all men are thus tempted in the degree, the clergy are so in the extreme. They have been trained as the servants and supporters of a religious system. As its servants and supporters, they win a livelihood; and many of them have learnt no other profession. With their faith, therefore, they lose their livelihood, unless they will consent to act the hypocrite. At the moment they become converts, they become beggars also; unless they will resolve to begin the world again, and learn to labor for their support. Their profession and its emoluments are their only property; and they cannot become honest sceptics, except under penalty of its confiscation.

How immoral, how vitiating is such a situation! How filled with temptations to evil, and inducements to dishonesty! What sacrifices does it require of him who may chance to see beyond the creed of his forefathers, and who has not learnt to say what he does not think! How richly it rewards hypocrisy! and how heavily it clogs the wheels of improvement!

What should be said to such a law as this: "whoever shall dissent from the popular creed, and shall openly express such dissent, the whole of his property shall immediately be confiscated; he shall be forbidden from following his trade, and a vote of public censure shall be passed upon him." How would our feelings revolt from such injustice! How should we denounce and detest it, as republicans—as men!

Yet such injustice as this is practised daily by this nation towards one oppressed class of her citizens, the clergy. I say oppressed, not by any means in jest or irony, but in sad sincerity and sober truth. I say oppressed, because I most conscientiously believe the clergy to be so; oppressed by their situation; oppressed by its temptations; and grievously oppressed by the penalties that attach to an honest change of belief.

It is indeed true, that a clergyman, if he cease to be religious and cease to profess religion, may follow some other profession; and, if he be fortunate, may save himself from penury. But so may any malefactor, whose property has been confiscated. He also may labor and gain more. There is but little mercy in such an alternative as that.

I know that the clergy do not consider themselves oppressed, and are seldom considered so by others; but it is not necessary to oppression, that its victims should know or appreciate their situation. For myself, no earthly consideration should induce me so to place myself, that I should be richly rewarded so long as I retained my present opinions, and that I should be punished with confiscation of property and loss of livelihood, if ever I saw cause to change them. And, surely, any man who values his liberty and his rights, will agree with me in the opinion.

I have known several instances, both in this country and in Great Britain, of clergymen, who were clear-sighted enough to perceive the errors they had been trained to preach, and honest enough to cease preaching them. I particularly recollect one instance in England. It is that of a pastor, who was universally beloved for his amiable qualities, and universally respected and admired for his talents and eloquence. He became converted to heterodoxy; stated from the pulpit that he was so; threw up a large salary, and retired to spend the rest of his days in obscurity and poverty, followed by the blessings and regrets of all who knew him. The circumstance did not become very generally known, for his brethren of the church hushed it up; and I learned it by accident from a gentleman who was personally acquainted with him.

But conduct like this is not more noble than it is rare. It were unreasonable to expect it from the mass of mankind; because experience tells us, that our expectations would be disappointed. If society will tempt her members, she must bear the consequences. If she will offer a reward for hypocrisy, and enact punishments for honesty, she must expect to find rogues and hypocrites. Who shall sow the seed, and then wonder that the grain springs up?

I perceive no remedy for these errors, so long as it shall be considered a trade to support the orthodox creed. But I do not perceive the necessity nor the advantage of such a trade. We are sufficiently inclined already to retain the creeds and the prejudices which our fathers have bequeathed to us. We are averse enough to free enquiry and rational change. Let us not tempt any of our fellow-citizens to foster our prejudices and restrain our enquiries.

IMMENSE PUBLIC MEETING AT BIRMINGHAM.

WE stop the press to give the following extract of a letter, this moment (Thursday morning) received from my father, whose success in Birmingham it seems, has been of the most encouraging character:

*Birmingham, Swan Hotel,
Tuesday morning.*

Yesterday was a glorious day for our cause. During the time of the meeting, there cannot have been less than Eight Thousand persons present, chiefly small manufacturers, shop-keepers, and operatives, and many of the wealthier classes, ladies and gentlemen. The Chairman did his duty manfully, and with ability; the speakers were in excellent spirits, and spoke well and much to the purpose; the animation and good feeling which continued

throughout the meeting, although it lasted from eleven till four, was most exciting and delightful. In all my experience in Europe and America, I have never witnessed so numerous and gratifying a meeting. Although the object might be supposed to be in opposition to many interests, as the resolutions went to overthrow the present mode of buying and selling, there was not one dissident to any one of the resolutions, nor even a murmur, but all were carried evidently, with the hearty good will of the multitude present.

It was thus unanimously decided, "that the best mode to relieve the country from its present distress and downward progress, is to establish a National Equitable Labor Exchange in the Metropolis, and provincial Branches throughout Great Britain and Ireland: and that the first provincial Branch be now established in Birmingham, for the town and neighbourhood." This morning, books are to be put into respectable stations, in different parts of the town, to receive the names of those willing either to become shareholders, or to deposit their manufactures, or to take the Exchange Notes. Many respectable names were given yesterday at the meeting for all these purposes, and the very best spirit prevails.

In consequence of the great and unexpected success of the meeting yesterday, and the necessity of following it up while the public is alive to our proceedings, and as there is to be a public dinner on Thursday, at which all our friends think it important for the promotion of our cause that I should be present, I shall not leave Birmingham before Friday Morning, and shall be with you on Friday night.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—It is not my intention to say any thing in disparagement of your correspondent "J. D.," whose letter appears in your number for Oct. 6, but it is advisable for the interest of the establishment, that no statements should go forth under your sanction, which are not strictly conformable with fact.

I would before observe, in reference to the letter in question, that you have inadvertently given circulation to a statement so erroneous, that I cannot doubt its being more agreeable to you to correct it, than allow it to remain on your pages unnoticed.

Your correspondent J. D. says, "We will now attempt to prove that a depositor, should he even lose in the first instance, according to his calculation of gain, will ultimately find himself a gainer in a compound degree," &c. Again,—"The party drawing therefrom (the magazines of the Institution) must be a gainer in a compound degree, according to the extent of his transactions by way of exchange. For, if he lose three shillings in the pound by his own deposits, and his labor credit enables him to exchange with four others who may have deposited in like manner, it is evident he must reap nine shillings in the pound for his supposed lost three, and has merely thrown away the sprat to catch the salmon."

Now, Sir, let us suppose the dissatisfied depositor alluded to, to be A. and those whose goods he draws in exchange to be, B. C. D. and E.

A. deposits goods which he estimates at 4*l.*, but, agreeably with the established rules of the Labor Exchange Bazaar, are valued at 3*l.* 8*s.*, or 5*s.* in the pound less; now if he receives in exchange the goods of B. C. D. and E. valued by the same standard, he takes from each 17*s.*, and not his full deposit of 3*l.* 8*s.* from each, as assumed by "J. D.," which he must do to realise his calculation, or to catch the salmon which he speaks of, for the sprat.

Such indeed, is not the system you profess,—such, would not be a system of equity, nor one "J. D." meant to advocate. He must, I am sure, have overlooked the circumstance, that A. has only 3*l.* 8*s.* to draw from the magazine, and that amount being made up out of the deposits of B. C. D. and E. collectively, they do not each contribute the twelve shillings, but a "pro rata" equivalent of 15*l.* per cent., or the three shillings in the pound which A.

erroneously supposed he lost, from the difference in the valuation.

I have merely used these money terms, to pursue the line of argument adopted by "J. D.," but the fallacy of applying them as tests of the system, is abundantly pointed out in every succeeding number, by abler pens than that of your obedient servant,
DISCIPULUS.

* * The above communication was accidentally mislaid, or it should have appeared immediately on its receipt.—Ed.

Thursday Debates.—The question discussed last Thursday "Whether the introduction of machinery in aid of human labor, has hitherto been a benefit or an injury to man," will be continued next Thursday. It is a question involving considerations of the highest importance.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. John Barr, if he refer to our last week's paper, will perceive that it is the editor of the *Birmingham Journal*, not of the *Crisis*, who "had not room to insert" the questions and replies given at the close of the Birmingham meeting; that the editor of the *Crisis*, not having these, could not furnish them; and that therefore Mr. Barr's inference, that "Winter Travelling in the back woods of America would seem to be considered of greater consequence than the Labor Exchange system" is not correct, though his view that it would have been important for us to obtain these questions and replies, is.

C. M. G. in our next.

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CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. No. 40.]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN & ROBERT DALE OWEN.—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

GREAT PUBLIC MEETING AT BEARDSWORTH'S REPOSITORY, TO FORM A BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOR EXCHANGE.

A GREAT public meeting of the inhabitants of Birmingham and its neighborhood, was held for the above purpose at Beardsworth's Repository, on Monday last. About 10,000 persons were assembled on the occasion. Soon after eleven o'clock, Robert Owen, Esq., in company with many of his friends, entered the Repository, and was loudly cheered. In a few minutes, G. F. Muntz, Esq., was called to the chair by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN opened the business of the day by reading the advertisement calling the meeting, after which he said it was proper that he should address a few words to them, on his consenting to take the chair on this memorable occasion. (Hear, hear.) They were all aware that he had frequently taken the chair in that place, when business of a very important nature was to be transacted; but never did he experience greater pleasure than in taking it in the present instance. (Loud applause.) One reason for his consenting to occupy that important station was, that he felt himself bound to come forward on every opportunity which offered, to endeavor to relieve the sufferings of his fellow-men; and he had always declared that he was willing to assist any one who appeared to him to be exerting himself in a legitimate and proper manner for the good of the people; and he conceived therefore, that he should have been blameable, had he refused to take the chair on this occasion. (Cheers.) He must say that he had not been able to enter fully into the details of the plan now proposed by Mr. Owen; but so far as he had examined it, he thought there was great probability of its doing immense good, without the possibility of any evil arising from it. (Cheers.) This being the case, it behoved them all to take every means they possibly could to render successful a meritorious plan, having for its object the emancipation of the industrious classes from their present wretched and miserable condition. (Great applause.) He would not now detain them any longer, but should be happy to hear any one who was prepared to address them on this important matter; and he trusted the meeting would patiently listen to all who had any thing to offer, whether for or against the object for which they were met; for without the fullest and fairest enquiry were allowed, no system whatever ought to receive their sanction or support. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. HAWKES SMITH then read the report of the committee appointed at a public meeting held November 1, at the Public Office, to take measures for disseminating a knowledge of the principles of Equitable Labour Exchanges. After detailing the various steps which the committee had taken for this purpose, the report went on to say, "It will be gratifying to the meeting to be informed that several

gentlemen, engaged in the pursuit of manufactures and commerce on an extensive scale, have given their names as willing to become shareholders in the proposed 'Provincial Branch of the National Equitable Labour Exchange;' have also engaged to deposit their manufactured articles in the stores of the establishment; and further, are willing to take Exchange notes at their own establishments in payment for purchases made." The report concludes with the following paragraph. "Finally, your committee trust that the work thus commenced will not be suffered to languish; and they joyfully resign their office into the hands of this meeting, confident, from all that their reflection and observation has taught them, that the principles of the Equitable Labour Exchange properly persevered in, must inevitably lead to the most splendid results—results which, though arrived at by simply following the necessary progress of cause and effect, must prove richer and happier—more favourable to the progress of knowledge, virtue, and benevolence—more abundant in all the means of physical and intellectual enjoyment, than any thing that practical imagination has ever feigned of an 'age of gold.'" Mr. Smith concluded by moving the adoption of the report, which was seconded and passed unanimously.

ROBERT OWEN, Esq., then presented himself, and was received with loud and enthusiastic cheering. When silence was restored, Mr. Owen said, he was highly gratified at the numerous meeting which had assembled on that very important occasion. He came not here to divide, but, if possible, to unite all parties for the general good. Disunion was most destructive to their interests; but if they were firmly united, nothing would be too difficult for them to accomplish. (Loud cheers.) He looked upon all mankind as one great family, having but one interest, and that whatever was found to be really beneficial to one part, would, when properly known and understood, be beneficial for the whole. (Hear, hear.) With permission of the meeting, he would now read to them an address, which he had prepared, to all the various parties, agricultural, commercial, political, scientific, and religious, in Birmingham and its neighbourhood. [Mr. Owen here proceeded to read the address in question, which, for want of room we must omit till next week.] At intervals, during the reading, Mr. Owen made the following remarks:—If the powers of producing wealth, now at the disposal of the government and the influential classes of this kingdom, were fairly applied, there was not one among them who would not have plenty of good food and clothing, a good house, and the means of educating his children, and would, moreover, have sufficient leisure to enjoy himself as a rational being. Henceforth it would depend on themselves whether these powers should continue to be misapplied as at present, or so applied as to produce happiness to all. (Loud cheers.) Arrangements might be easily and immediately made, by which every workman in Great Britain and

Ireland, might, in the course of next year, be brought into productive employment at good wages. The upper classes were in a state of the greatest ignorance, or they would be aware that the real wealth of a nation depended upon every individual being well employed. "Do you," said Mr. Owen, "want to know when this nation is well governed?" Take this simple rule. "When all are well employed and well educated." If there be a single individual in want of employment, or in ignorance, they might depend there was some error in the principles of government. Let them keep that rule in their minds, and ask every candidate if he intended to advocate measures to well educate, and profitably employ the whole population, and if so, let the electors give their suffrages to such men, and such men only, for none others would do them any permanent good. (Cheers.) All the governments of the world had hitherto only governed the people through their ignorance and divisions. "Divide and conquer," had been their motto. (Hear, hear.) They had placed the interests of men in direct opposition to each other, and the consequence was, they were cutting each other's throats by the dreadful competition which existed between them. (Hear, hear.) At present the people could not cordially unite in consequence of their interests being in opposition; "but," said Mr. Owen, "we will change this position, we will make it your interest to unite and never again to divide. (Great applause.) If I could find eleven more men in Birmingham, possessing the same ability, firmness, integrity, and moral courage, as the excellent man who now fills your chair, I pledge myself that every inhabitant of this great town might be very speedily placed in a prosperous condition, and what are called 'bad times,' would never again be known among you." (Tremendous and long continued cheering.) At present the greater portion of the wealth of this country was enjoyed by those who produced nothing, whilst those who produced every thing, were pining with want. (Hear, hear.) A change must take place, but mark!—let them well consider the situation of what were called the upper classes. If any of those present had been born to a dukedom or an earldom, which of them would have refused it? Let them, therefore, rather pity, than blame the persons who occupied these stations in society. They truly merited their pity, for they were totally ignorant of all subjects relating to, and connected with, the welfare and happiness of mankind. (Hear, hear.) Only let the people dismiss all their petty differences which now divided them, and select men of sterling integrity, and great moral courage to superintend the necessary arrangements for carrying into practice the new mode of distributing wealth which would be that day recommended to them, and they would soon change the face of society. (Cheers.) Their great business now, was to devise means and carry them into practice, by which the starvation of the people might be prevented, employment given

to the industrious classes, and a good practical education given to their children, and let them from this day cast aside every thing which was calculated to disunite them; they had but one interest, and that interest could never be destroyed except by their own divisions. (Loud cheers.) He now called upon the wealthy classes to come forward and assist in extricating the producers of their wealth from the unremitted poverty by which they were surrounded. If they would do this, their present incomes would be secured to them for the remainder of their lives, and not a particle of their existing wealth would be touched. But if they were determined, selfishly and ignorantly to hold back, then he would say, let them look to themselves. (Great applause.) If they were determined to oppose the righteous cause of the industrious classes, then let them work for themselves; let them see what they could do with their land, houses, and capital, without the labourers. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") They would find that they were compelled to give the working classes the use of their land and capital to save even themselves from starvation. (Vehement cheering.) Let the producers of wealth, therefore, be calm, but firm, for their cause would be sure to triumph. Let them be as wise as serpents, but as harmless as doves. (Cheers.) He trusted that this great meeting, the first of its kind held out of the metropolis, would induce the inhabitants of every city and town in the empire to investigate the important principles which he had no doubt the present assembly would sanction and adopt. He had attended this meeting to teach them how to coin money. (Laughter.) There had heretofore been many coiners, he believed, in Birmingham, and they had not been well thought of. He was come however, to make the trade respectable and worth following. (Renewed laughter and applause.) He would show them how they might make as much money as they pleased without the least danger of being hanged or transported for it. (Cheers.) "This," said Mr. Owen, holding up one of the Exchange notes, "is the new money which we propose to make; it is peculiarly the money of the industrious classes." They had all heard of the great giant Goliath, who was killed by a small pebble thrown from a sling. Now there was a great giant in the present day, who was the pest of society, and whose name was "Competition;" but the working classes would take the little instrument which he had exhibited, and with it they would strike the giant on the forehead and bring him to the ground, never again to rise. (Great applause.) It was said that money was the root of all evil, but this applied to the present money of the world. He had discovered a money which might be made the root of all good; and if they would use it, they would soon find this to be the case. (Cheers.) He would now briefly explain to them the principles upon which this new and greatly superior mode of distributing wealth was conducted. In the first place a national establishment was formed in London, with which it was proposed to connect branches in various parts of the metropolis, and provincial branches in all large cities and towns throughout Great Britain and Ireland, with auxiliary branches attached to these in the similar towns and villages. The mode of establishing one of those provincial branches was thus:—A sufficient capital being raised by means of transferable shares of a certain amount, bearing interest, the management is confided to a governor, a deputy-governor, and director, who are elected by ballot for a stated period, by the shareholders. (Cries of "Hear, hear.") These superior officers must be men well known to the public for their ability, integrity, and extensive knowledge of business. A building suitable for the carrying on of extensive commercial transactions is then provided; convenient arrangements are made to receive, examine, and deposit all kinds of goods, and to expose them for exchanges. The parties who desire to deposit goods, state the lowest price charged to factors or merchants; if this price is found to be correct by the official valuers, the articles are accepted, and an order is given upon the Bank of Exchange for the amount, in exchange notes. These notes authorise their owner to obtain an equal value of wealth in

any article or articles within the stores of the establishment, and when their perfect security is duly comprehended, they will freely circulate, as they already do in the metropolis, among shopkeepers and general dealers. (Hear, hear.) No notes were issued but when real wealth was deposited, and when any part of that wealth was drawn out, notes to an equal amount were brought in; so that the notes in circulation always represented the quantity of wealth in store. (Hear, hear.) To the price given to the depositor is added a commission to cover rent, salaries, and charges; and the prime cost and this commission, which are marked on every article, forms the undeviating exchange price or value. By these means there will always be an immediate market for every article of utility, and for all kinds of produce that are in demand by society. No time, therefore, will be lost in seeking for a market. The value in this new and superior currency, will be at once obtained; there will be no need of credit, and therefore no bad debts or bankruptcies. (Hear, hear, and continued applause.) He understood that many errors were abroad, respecting this plain and simple mode of conducting the business of society. Some said it was the truck system come back again, (laughter)—this, however, was a great mistake; for the plan of Equitable Labour Exchange had nothing in common with it. The plan proposed, when fairly established, would enable the wealth-producers to exchange their various products without delay or inconvenience, or immoral bargaining of any kind. It would first call into profitable employ all those who were now unemployed, or who were engaged unprofitably, as were some of their fellow-townsmen, in wheeling sand, for instance. (Hear, hear.) The master-manufacturer would soon find that he would be enabled from the increased demand for his goods, to raise the wages of his workmen, and in the course of time, wealth of all descriptions would be created in the greatest abundance. (Cheers.) There was little doubt but they would have to encounter much opposition. All who were ignorant of the plan, or who supposed they had interests in opposition to it, though none really had, would oppose it. This, however, they must not regard; let them go steadfastly forward, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, and success was certain. (Applause.) It had just been suggested to him, very properly, that the Guardians of the Poor might easily take advantage of the system for the profitable employment of the poor. This they certainly might do, to a very considerable extent, even immediately, and thus relieve the rate-payers of a great burden, and ultimately there need not be a pauper in the whole parish. (Loud cheers.) He had now to thank them for the great attention with which they had listened to his observations, and trusted the time was not far distant, when they would all be prosperous and happy. Mr. Owen then retired amid the most enthusiastic applause.

Mr. Edmonds, Mr. Boulthbee, Mr. Hawkes Smith, and others severally addressed the meeting, but our limits, unfortunately, exclude their spirited and warmly received speeches, with the exception of Mr. Smith's, who spoke as follows:—

MR. HAWKES SMITH again presented himself. The resolution he held in his hand formed a corollary to, and offered a remedy for, the evils of which the previous ones had complained. (Hear, hear.) Its object was to assert the desirableness and efficacy of Equitable Labour Exchanges. He (Mr. S.) had considered the subject with all the care and attention of which he was capable, and to him it appeared eminently beautiful, consistent, and simple. He felt assured that this institution would tend to produce with rapidity general employment for the industrious man, with a full and fair remuneration for his labour. (Cheers.) But did the present state of the country call for any such efforts, any such assistance? Many declared in the language of the last resolution that it did; others, on the contrary, maintained, that though the existence

of distress could not be denied, it was but partial and casual; the present state of things was in fact a fair average state, not differing remarkably from that which prevailed in the vaunted periods occasionally alluded to as better times. "Why, then, I say," said Mr. S. "had is the best! and if this be all that can be said, it is time a thorough change were made." (Applause.) But why should those be disbelieved who urged the present unusual depression of the country? Mr. Boulthbee, who, in some sort, represented an extensive institution, lately established in this town, for inquiry into the state of its working population, had given a few heart-rending instances of cases that came under his own observation. Could he and his colleagues have any motive for exaggeration or misrepresentation? And were such statements confined to one town, or to one party? No: the cry resounded from every quarter. He would read a fine passage from a late number of the *Edinburgh Review*, written by a gentleman residing in the North, and unconnected either with Birmingham or with trade:—"How much among us may be likened to a whitened sepulchre; outwardly all pomp and strength, but inwardly full of horror and despair, and dead men's bones! Labour's thousand arms of sinew and of metal all-conquering every where, from the tops of the mountains to the depths of the mines and the caverns of the sea, ply unceasingly for the service of man,—yet man remains unserved. . . . Sad to look upon, in the highest stage of civilization, nine-tenths of mankind must struggle in the lowest battle of savage, or even animal man,—the battle against famine. Countries are rich, prosperous in all manner of increase beyond example, but the men of those countries are needier than ever. Industry must shake off the burthen that oppresses it, or be utterly strangled under it; and, alas! can as yet but grasp and rave, and aimlessly struggle, like one in the agonies of a horrid dream. Thus, change, or the inevitable approach of change, is manifest everywhere." So, then, we were but badly off! "Man is unserved." But what, according to this writer, was to be done? Must our population, as political economists recommended, be content with saving banks and patience? With living on as they could and reducing their numbers by late marriages? No! it was change, change that was inevitable: a change in favour of the people—of the nine-tenths. (Cheers.) The error which claimed this mode of cure was too extensive for palliatives; it affected the entire commercial system. The whole was based on wrong principles, and the only relief lay in the general establishment of the institutions they had now heard spoken of, under the name of *Equitable Labour Exchanges*. Society, it was said, would be subverted. It might be so, and yet no harm done, for everything now seemed to stand the wrong way upwards. (Hear, hear.) But the change would be gradual, gentle, peaceable; productive of good to all, free from injury or violence done to any. Such were his (Mr. S's) views of the subject; he would refrain from all detail, because the general action of this new method of exchange had been already well explained. (Hear.) He was often told that the scheme was visionary. He was laughed at daily in various circles as a dreamer. (Laughter.) That was unlucky! but for his part he felt wide awake. (Renewed laughter.) To him the operation of Labour Exchange was easy, and simple, and feasible.—"Oh, but its advocates looked to such splendid and impossible results; to a state of happiness which could not be realised on earth." Well then, stop short at the end of the first stage; could production and demand be made to go hand in hand? Could the labourers be all employed and well paid? Could comfort again universally revisit their dwellings? With this he would be satisfied. But if, uninfluenced by a heated fancy, the inquirer should look carefully through the vista of futurity—if, tracking foot by foot, result by result, the inevitable operation of the principle laid down, the conclusions would be of the splendid kind, which occasioned so much laughter, it surely ought not to prejudice the argument. (Hear, hear.) It was hard that a system should be condemned because

the necessary consequences were too good! When Gray made his bard exclaim—

"Visions of glory spare my aching sight,"

he did not intend to make the speaker suppose that what he saw was absurd or impossible; but that it was so different from what then prevailed, and so admirable, that he was scarcely able to bear the contemplation of it. (Hear, hear.) "We say," pursued the speaker, "production should and may be made the cause of demand. We say, it should be and it may be made as easy to sell as it now is to buy. Attain this condition and all will be well. Oppose it, or lose sight of it, and all your efforts are mere palliatives; your schemes are Utopian reveries, it is you who are misled by wild theories, and baseless visions of impossible results." (Cheers.) This grand principle of *Equitable Labor Exchange*, was the one great reform which would include and render effectual all others, and without which, even Parliamentary regeneration, free trade, and reduction of taxes, would be merely temporary and inefficient benefits. It was the great unknown good, believed in, but long sought for in vain by the benevolent, which should render the bounties of nature, and the exercise of human energy, and skill, beneficial to all, without alloy or mixture of evil. (Applause.) Who had not been perplexed with the consideration of the subject of *machinery*? A machine was an effect of human genius and skill, of those qualities which were given by the Creator, and distinguished men from the brute creation. Surely the "results of machinery," ought to be benefits; yet who could deny, that at present, evil to the many, had been produced by its rapid advance. Labour was abridged, and yet the labourer was starved. To explain, or to excuse this anomaly, had long employed the pen and the skill of political economists, and they had failed, because they framed systems only for the good of particular classes; instead of exploring the sources of national wealth, of universal happiness. (Hear, hear.) *Equitable Labor Exchange* would alone solve the mystery. Another consideration in favour of this system, was its freedom from political, or party incumbrances. Tory, Whig, and Radical, might join in the effort to support and render it available. No appeal to Government was called for, no Act of Parliament to be prayed or intrigued for, with its trickery, its delay, and charges. The tranquil, determined exertion of the people alone, would work their emancipation; would open a market which should defy glut; annihilating grinding competition, it would give to industry its due and indisputed remuneration. (Loud cheers.) "I recollect," said Mr. S., "a tale of a certain tyrant, who contrived a dungeon of iron in which he placed his enemies, and which gradually, by some infernal machinery, closed and contracted, till after a few days by its total collapse it destroyed the life of the victim; it became at once his executioner, his shroud and his tomb. Does the present state of the classes I am now addressing, afford no resemblance to the circumstance of this tale? Have none of your number already been pressed out of life by the action of the present destructive machinery of commerce? Are not many more even now, with broken fortunes and broken hearts, awaiting a similar fate? One difference, however, exists between your situation and that of the victim I have described—for you there exist the means of escape. Like Bunyan's pilgrim in the land of Giant Despair, you carry about you "a key called promise," which will assuredly open your dungeon. *Equitable Labor Exchange* is that key. Use it wisely, and soberly, and unremittingly, and I venture to promise you that it shall secure your effectual relief; shall restore comfort to your families, and give to all of you all the means of happiness that rational beings can fairly claim." (Loud cheers.) Mr. S. concluded by moving the 5th resolution.—*Birmingham Journal*.

[To be concluded in our next.]

SCIENTIFIC LECTURES.—Mr. Seall, of the Geological Society, gives next Tuesday evening, his con-

cluding lecture on Geology, the profits to be appropriated, like those of his former lectures, to the objects of our Missionary Society.

On Wednesday evening next, Mr. Rookes, professor of Chemistry from Pennsylvania, U. S. A., will commence a course of familiar scientific lectures, to be continued weekly: subject of next week's lecture, *the nature and chemical properties of Coals*. Admission two-pence.

EDITORIAL.

LONDON, DECEMBER 8, 1832.

LEGISLATORS BEGINNING TO SPEAK PLAIN ENGLISH.

ONE can hardly cast one's eye over a daily paper, without gleaning from it, some evidence, more or less important, of the altered and altering spirit of the times.

A deputation from the rate-payers of Westminster has been waiting, it seems, on Lord Althorp, to call his attention to the propriety of abolishing the assessed taxes; especially the house and window tax. Lord Althorp said, this should "be a matter for grave deliberation with the whole of his Majesty's government." All this is words of course, and may mean nothing. But now comes the important point. The Chancellor adds: "there were so many taxes, of which the public were demanding the immediate remission—for instance *the taxes on knowledge*, that it was impossible to say to what extent the government could go, in taking off the assessed taxes," &c.

Now, what I like in this, is the phraseology. Some year or eighteen months ago, the *Examiner*, the *Ballot* and other democratic journals, called the newspaper stamp duties, *taxes on knowledge*, much to the scandal of the more loyal subjects of these realms, who had heretofore been satisfied to designate by the same sound, a moral responsibility and a tax paid to government; applying in both cases, the term *duty*. But now, how times change! a Chancellor of the Exchequer employs a phrase, the very wording of which carries with it the weightiest condemnation of the impost in question. Lord Althorp himself, calls duties on newspapers, "taxes on knowledge!"

It may be truly affirmed that roguery would be a trade not worth following, if all things were called by their proper names. If men were exhorted by a profligate government to *servility*, their pride would take fire at once, and they would prove restive and intractable; but smooth the hair the right way, and bid them evince their *loyalty*, the bait is swallowed—or used to be, at the least. Again—preach to the people the necessity of subscribing from their poverty to pay a *Bench of Bishops some ten thousand a year a piece*, and to support a *swarm of idle pluralists*, they would laugh at you and draw closer their purse strings. But—speak to them of the *interests of religion and morality* which your pious contributions are to establish;—tell them that "he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord"—and take for granted that *the poor and the church mean the same thing*,

—preach to men and women all this, and let them but learn to call tithes, holy offerings; churches, the Almighty's servants; a cathedral, God's house; pew rent, a holy due; and fifty thousand a year to an Archbishop, the hire of which the laborer is worthy, and straightway the collection plate overflows with sovereigns, and the subscription books of our thousand-and-one religious societies, swell into the rent-roll of a powerful army!—

All by a little delicate management in the withdrawal of words too offensively accurate, and the adroit substitution of well-sounding, politely-rounded, cleverly-mystified terms. R. D. O.

OF PHYSICIANS.

PHYSICIANS appear to be less unfavorably situated than their brethren of the bar and of the church; for we may be friendly and virtuous without depriving physicians of their livelihood. Yet are they also, to a certain extent, viciously situated.

It is a very common opinion that men and women cannot be trained to be their own physicians; and it is probable that there are cases of rare or complicated disease, or of dangerous accident, in which the experience gained by extensive medical practice, may be necessary to suggest a remedy, or to perform an operation. But in nine cases at least, out of ten, a very moderate acquaintance with the human body, and with its functions, and with the causes that impair, and the precautions that preserve these, would enable us with ease, to cure, or—yet better—to prevent, the nascent indisposition. This is a fact which has repeatedly been acknowledged, both in private and in public, by the most eminent physicians. And its accuracy is the less to be doubted, inasmuch as it is notoriously the pecuniary interest of physicians to conceal it.

Admitting, then, its truth, how injurious the ignorance in which children are kept, of what it most concerns them to know! And how desirable, that a few, at least, of the days and years that are spent in learning the languages and the customs of two semi-barbarous nations of antiquity, should be devoted to learn that, the knowledge of which, will advantage us every day of our lives.

But, however desirable for the mass of mankind, that they should be taught how to retain that first of blessings, health; and that they should further be taught how to regain it, when lost;—it is not the interest of the physician. It is not his interest, that his neighbors should know any thing about their own bodies: it is not his interest that they should be taught how to retain their health, nor how to arrest an incipient malady by some simple remedy. Other men's ignorance is his gain. Their follies fill his purse. If they were educated as common sense dictates, he would be a poorer man. If they knew what they ought to know, his knowledge would turn to less account. Common sense, therefore, is, in a pecuniary point of view, the physician's enemy.

Again, how important is it that men and women should know the consequences of excess; and that, knowing these, they should not be tempted to act against their knowledge! How inexpressibly important that there should be no gin-shops, nor any of those houses—the bane of great cities—where popular morality abandons to disease and death, its outcast victims!

Yet it is the physician's interest that all this should go on. Intemperance is his patron. A debauch is a harvest for him. Gin-shops and brothels make him a rich man. Each ruined constitution brings him a customer and a fee. He may—doubtless he does lament all this; but he must be more or less than man, if he does not feel that he lives by it.

The physician knows that the customs and the morality which are now popular, produce both vice and disease. The honest and enlightened physician will tell you so. He will tell you, that monkish chastity and brutal license, are equally the causes of misery and disease. He will tell you, that health and peace of mind, are to be found in moderation only, and that extremes have filled his consulting-room and his purse. Ask him how it happens that so many of the young and unmarried of both sexes

appear on the list of his patients; and he will tell you of the prudish severity with which society dooms one sex to unnatural restraints, and of the temporizing injustice with which she sinks at the scarcely-veiled libertinism of the other. Ask him what he thinks of the professions of the popularly moral; and he will tell you that they are commonly as hollow, as the reality of these professions are unnatural and pernicious. Ask him what he thinks of orthodox morality, in itself; and he will tell you, that, as a physiologist, he disapproves and condemns it. But, as a physician, he profits by it; unwillingly, indeed, if he be an honest and a worthy man, but yet positively and certainly. If society's customs, and society's morality, encouraged moderation in all things, and discountenanced, not what ever was opposed to her capricious etiquette, but what ever was opposed to health of body and tranquillity of mind—men would be happier and better; but physicians would lose their practice.

However beneficial, therefore, it might be, that we should know our own diseases, and learn to prevent and to cure them, we must not expect that physicians, as a class, will take much pains to destroy their own avocation. We must not expect them to tell us (however well they know it) that we are the best judges of our sensations; that we can detect symptoms in ourselves that are hidden from them; that we have the most experience of our own constitutions; and that, thus, even with an inferior knowledge of medical science, we can prescribe much more readily and rationally for ourselves, than any other person can for us. We must not expect that physicians will risk at once their reputation and their fortunes, in order to tell us, that if we were but rational and practical physiologists, we should regret the morality which now prevails, as unnatural, and productive of suffering and disease: nor can we require that physicians should labour zealously to promote temperance and thus to prevent diseases. All this it were unreasonable to expect, because men do not like to ruin themselves, nor even to diminish their own earnings.

If we wish to make it the interest of physicians that mankind be temperate, prudent, rational, and healthy, let us pay them, like the medical attendant of the Chinese Emperor, in proportion as we escape disease; but if we desire to make ourselves independent and usefully intelligent, let us go still farther. Let us recollect, that to be a practical physiologist, is incomparably more important, than to be a latinist or a greekling. If we are too old to learn, let us give our children a knowledge of themselves; let us bid them attend carefully to their own sensations; let us gradually make them their own physicians. We shall not then see them first ruining their own constitutions, and then paying to have them patched up again. We shall not see them tempting disease and death with their eyes shut, and horror struck when at last they discover the natural consequences of their conduct; ignorantly imprudent to-day, and weakly apprehensive to-morrow; committing excesses one hour, and soliciting prescriptions the next. As, when we are our own servants, our wants diminish, so, if we were our own physicians, would our diseases decrease.

R. D. O.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SUNDAY.

SIR,—Whoever wishes to see to perfection the state of mental degradation into which by some means or other a great mass of his fellow creatures has been sunk, should perambulate the thoroughfares of this metropolis on a Sunday morning. Action and reaction are equal. Thus workmen who have been treated as inferior animals during six days, are likely on the seventh to act as such. The action upon workmen is oppressive, degrading and vitiating in the highest degree, and the terrible reaction on society is seen in our multiplicity of gin shops, in the prevalence of lying, theft, and all manner of ill feeling; in our farm yards in flames, with other things appalling in number and magnitude.

The Sabbath is indeed a holy day in London;

vice, hypocrisy, superstition, all hold high festival. Vice revels in the highway, not as heretofore in secret and in darkness, she stands forth in the broad light of day and unveils her deformity for men to gaze at, till they become habituated to her hideousness and cease to loathe her. Hypocrisy ministers to superstition in the house of God and on the highway, holding, as it were, the souls of his hearers over the flames of hell suspended by a hair, which is to be snapped on the instant they refuse to "say after him."

Gin-shops are become palaces and their revel day is Sunday. Look into one; what a concentration of disgusting scenes; women (alas how fallen!) emulating their male companions in sensuality: Look at those men, their swollen eyes, their unnatural voices, their strengthless limbs, their filth, all tell of beings in the last stage of drunkenness; the next will probably be passed in a watch-house.

Outside the door stands a man elevated on a stool; he is preaching. High above the storm of voices you may hear him imploring the Almighty: the drunkard's curse mingles with the fanatic's prayer. Are his words persuasion? Is he telling the crowd of the pernicious effects of drunkenness on the human frame? Is he enticing the dissipated into habits of temperance? Is he developing the loveliness of truth and virtue? Is he pointing out the beauties of this beautiful world? No such thing. His speech is of blood, and sacrifice, and vengeance, and wrath, and everlasting agonies. Fire is in his eyes, thunder in his voice, 'tis the flame, the roaring of hell. His right hand, which he throws about with extravagant action, seems surcharged with the terrors of that fearful place.

A little further on see that substantial looking citizen; he is going into church. Yonder ragged boy accosts him; weak, cold, hungry he asks for food. Alas! there is nothing for him but a harsh look, and a still harsher word, one more bitter drop in his cup of bitterness. Follow the citizen into church. Hear him, though the cry of the destitute has scarcely ceased, thank God that he is not as other men are, and implore the continuance of the comforts he enjoys. Hear the minister too, he is but the street preacher in a better garb. There are the same threats, the same appeals to the feelings, the same eagerness to affright, though clothed in a more gentle language. And what a contradiction do we see here; in the house of God, in whose eye, they tell us, all men are equal, behold the rich are lolling in their cushioned pews, while the poor, the degraded poor, and Lazarus like, must sit or stand without, and be content, as it were, with the crumbs of damnation that fall from the rich men's tables.

But leave this hot-bed of inconsistency; once more emerge into the open air, if it can be so called. Masses of men are standing about, intoxicated, filthy, ignorant, vicious, miserable, diseased, discontented—mingling obscenity with all their discourse of politics, religion, scandal, every thing. Yonder goes reeling with the miserable remnant of his miserable wages, a besotted wretch, supported by a woman his companion in crime; while his deserted wife holds to his dimmed sight his own famished offspring. Close to them is a wretch lying asleep on the steps of a mansion; his bare head white with age and infirmity, his bare feet and legs deformed with disease and lacerated with walking. He is dreaming perhaps that he is in possession of a bone, such as a dog would scarcely stop at. Luxurious carriages are rolling through the wretched multitude. The soft compliment of nobility, the rough oath of blackguardism, the laugh of satisfaction, the groan of want, the proud step of gentility, the abject crime of beggary, all these afflicting contrasts meet the eyes and ears of the observant philanthropist—most of all on the Sabbath.

What shall remedy these things? what shall prevent this lovely garden being longer made a charnel house? Religion cannot do it. She treats of another world and bids men not to think of this; besides she is herself part and parcel of the error, the inconsistency, that must be removed. The continuing cause of all these evils is ignorance, espe-

cially in the chief sufferers, and this being once known there can be but one opinion as to the remedy, viz., *Instruction, in what can be demonstrated to be the Truth.*

C. M. G.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I beg leave to solicit your attention to the enclosed Apologue, which probably, has not fallen within your notice.

R.

APOLOGUE.

"The sage Al Bebr visited the dervish Ibrahim in his holy cell; and they discoursed together as brethren, on pious subjects and the mysteries of heaven. 'But thou speakest too freely—perhaps, irreverently of some things,' Al Bebr, said the recluse, 'Ought not the child of earth, the son of the clod, to tremble at his own iniquity? Shall there be hope for the vessels of uncleanness, the vessels of frailty? And the sage replied: 'If the artist hath fashioned the vessel of glass, shall he condemn it because it is brittle? or if he hath fashioned it of clay, destroy it because it proveth not of pure gold?'"

"The angel of death brought before the judge of spirits, the soul of one who, during his lifetime, had been a notorious misanthrope, who had shut his heart to all compassion, and avowed an open enmity to the whole of his race, centering all his wishes and desires in himself. And he spake to the judge and said, 'Pass sentence on this unhallowed wretch, who never once sympathised with his fellows, either in grief or joy.' But the judge replied, and said, 'What greater punishment can be inflicted, than be himself hath chosen: he who never felt the sweet rapture of affection or of sympathy, but on the contrary, exulted in the wretchedness of others, will delight in viewing the misery of the wicked. Rather open to him the gates of Paradise, that he may witness the joy of the blessed—may behold it, and despair.'"

New Work.—Mr. Brooks has this day published his edition of MORAL PHYSIOLOGY with frontispiece. To be had of Eamonsen, next door to our Institution.

Just published, Price three-pence,

THE MECHANIC'S SATURDAY NIGHT, a Poem. By a Mechanic.

"The author is evidently a close observer of men and manners, and he possesses considerable talent.—*Weekly Dispatch.*"

"The author draws a very coarse, but we fear a very just picture of the orgies of the Ale House; almost the only pleasure now left for the mechanic to enjoy; for rustic sports, and fairs, and other ancient pastimes, have all been found to be too profane for him to be permitted to enjoy, and he has been driven into the more secret receptacles of drunkenness and vice.—*Literary Gazette.*"

"We very willingly turn to a bard who seems very capable, if we mistake not, of striking up in our souls a merry mood. And yet there is in this Saturday Night, enough to convince us that the author mixes up a little acorn with his mirth, whilst he affects to laugh at the follies and excesses of the less prudent members of his class. The object of the author is to give a description of a Saturday Night; such, alas! as that night is too often found to realize. It opens with a graphic description of the tap room, and the progress of the score during the evening.—*Monthly Review.*"

"A coarse, clever trifle, descriptive of the jovial sins, incident to meetings for the purpose of Gin and Beer drinking."—*Athenaeum.*

Steill, Paternoster-row; and Eamonsen, 15, Chichester place, Gray's Inn Road.

Just published, Price four-pence,

A SHORT STATEMENT, showing that if the ALLOTMENT SYSTEM were adopted, there would be no excess of population, no necessity for emigration, nor cultivation of waste lands, nor for the importation of food. By JOHN POLZ, Commander, R. N.

F. C. Westley, 165, Strand; and Eamonsen, 15, Chichester place, Gray's Inn Road.

Published at the Institution, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross; also by STRANGE, Paternoster row; BEROZ, Holywell street; and PURKISS, Wardour st.

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THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. No. 41]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN & ROBERT DALE OWEN.—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

GREAT PUBLIC MEETING AT BEARDS-
WORTH'S REPOSITORY, TO FORM A
BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL EQUI-
TABLE LABOR EXCHANGE.

(Continued from last week.)

[The following is the Address by Mr. Owen,
read to the meeting, and to which we alluded
last week.]

*To the Leaders of all the various parties, Agricultural,
Commercial, Political, Scientific, and Religious, in
Birmingham and its Neighborhood:—*
GENTLEMEN AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN!

I address you, at this crisis in the affairs of na-
tions, because you have taken a more prominent lead
in public matters than the population of any town
in the kingdom, and because your population is now
such as to enable you to obtain the most important
benefits to your fellow subjects. This lead, in forming
public opinion, has made you more familiar than
other men with the extraordinary powers, both
manual and scientific, for producing wealth, which
are now unused and laying waste within the British
empire—powers which, if properly applied, would
soon insure to all classes, throughout its extent,
high permanent prosperity.

You are equally well informed respecting the
existing ignorance, poverty, and degradation, of a
large portion of the industrious class, and of the daily
growing intelligence of another part of this class, and
therefore cannot fail to perceive the impending
danger to the unproductive wealthy classes.

With this knowledge of the existing evils, and
means of future good, you may now, by a wisely
directed energy, assist the government and people
to attain and secure a state of prosperity, such as no
nation has ever yet enjoyed.

Hitherto we have all been trained from our birth
to have our attention directed chiefly to the acqui-
sition of wealth, and we have been taught to contend
for it with each other, as though it were imprac-
ticable or difficult to form permanent arrangements to
produce annually, without contest, a full supply for
the whole population, of the most valuable wealth.

Facts, however, prove this conclusion to be false,
and this training, to be an error of the most mischiev-
ous magnitude. This instruction is directly op-
posed to all the most common facts which exist
around us; and more knowledge of the real power
and condition of society will convince all who can
comprehend national subjects, that the necessity for
contest or competition for wealth between individuals
or nations, is an error in human conduct destructive
of happiness, and which, therefore, with our daily
increasing political knowledge, cannot much longer
continue.

Knowing this, let us now act like men, and by
firmness, and true moral courage, dispel the veil of
mistery and error, in which our forefathers and we
ourselves, have been involved. Let TRUTH,

derived from eternal unchanging facts, be alone our
guide in national affairs, and let us here, before the
world, solemnly declare, that we will neither turn
to the right hand nor to the left from following this
unerring guide.

If you can now acquire this moral energy, and the
disinterestedness necessary to insure success to ex-
tensive national improvement, then, indeed, may all
classes in these realms rejoice, that the population
in and around Birmingham, have stirred up the
public mind to agitate those subjects, upon a right
knowledge and practice of which their general and
individual happiness depends; because you may
direct this newly created public spirit, to effect un-
mixed good for the people and government of this
country, and to the population of the world.

As a solid foundation, on which to enable you to
commence this great and good work, allow me, as
one deeply interested for your success, to entreat you,
as men about to elevate yourselves above the petty
personal feelings produced, solely by the gross igno-
rance in which we have all been trained, to termi-
nate at once, frankly and for ever, all differences of
feeling, which may have arisen from a diversity of
opinion, habits, supposed private interests, or from
any other cause whatever; because it is only by your
individual strength, applied in full force, to bear upon
the great and glorious objects which now offer
themselves to your attention, that certain and speedy
success can be insured and rendered permanent—
and when national benefits of a sufficient magnitude,
essentially to influence the happiness, not only of all
the subjects of this widely extended empire, but of
the population of the world, are to be sought for,
with every reasonable prospect of success, it is the
time to recommend a new mode of practice to those
who engage in this great and good work, that an
example may appear worthy to be adopted by the
whole kingdom, and followed by the people of all
countries.

This new conduct for practice is, that from this
day, we abjure all party feelings and party conduct,
and look singly to improve the condition of the
people without injuring one individual, if possible,
of any class.

To obtain this practice, let us now, one and all,
determine that whatever provocation, written or
spoken, we may hereafter experience from individuals
or parties, we will receive it with the forbearance
and benevolent feeling which naturally arises, in
every intelligent and well disposed mind, when
they hear the language and witness the conduct of
our unfortunate fellow-men, who are under confine-
ment on account of mental disease, and we may be
assured that, by this mode of meeting present violent
and unjust treatment of the ill-informed respecting
their own nature, for these alone are the violent and
unjust, all such conduct, on the part of our oppo-
nents will gradually diminish, and soon entirely
cease.

With this godlike foundation for your future pro-
ceedings, you will readily overcome the most for-
midable obstacles which are in your way, and you
may obtain, in a comparatively short period, for this
town and neighborhood, and ultimately for the em-
pire, permanent benefits in practice, greatly beyond
the most sanguine expectations of the public.

You may now easily give a new direction to the
public mind, and commence a new and delightful
practice, which all cities and towns will be, in their
own defence, and obviously for their benefit, con-
strained to follow.

You, gentlemen, many of whom have acquired a
knowledge of the fallacy and ignorance on which our
monetary system is conducted, now know how easy,
under another method of effecting our exchanges,
wealth of every description may be created—how
cheaply and beneficially it may be distributed; how
rapidly, under these changes, the condition of all
classes may be improved, but most especially, in the
first instance, of those classes which now suffer the
most severely from poverty.

Knowing, as you do, the importance of now ef-
fecting this grand national improvement, I request
you will appoint a committee, composed of men
selected for the soundness of their judgment, com-
prehension of mind, and moral courage: to men of
this character, I will undertake to prove the practi-
cability of now forming arrangements in Birmingham
and its neighborhood, by which, through the rightly
directed industry of the population, the distress and
misery now arising from poverty and crime, shall
rapidly diminish, until scarcely any of either shall
remain.

And why should there be any delay in the adop-
tion of the measure? Why should not men now
acquire sufficient moral courage to meet openly and
fairly the real obstacles which are in the way of
permanent prosperity? Are the sufferings of the
people not yet sufficiently severe? Whilst I am
addressing you, thousands and tens of thousands of
industrious classes are pining for want, and slowly
wasting their strength and life, because, by the
utmost exertions of themselves and families, they
cannot, under the present ignorant and accursed
system, obtain the means to support the most
miserable existence.

Many of you expressed surprise that the working
men lately formed a second Political Union in your
town, but when you reflect that they and their wives
and children are dying by inches, for want of the
necessaries of life, which they might so easily obtain,
it is not, it cannot be, a matter of astonishment that
they should be impatient to urge on means for im-
mediate relief, and more especially, when they know
that many of them must actually be starved to death,
before your political measures can produce to them
the slightest alleviation of their sufferings.

With all these important, nay, vital considerations
pressing for immediate attention, I this day call upon

you, gentlemen and men of Birmingham, to do your duty to yourselves, to your country, and to the world.

Mr. CHARLES LLOYD, who was introduced to the meeting in the most handsome terms, rose to second the resolution. He had never before ventured to address a public assembly, and he felt proud that on this occasion of his first doing so, it should be to render what assistance he could in a matter of such momentous importance as that which now occupied the attention of that great meeting of his fellow-citizens. (Loud cheers.) He was glad that it had fallen to his lot to aid in bringing about a system which, after much investigation, he firmly believed was fraught with the greatest benefits to society at large. When he saw the hands of the assembly held up in favor of one of the resolutions which had been passed, he asked himself, "For what reason are we met?" To put in action a magnificent project which shall give employment to those hands, and a fair and equitable return for the labor they perform. (Loud applause.) Those of them, who yesterday attended the ministrations of divine service according to the forms of the established church, would remember that thanksgivings were offered up to Almighty God for the abundant harvest he had given us. In this he heartily joined; but he also prayed for the abundant distribution of that harvest. (Cheers.) The prospects which this superior system of exchanging and distributing wealth held forth, were of so magnificent a character, that the mind might almost shrink from its contemplation, and consider it as visionary and impracticable, did not experience, so far as it had gone, furnish incontestable evidence of its capability to effect all which had been predicted. (Hear, hear.) He trusted, that in a few months, the population of Birmingham would put to flight all doubts and quibbles on this head, by a powerful demonstration of the good which it had effected, and of the much greater good it might effect if the example were followed by other large towns. (Cheers.) There were men who presumed to say it was impracticable. Indeed! why what was it, then, which they proposed to do? Simply to bring the beef-steaks into contact with the gridirons. (Loud laughter.) Rather a difficult matter, certainly, under the present system of commerce, as many present could no doubt testify; but by the operating of the exchange, and through the medium of its superior currency, they proposed to make it perfectly easy, for they all knew that there was an abundance of both beef-steaks and gridirons. (Laughter.) For what end did the farmer come to market? To sell his agricultural produce, and take back the produce of the towns in return. For what purpose did the manufacturer and ingenious artisan produce their varied, useful, and ornamental wares? To exchange them for farm produce, and also the labor of each other. (Hear, hear.) The baker, the butcher, and green grocer did the same. The landlord also wanted his rent, to expend in the purchase of the various articles. All wanted to exchange the surplus of their various productions after supplying their own wants, for the productions of others; and the establishment of Labour Exchanges were recommended, to effect this exchange with the least delay, expense, and inconvenience to the parties. (Cheers.) But it was said there was no demand for goods, and that the bazaars would be overstocked with produce. He should like very much to know for what articles there was not a demand, if the absurd restrictions on production and exchange were removed. (Hear, hear.) Did no one present want a supply of good woollen, linen, and cotton clothing? Were there none of them in want of shoes, or hats, or, to go a step further, were all their houses well stocked with good furniture, and all the requisite domestic utensils? (No, no.) Nay—were they all supplied with a sufficient quantity of good wholesome food? (Loud cries of "No, no.") And would they not all be glad to exchange their labor for these various things? Where, then, he asked, was the want of demand? The want was of a fit and proper instrument or medium of exchange; and this would be furnished by adopting the system proposed. (Great applause.) They were now compelled to do two things before they could enjoy the fruits of their

labor; namely, first to produce the real wealth, and then to obtain the representative, money; and this latter was a hundred times more difficult than the former—nay, it was the difficulty under which society was laboring, and which it was the object of Labour Exchanges to remove. (Cheers.) From the first ages of the world, a very narrow and selfish principle had actuated all mankind; which was to benefit themselves without thinking of the welfare of their neighbor; nay, farther, even to benefit themselves at the expense of their neighbors. (Hear, hear.) The whole superstructure of what was called political economy, was based on the false notion that the aggregate happiness of a people depended on this principle being practised. They proposed, however, to explode this anti-social doctrine. (Cheers.) The people were about to send new members to Parliament, and they would find that the drawers, called political economists, would endeavor to perplex and confound the house with their theories, and declare that they were true. The people, however, would present the house with a practical demonstration of their utter falsity and absurdity, in the workings of the Labor Exchanges. (Applause.) In conclusion he would impress upon every one present, the necessity of doing all in his power, to bring about, in the shortest period, this great and salutary change. With these observations he would, with the greatest sincerity, now second the resolution. Mr. Lloyd then retired amid loud and long continued cheering.

The CHAIRMAN said he wished to make a remark or two, previously to putting the resolution. In the first place, he most cordially agreed with it. (Great applause.) He knew that society was in such a wretched state, that unless some great change took place immediately, it was utterly impossible for any man to say what would happen, the workmen were starving, and the masters were becoming bankrupts, and there was every indication of a general breaking up of the social compact. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) Although he told them in opening the business of the meeting, that he had not had an opportunity of thoroughly investigating the plans of Mr. Owen, yet, from what he had now heard, he knew enough of the system of Labour Exchanges, to say that it should have his support, and that too, for the following reasons:—First—He was quite sure they could not go on as they were. Secondly—He was convinced that the Labour Exchange, would, if properly conducted, produce great good, without the possibility of doing any injury. (Cheers.) And thirdly—either the system of Labour Exchanges would be made permanent, or it would force the government to institute a strict and impartial inquiry into the whole monetary system, with the view of adopting such a course, as should prove beneficial to the country. (Applause.) When it became known that he had consented to preside at this meeting, several people took the trouble to caution him respecting it. "Now mind," said they, "how you take part in this business. You are generally thought to be a prudent man, but if this scheme should happen not to succeed, you will get laughed at." (Laughter.) He replied, however, that these persons knew very little indeed about him, who imagined for one moment, that he cared about being laughed at. He had not lived forty years in the world, without observing that there were always plenty of fools to laugh at matters which they either could not, or would not comprehend. (Much cheering.) If these Exchanges succeeded, and he believed they had the power to make them succeed, his countrymen would be made happy, and then he should have great pleasure in seeing them all laugh. (Laughter and applause.) Mr. Muntz then put the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. W. GROVE said he had great pleasure in offering the sixth resolution to the meeting, which was as follows:—"That the first provincial branch of the 'National Equitable Labour Exchange' be now formed in Birmingham for the town and neighborhood, with an unlimited capital, to be raised in transferable shares of twenty pounds each, (divisible for the accommodation of the industrious classes into quarter shares) bearing interest at 5 per

cent. per annum, payable in exchange notes; and as soon as two thousand pounds shall be raised, the establishment shall commence."

Mr. WILLIAM PARE rose to second the resolution. They had heard from Mr. Boulton and others who had preceded him, a statement of the great distress which existed in this town, and he believed it was equally applicable to every part of the country. Was it not an anomaly that distress should exist in a land flowing with milk and honey? "Providence," said Mr. P., "blesses our plains with abundance—we have extensive and well-arranged manufactories—our warehouses are full to overflowing—our markets are glutted with wealth—our shipping is the best and most extensive in the world—we have mines rich with raw material—fine harbours, docks, rivers, canals, and roads, and in short every thing calculated to make a country wealthy and happy, including a population which is proverbially the most skilful and industrious in the world; and yet, to the disgrace of our rulers, that population is starving. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) The facilities for creating wealth had increased so prodigiously within the last half century, as would be perfectly surprising to all who had not had an opportunity of watching its progress. In the year 1792 the machinery in existence in the United Kingdom was equal to the labour of about ten millions of men; but, owing to the improvements which have been made in the steam-engine, and its application to all the leading branches of industry, together with various other mechanical and scientific arrangements, it was equal in 1827 to the labour of two hundred millions of men; and at the present time, according to the calculations of the best statistical writers, the accuracy of which has been confirmed by some of the best practical engineers, it is equal at least to the labour of about four hundred millions of active, stout, well-trained labourers in the full vigour of manhood. (Hear, hear.) In the aggregate it was scarcely possible to contemplate the extent of this amazing power, and he would therefore, state, that in one branch of manufacture alone—he meant the cotton trade—some spindles which used to revolve only fifty times in a minute, now performed six, seven, and in some cases eight thousand revolutions in the same short space of time! In one establishment alone in Manchester there were one hundred and thirty six thousand spindles kept in incessant motion by steam power, by which they were enabled to spin one million two hundred thousand miles of cotton thread per week!! By other machines much more than this quantity is woven every week into thread lace. The weekly produce of this article, when the machines are in full work, is about FOUR HUNDRED MILLIONS OF MILLS, or enough to encompass this earth one hundred and sixty times. (Hear, hear.) His friend, Mr. Owen, who for twenty-nine years had been a manufacturer, of the most extensive scale, and had constantly in his employ a population of 2,500 individuals, was in the habit of producing as much cotton yarn per day as would go twice and a half round the globe. (Hear.) Now, this amazing amount of scientific power, must have an amazing influence, either for good or for evil, on the working classes. If directed aright, it would decrease their working hours, and increase their enjoyments; but what was the fact? In all those trades to which machinery had been first applied, the very reverse had taken place. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") He had stated that the amount of scientific labour was equal to 400 millions of men, but, for the sake of argument, he would suppose there had been some great mistake made in the calculation. In short, he would take off a good round Brummagem discount, and set it down as equal only to the labour of fifty millions of men. Still it was an axiom in political economy, that every working man produced as much as five persons could consume; multiply, therefore, the fifty millions by five, and they would have for the result that the machinery in the United Kingdom was capable of producing as much wealth as could be consumed by 250 millions of persons, and yet there were not thirty millions in the whole island.

(Hear, hear.) Now, these facts alone ought to convince them that there was some mischievous error in society, and secondly to induce them to discover what that error was, and to apply the remedy. (Cheers.) The government, to whom the people very naturally looked in times of difficulty and distress, had declared repeatedly that they could not alter this state of things. They seemed to be completely bewildered, and had, on several occasions, shown by their actions and words that they were totally ignorant of the measures necessary to be taken, to place the people in a prosperous condition. It was well known, that, not long ago they had two committees of the House of Commons sitting at the same time, gravely to enquire, the one, how it was that there were too many loaves, and the other, how it was there were too many mouths. (Loud laughter.) In the session of 1829, Mr. Secretary Peel, after lamenting the state of the country, made use of these remarkable and emphatic words:—"I wish the working classes would see their own interests, and take the management of their affairs into their own hands."—Now, what Mr. Peel meant by this, he (Mr. P.) could not, of course, exactly tell, but of one thing he felt assured, and that was, that the industrious classes of the country would act upon Mr. Peel's advice to the very letter. (Great applause.) Many of their most experienced leaders, who had thoroughly studied the subject, told them that it was a monetary evil with which the country was afflicted. It was the want of money of which every one complained. Now, in this opinion the advocates of Labour Exchanges entirely agreed, and their object was, (to use a favorite phrase of their friend, Attwood) to make money grow up like grass under the cow's mouth—that was as fast as it was wanted. (Laughter and cheers.) This legitimate use of money was like that of a pair of scales, a pound weight, or a yard measure, and ought as easily to be obtained. It should be a certificate in every man's hand, stating the amount of labour or services which he had contributed to the national wealth, and entitling him at any moment to take out of the national storehouses, just as much in quantity of the labour or services of other men, though infinitely diversified in quality. (Hear, hear.) They had abundance of real wealth, so much so, that, to (use another of Attwood's expressions) they were like flies in a sugar bottle, smothered in sweets; but they were in great want of some good means of exchanging and distributing that wealth. (Fear.) Was it not strange, that after having produced the substance, they were standing still, and could not enjoy it for the want of the shadow? [Cheers.] The tailors were making abundance of clothes, but they were in want of shoes. The shoemakers were making a great surplus of shoes, but wanted the clothes, and both were obliged to wait till some man, with his money in his pocket, came to purchase one or the other of their articles. In like manner the Lancashire people were smothered in their cotton goods, and those of Leicestershire, in their hosiery, but were in want of infinite variety of articles manufactured in Birmingham and Sheffield; for instance, whilst the people of these towns knew not what to do with their masses of iron, brass, steel, and japan wares, but were in great distress for the cottons and hosiery, and what, he would ask, but the grossest ignorance, or imbecility could prevent those people from exchanging their several commodities to their mutual advantage? [Hear, hear, and loud applause.] Only let the ingenious producers of wealth, in the various cities, towns, and villages in the Empire, understand and put in practice the principles of labor Exchanges, and their miseries would be put an end to; they would banish poverty or the fear of it for ever from the land. [Cheers.] He would now very briefly reply to a few of the supposed difficulties of objections attending the proposed plan. It was said that it would be a monopoly: granted, but then, it would be a monopoly in which every individual in the Empire might partake if he pleased. [Laughter.] "But," said some "what is the use of your labour notes which are given in exchange for the articles taken to your

bazaar?"—The simple reply to that was, that the holder could purchase with them whatever was in the exchange. But, it might be said, what if there were not anything in the exchange which the holder of the notes happen to want? Why then experience proved that he could go to a great number of shops, where they would be glad to receive them as money. As fast as the shopkeepers, farmers, &c. got aware of the security of the notes, that was, that they were never issued but when real property was deposited, they took them as freely as gold and silver. This was now being done to a great extent in London, where they were received even for rent and tolls, and several persons had announced that they should have no objection to receive them for tithes, and he (Mr. P.) wished they might get them. (Loud laughter and cheers.) In Birmingham, the provisional committee on this subject had received proffers from various tradesmen in the town to receive the notes which might be issued from the branch establishment they were that day about to form. For instance, a considerable iron and steel merchant had offered to take them for his commodities, including not only the raw materials, but a great variety of tools, &c. (Cheers.) A landlord too, of a great number of houses called on him yesterday, but not being able to meet with him (Mr. P.) he left a note stating that he would take a twenty-pound share in the establishment, and take the notes in payment of rent. (Vehement applause.) They would also be taken in exchange for law and physic, and he had no doubt they might soon add, and for divinity too. (Loud laughter.) Mr. Pare here read over a list of trades in which the labour notes would circulate as money, and then proceeded to notice some other objections. It had been asked him how the unemployed and the very indigent could be assisted by this system? The reply to this, was, that it would be the interest of the overseers to purchase some of the exchange notes and advance them to men who were able and willing to work, but could not find employment. With these notes they might procure raw material to work up and take to the exchange, and by this means be ultimately fully employed. (Cheers.) But it was asked, "who is to have the management of this exchange?" He replied, whoever they pleased.—When the institution was ready to commence the shareholders would be called together for the purpose of electing their officers by ballot. (Cheers.) Let none expect too much at once; the system was capable of conferring the greatest benefits, but its advocates did not pretend that it would work miracles. Its success depended entirely upon the people themselves, they had it now in their power to bring about general prosperity, and if they refused or neglected to do it, they had only themselves to blame. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion he would exhort them to proclaim with one unanimous voice, in the language of Mr. Owen, "we will govern this country prosperously, or render it incumbent on the government to set about doing so in right earnest." (Loud applause.)

The resolution having been put and carried unanimously, Mr. JOHN RABONE moved the next resolution. The workmen of England were, if they would allow him the expression, in a deep pit, and unless such men as Mr. Owen, and Mr. Muntz came forward, there he feared they must remain. (Cheers.) The people were eagerly looking forward to some great measures which the reformed Parliament should enact, to drive away their distress; but unless some such plan as that now recommended to them were adopted, no reduction of taxation, or free trade would give them any permanent and lasting relief. (Hear, hear.) Many of them who called themselves reformers would lament the condition in which the people were unhappily placed, and tell them they would see what could be done for them. They would then go to the political economists who would take good care that very little should be done for the millions. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Rabone), had examined the subject of Labor Exchanges for some time past, and he must say that in his opinion, it was the only plan which had been brought forward which was calculated to

benefit the industrious classes without injuring any others. (Cheers.) It would benefit all classes, though perhaps not in their present occupations, but none had any occasion to fear its operations, for all would be placed in far better situations than at present. (Applause.) The present state of society tends to the formation of only two classes, the very rich and the very poor, and because Mr. Owen proposed to alter this state of things he was called a madman. (Hear, hear.) All he (Mr. R.) could say was, that if he were mad, his madness was of that positive, practical, and benevolent nature, that the sooner some thousands of his countrymen imbibed the madness, the better. (Loud applause.)

Mr. OWEN said, that he had been asked by a gentleman near him, to explain two points connected with the Labor Exchange, which he had much pleasure in doing. The first was that "supposing a panic should be created in the public mind as to the insecurity of the Exchange notes, what would be the effect of a run upon the bank?" His reply was, that the bank would be glad to have a constant run upon it, for it would be the best thing for all parties. The notes being all brought in, the produce would of course be all taken out, and thus a new demand for goods would take place. (Laughter and cheers.) The other question was, "How were the profits if any, to be applied?" and to this he replied, that after the expenses of the establishment and the interest on the original sums subscribed were paid, all the overplus would go to provide employment for the working classes, to give a good practical education to their children, and to make a provision for old age. (Loud cheering.)

The resolution was then seconded by Mr. Harlow, and carried unanimously.

EDITORIAL.

LONDON, DECEMBER 15, 1832.

PROGRESS IN BIRMINGHAM;

And Notice regarding anonymous Complaints.

CONCEIVING that the most interesting details we can furnish to our readers at the present moment, are those connected with the Labor Exchange System, we give place to the following extracts from a private letter received from Mr. Pare of Birmingham, a gentleman who has more especially interested and exerted himself in the cause in that town.

After giving some business details unimportant to the public, Mr. Pare proceeds:

"You will perceive by the placards, &c., sent herewith, that we have not been idle in the Exchange business; quite the contrary, I assure you. We are agitating the whole town in every nook and corner. The different Trades Unions, which we are meeting every night, are taking the matter up with spirit; and, being already organized, they are capable of doing us great good.

"The plan they propose to pursue is this. Having had the system of Labour Exchange pretty fully developed to each particular trade, by some of our Committee, it is resolved that each shop shall elect one of their own number to form a committee; this committee elect two from their body, to form with a like number from each other trade, a grand Union Committee of Trades. This latter Committee will be in constant communication with the managers of the Exchange; and, when any important communication is to be made, or any idle or false rumour to be contradicted, the two delegates from each trade assemble the general Committee of their respective trade, and give them the requisite instructions, and thus, on the following morning, it is known throughout the whole body of workmen. I conceive it to be of the utmost importance to cherish these Trade Unions. Only convince these fine hearted men that

our plan will really do them good, and you have an army on your side at once.

"When you return to Birmingham, we will have a meeting of all these Committees, who, of course, will be the very *élite* of their class, and you must address them. Already, they are so well pleased, that when you hold another great public meeting in Birmingham, they declare they will honor you by getting up a grand procession with their new and beautiful flags, banners, &c. All this will, of course, favor our cause, because it tends to form and consolidate a public opinion, which I believe, will shortly become irresistible in our favor.

"There is another affair connected with these said Unions; they are connected all over the country; and if we convince those here, of the utility of our plans, which I am confident we shall do, they will give you an excellent introduction to the other towns which you purpose visiting. We have attended two meetings already, the Carpenters' and Masons', and have cleared many difficulties which they at first had to the system, from ignorance, of course. They expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with our explanations, and determined to do all in their power to assist in carrying all our plans into full execution.

"We had a very crowded meeting last night at the Public Office, which was most satisfactory. I applied myself almost entirely, to replying to the various complaints which have been made from time to time, against the Exchange in Gray's Inn Road, not omitting that virulent and foolish attack made upon it by the anonymous J. B., in the Poor Man's Guardian of last week. By the way, I think it is not creditable to any public paper, to admit complaints of this nature, unless the real name, date, &c., are given. I trust to your making a reply to this said J. B. in the Crisis this week, as all the Birmingham people fully expect it, and it will injure us much, if no reply be made. Do, if possible, sift this matter to the bottom. Call upon the writer to give up his own name and that of the depositor, the name of the articles he speaks of, the date, &c., &c. These little nasty attacks do more harm in the country than you may suspect, and every thing should be done to counteract them."

Our readers are aware that we have not replied to the anonymous writer alluded to; and they may have guessed the reason. If they have not, we state it now. Whenever any definite complaint is made, names and circumstances given, we shall use our best endeavors to investigate the matter, correct the statement if erroneous, or admit if true: and we pledge ourselves that the abuse, if any exist, shall be reformed. But when a J. B. or any other anonymous fault finder, complains that a certain person deposited a certain article, at a certain time, (specifying neither person, deposit, nor date) to the price of which article was added one hundred per cent. commission, instead of eight and a third: we reply, that the express instructions to our valuers are, to add the commission of eight and a third per cent. only*; that they have not the shadow of an interest to depart from these instructions; that we firmly believe they never have knowingly departed from them; and that, if, by inadvertence, they have made any error in calculating the per centage or labelling the articles, such

* The only deviation from this, if deviation it can be called, is, when the price of the article, with commission added amounts to any sum with an odd halfpenny, (or rather twelfth of an hour.) As we have no note smaller than a sixth, we have to add the odd twelfth to the price.

an error has always been corrected the moment it was pointed out. We further say, that whenever any one affords us an opportunity to detect such inadvertent errors, we esteem it a kindness done to us and a service to the cause. But when no clue is furnished by which to get at the transaction, nor any name subscribed by which to trace the complaint, then we consider the anonymous abuse neither useful to the cause of truth, nor creditable to the individual who indulges in it; neither conducive to improvement nor deserving of reply.

We suggest to our cotemporaries of the Guardian, the propriety of requiring, in all such cases as the above, the names, dates, and particulars. Either the complaint is just and can be substantiated, or unjust and cannot. If just, it is their duty to the public to see it substantiated, that honest men may be no longer deceived; if unjust, they are giving currency to a falsehood. In either case, by circulating mere loose assertions, they are neglecting their duty to their readers; before whom the statement, if true, should be proved, and if untrue retracted.

We state this, in no unfriendly feeling to the editors of the Guardian, nor as complaining that they are less fair than the great majority of their cotemporaries. But, as reformers, they ought not to be content to sin as their neighbors sin. They ought to do, not that which is common but that which is right.

R. D. O.

Mr. Pare continues:

"The Committee met last night to report progress, we found we had about 400*l.* worth of money shares taken, although we have not yet asked a single individual, and most of our Committee have not yet entered their names. A gentleman called at the office this morning, and put down his name for 100*l.* or five shares, and we are going on altogether exceedingly well. We have now determined to make a canvass among the manufacturers, &c., for shares, within the next week. It is being talked of in every company, and more correct opinions are getting afloat. We had last night three different public meetings in various parts of the town, and shall have two every night this week.

"You must not think of going to Liverpool without coming through Birmingham and staying with us a few days. I have more to say, but find it is high time for me to be off to a meeting of the Tailors, to explain the system to them. Depend upon it we will revolutionise this town before the winter is out, or I am sadly mistaken."

WINTER LECTURES.

It is with pleasure I state to our friends, that they will have an opportunity of attending a regular course of scientific lectures at our Institution, throughout the winter. My brother David Dale Owen, whose time for some years past, has been chiefly devoted to science, and my friend Mr. Rogers, for some years professor of Chemistry in one of the Pennsylvania Colleges, intend delivering, throughout the winter months, alternate lectures, chiefly on chemistry and geology; the whole forming a familiar and practical course.

I know that the lecturers do not want for zeal, nor, so far as I can judge, for ability, in prosecution of their task. Mr. Saull, to whom we are already indebted for a course of geological lectures in

aid of the funds of the Social Missionary Society, has kindly offered the use of specimens from his extensive geological cabinet.

Science, no less than law and theology, has hitherto had her mysteries, and her abstractions, and her learned technicalities. Her truths have been usually shrouded from view, either wilfully or ignorantly, by those who have professed to explain them, and even in these antiquated forms so devoutly told, that a plain man had little chance to comprehend, or a poor man to purchase them. Years of abstruse study, and hundreds of pounds were the only passports even in into the vestibule of science's temple. The Mechanics' Institutes of modern days have, in a measure, broken through this most injurious of monopolies, and permitted the laboring man to cultivate his mind as well as to exert his body: but even in these excellent institutions we find evidence how difficult it is at once to reform a long-standing abuse. Even the scientific language too often retains its obscurity, and scientific details, their theoretical and useless character.

It will be the endeavor of our lecturers, to illustrate, in the simplest language, those portions of science which are of practicable application in every day life, as well as those which tend to give the mind extended views of nature, and compact ideas of the multiform phenomena that surround us.

R. D. O.

DEPTFORD MEETING.

The third public meeting, held last Monday evening, at the Mechanics Institution, Deptford, was crowded to overflowing; the results most satisfactory: a variety of questions being asked, replies made, and finally a committee appointed to consider the propriety of establishing a Hunch Exchange in that neighbourhood.

SCIENTIFIC LECTURES. There will be three lectures on scientific subjects next week; on Monday, at 7 o'clock, by Mr. DAVID DALE OWEN on chemistry; on Tuesday at half past 7, by Mr. SAULL on Geology; on Wednesday at 7, by Mr. ROGERS on Chemistry; all in the large lecture room as heretofore.

DEBATE. An application having been made to us to allow the use of our Lecture room for the County Election, and it being likely that an agreement will be made to that effect, there will, in that case, be no debate next Thursday: but of this due notice will be given at the meeting tomorrow evening.

FESTIVAL. Our next Festival will be held on the 26th Instant; particulars next week.

FOOD FOR THE MIND.

Just published, Price two-pence,

A LECTURE on the SIGNS of the TIMES, delivered in the Great Lecture Room of Robert Owen's Institution, Gray's Inn Road, on the morning of November 18, 1838. Printed by a party of gentlemen, from the recollections of THOMAS MACCONNELL, Lecturer.

Eatonson, 15, Chichester place, Gray's Inn Road; Strange, Paternoster Row; Berger, Holywell Street; and Purkiss, Wardour Street.

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THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"If we cannot yet reconcile all opinions, let us now endeavour to unite all hearts."

VOL. I. No. 42]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN & ROBERT DALE OWEN.—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

WEEKLY PROCEEDINGS.

Last Sunday Mr. Macconnell delivered a lecture in the morning and Mr. Owen in the evening, as usual. The lectures on scientific subjects announced for Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, were attended by a continually increasing auditory.

In consequence of the interest excited by these lectures, it was suggested that it might be agreeable to a majority of our friends that the Sunday morning lecture should partake of a similar character. A proposition to this effect was accordingly made at the meeting last Sunday evening; and a show of hands was required to decide whether the Sunday morning lectures should retain their present general character, or whether they should embrace a course of Physical Geography, including a review of the great divisions &c. of the earth. About eight or ten hands were held up for the former proposition, and some hundreds for the latter. The lectures on Sunday morning will, therefore, be modified accordingly. See editorial notice.

EDITORIAL.

LONDON, DECEMBER 22, 1832.

SUNDAY MORNING LECTURES.
On the Earth, its Productions, Phenomena and Inhabitants.

In consequence of a resolution passed at our meeting last Sunday evening, the particulars of which will be found under our weekly proceedings, I have determined to commence tomorrow morning a course of lectures on Physical Geography; that is, (for I employ the term in its most extended sense) I purpose, assuming the earth as a text book, to take a general review as well of its great natural divisions, its climates, its productions, and its principal phenomena, as to advert to the physical character, the manners, customs, and incidentally to the general history of its inhabitants; more especially in as far as these subjects are connected with man's gradual progress from ignorance and barbarism to a better and a happier state of things.

I have not, unfortunately, much time to devote to the preparation of these lectures; they will be, in consequence, more general and desultory, than, had I more leisure at my command, I should incline to make them. But they shall at least be of a simple and familiar character; and I am in hopes they may furnish occasion for the inculcation of some important truths, which are then perhaps best introduced, when introduced indirectly.

It is useful to bear in mind, that correct judgments can only then be formed when accurate facts are before the mind; and that he who furnishes such facts is supplying the raw material from which,

and from which alone, enlightened views on general subjects can be formed. We must know what men and the world are, and have been, before we can decide with accuracy what are the causes of evil and misery, and what the sources of virtue and happiness—before we can hope effectually to aid in removing the one and multiplying the other.

The lectures will commence at eleven for half past eleven precisely; and I hope to continue them throughout the winter.

R. D. O.

OPINIONS ON A COMMUNITY OF PROPERTY.

UNDER the above title we find the following paragraph in the columns of last week's Poor Man's Guardian.

"Numbers of persons imagine that the idea of a 'community of property' has originated with Robert Owen, the benevolent founder of the Institution in Gray's Inn Road. This is a great error. The fact is, the doctrine of a community of wealth is almost as old as the world. Every benevolent reformer, of every age and country, of which we have any records, was in heart an 'Owenite,' in the 'property' sense of the word. Minos, Plato, and Lycurgus were advocates of the social state. They discouraged usury, deprecated individualized interests, and, (as far as institutions permitted) endeavored to remodel society upon the co-operative system. Pythagoras and Socrates were also of this class; for though the former infused a deal of mysticism into his doctrine, the ignorance of the age required it, there being, in those superstitious days, no means of gaining the poorer classes, but by their credulity and love of the marvellous.

"In later times, we find Montesquieu, Mably, and our own famous Lord Chancellor, More, attached to these doctrines, though (owing to what the Aristocracy call their 'dangerous tendency,') somewhat more covertly. More's Utopia is just such a book as we should expect from an unfinished Owenite. Mably asserts that a community of wealth and services, is the only order of things compatible with the true end of society—GENERAL HAPPINESS. According to him, 'All the evils which afflict human society being the effects of avarice and ambition, the whole business of politics resolves itself into the art of effectually subduing these passions. Avarice cannot be stifled except by community of property. This would destroy the spirit of individual accumulation, and, at the same time, by diminishing the attractions of power, prove a firm bulwark against ambition, which ought to be retrained by new manners and institutions.'—Translated from *Principes de Législation*.

This is true. This idea, like almost every other

important general idea, has been floating about in the world for centuries. So has it also been with the abstract principle, that man is not what he makes himself, but what he is made to be; that he is the result of the influences that have gradually but certainly and necessarily created, developed, and modified throughout a lifetime, his character. Even as early as the first date of Christianity, this truth seems to have occurred, vaguely it is true, to some of those whose compiled writings have since been called the New Testament. We read:—"What hast thou that thou hast not received. Now, if thou hast received it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?" We read of man likened to the clay, and the Creating Power to the potter; and of one vessel created to honor, and another to dishonor.

In the lapse of centuries, the same idea was taken up more definitely, its consequences more distinctly adverted to, and its importance more duly estimated. Hobbes, in his "Leviathan," I believe, states the naked principle with accuracy, likening the necessity of man to become, in every instance, what we see him, to the necessity of water, when allowed to flow freely, finding its own level. Priestly, during the last century, devoted a treatise (entitled "Philosophical Necessity") to the discussion of the subject. He seems to have had a pretty clear idea, too, of its paramount importance in practice. In the preface to that work he says*: "So vitally important do I consider this great principle to be, that (I desire to say it with the least possible offence) it seems to me it will always constitute the dividing test between the enlightened and the unenlightened portion of mankind; between those who take wise and just views of their species and of society, and those who adhere to old and injurious prejudices."

But it is not enough to distinguish abstract

* I quote from memory, but I have given the exact sense, though not the precise words of the author.

principles. These are matters of mere curious interest, until they are not only acknowledged in theory but proposed for practice; until they issue from the closet of the philosopher, into the theatre of the world; until men are found to shew what modification in the social system of the world must be made, and how it must be made, before these great principles can essentially benefit mankind; before they can become incorporated in the constitution of society, and exert their benign influence over the destiny of mankind.

It is the characteristic of the present age, to look at all sciences, moral and physical, with a practical eye; to enquire, not so much what is learnedly curious in these, as what is actually useful. In former times, even the exact sciences, as they are called, were veiled in mystery and scarcely permitted to emerge from the few and privileged laboratories and observatories and experimental workshops of the closet sages, with whom chemistry savored of alchemy, astronomy of astrology, and all even the simplest sciences, of the mystic and but half awakened spirit of the age. The truths of science were thought too sacred for the unhallowed gaze of the multitude, or the vulgar uses of actual production or domestic life. In the following stanza, a modern poet happily hits off the characteristic, not of the sages of Thebes and Memphis only, but that of almost all the learned philosophers of antiquity:

The wise men of Egypt were secret as dummies,
And even when they most condescended to teach,
They packed up their meaning, as they did their mummies,

In so many wrappers 'twas out of one's reach.

Thus, though it be curious and interesting to trace back to their earliest and faintest outshadings, the great principles which in our day have been combined into proposals such as men of business can examine, and the mass of society can profit by, we must not forget, that little or nothing is actually effected until these truths can be brought down as it were, from heaven to earth; can be made to enter into men's daily life and conversation, to mould their political institutions, to color the tone of their feelings and language, and to chalk out every, even the minor details of legislation and of social life.

If this paper and its conductors have been, or shall be, instrumental in aiding to effect an object so vitally important, it may be matter of interesting research, but certainly not of practical moment, to determine who first vaguely sketched out the great principles that shall ultimately regenerate the world; who scattered the few original seeds that are now growing up to a spreading tree whose branches shall afford shelter and protection not to the present only, but to all succeeding generations.

R. D. O.

WEST INDIAN SLAVERY.

It is among the encouraging signs of the times, that the question of colonial slavery, is one which is exciting much interest, not only, as it used, among a few philanthropists, but among the mass of the people.

There are two sides to almost every question; and more especially, perhaps, two sides to this. It is true, as has often been said, that the slaves of the West Indies are, many of them, much more comfortable in their circumstances, are much better fed, and better clothed, and better cared for, than is our own manufacturing population: but it is no less true, that, even among those whom we might imagine too callously ignorant to regard a great principle, or to writhe under an odious name—that even among the slaves themselves, there is often a deep and a bitter sense of their own degradation. That this is true, in individual instances at least, the following authentic narrative may suffice in proof:—

THE SLAVE,

BY ROBERT DALE OWEN.

Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still Slavery! still thou art a bitter draught! And though thousands in all ages have been made to drink of thee, thou art not the less bitter on that account.—*Sterne*.

In the fertile and pleasant island of Martinique, there lived, about thirty years ago, a rich planter, named Monsieur Haima. Possessed of a princely fortune, gifted with a polished address, and a mild and friendly character, he was one of the most popular and influential colonists on the island. His plantations were numerous and flourishing, and he was the master of many hundred slaves, whom he usually treated with humanity and gentleness.

To one of these, a young coloured man, he accorded the most implicit confidence. Antoine (for that was his name) was a slave in nothing but the name. He had but to express a wish, and it was gratified. His master made him general overseer of his property, and manager of his affairs; and Antoine might be seen mounted on a superb charger, with silver bit and spurs, the adopted son, it seemed, rather than the servant, of the opulent planter.

M. Haima's possessions consisted, besides his landed property and slaves, in large droves of mules, and numerous herds of oxen. He had been for a long period fortunate in his stock, which increased year by year. At last a mortality appeared among his mules, and he lost a considerable number both of these and of oxen. A few of his negroes, too, died suddenly, and the nature of the disease which carried them off did not appear to be understood.

The next year the mortality continued apparently with increasing virulence. The negroes died in numbers, and among the rest the parents and most of the relations of Antoine, fell victims to an unknown disorder. The ablest physicians on the island were consulted, and several of them gave it as their opinion, that the mortality was caused by poison.

The third year it raged to a frightful extent. Men, women, and children, as well as cattle of every kind, died daily, until this mysterious calamity seemed to threaten M. Haima with the loss of his entire property. The symptoms of poison were now too evident to be mistaken; but who could have conceived and executed so frightful a revenge remained unknown, and even unsuspected. M. Haima had always lived on the most friendly terms with his neighbors; scarcely any man had made fewer enemies than he; and no one could imagine the cause of an animosity so persevering and so fatal.

One day, when the mortality was at its height, several friends of M. Haima's called to consult and condole with him. "Let me advise you," said one of them, "to apply to the sorceress who lives at the foot of the mountains."

"What!" said Haima in surprise, "old Catiche! You surely do not suspect me of lending credit to the foolish stories which are circulated and believed among the slaves, of her supernatural powers?"

"By no means. But a character like her's is seldom acquired without some foundation. Do not imagine that I give her more credit than yourself for powers of witchcraft. But for shrewdness and sagacity, I do give her credit. By her spies or otherwise, she obtains information regarding even the most secret doings of her neighbors; scarce a whisper can be spoken but it comes to her ears; and if any one can inform you who is your secret enemy, it is old Catiche."

Haima recurred next day to his friend's advice. "I shall be a beggar," thought he, "if this mysterious mortality continue much longer. And, after all, a wise man may profit even by the superstitions of fools. At all events, I cannot lose much by the trial." So he mounted his horse, and rode unattended to the hut of the sorceress.

She sat in its furthest corner, muffled in a huge blanket, and muttering unintelligibly to herself; and did not, by word or gesture, intimate her recognition of the planter as he entered. He seated himself by her, and enquired if she could throw any light on the cause of his late misfortunes.

"How should I?" returned the hag in her sharpest key. "How should a poor old creature like me know any thing of such dangers?"

Haima repressed his impatience while he replied: "I do not suppose as much. So, Catiche, that you have other means to obtain information than any one else might have, with the same acquaintance and opportunity. But you do get to know almost every thing that passes in the island."

"And if I cannot speak with spirits, why do you come to me, when you have your own eyes and ears, and can use them as well as I can?"

The planter was little accustomed to be teased or contradicted; but this was not a moment to resent the old woman's peculiar temper. He drew a couple of gold pieces from his pocket, and as he put them in her withered hand, he said: "Catiche, I have not time to argue with you. Tell me, if you can tell me, who it is that poisons my slaves and my cattle."

The old woman looked at the gold, cast a searching glance round the room, and then, approaching her lips close to the planter's ear, she pronounced in a low whisper, the name of—"Antoine!"

"How!" said Haima, out of all patience, "him whom I have treated as a son and loaded with benefits! You rave.—What are your proofs?"

But Catiche remained obstinately silent; and not another word could the planter draw from her. So he was forced to take his leave, very little satisfied with his visit.

"I told you how it was," he replied to his friend's enquiry regarding his success. "The old fool knows nothing of the matter; and, out of envy, for aught I know, or for want of some one else to accuse, she lays the blame on poor Antoine. But I merited no better answer for my folly, in going to consult a sorceress."

"Be advised," rejoined his friend. "Catiche is well informed regarding all that passes on our plantations; and she would not hazard such an assertion without good reason. You have unlimited confidence in Antoine, but see that 'it is not misplaced; he has opportunity enough, if he be so disposed, to do you this injury."

"But how should he be so disposed? I have shown him more favor than to any one else on the plantation. He has whatever he asks or wishes for. Interest, if not gratitude, would make him regard my welfare as his own."

"Well," said his friend, "do not trust too much to probabilities. Order Antoine to be seized; tell him that all his villainy is discovered, and see how he will conduct himself."

M. Haima was exceedingly loth to agree to a

proposal which seemed to cast an unjust imputation on his favorite; but at last his friend's repeated representations induced him to adopt it.

Antoine was manacled and brought before him. He uttered no word of complaint; yet neither did he evince any signs of trepidation or guilt. His master already began to repent the course he had adopted; and as he looked on Antoine's steady eye and collected demeanour, he found no little difficulty in acting the part he had so unwillingly consented to assume.

"It is you, then," at last he said, "who have been my secret enemy, who have wantonly destroyed my property, and all but effected my ruin?"

"I, Monsieur Haima?"

"Yes you. Disguise is no longer necessary. All your plots are discovered. Every thing is known to me, except the motive that could have induced one on whom I had conferred such benefits, to act the serpent towards his protector and benefactor."

Antoine was silent; but a slight, scarcely perceptible, yet contemptuous curl of the upper lip, aroused his master's suspicions, and determined him to follow up the examination in a similar tone.

"I treated you with the care and the confidence of a father. I distinguished you above all your companions; and you have abused my favor—repaid my kindness with the blackest treachery. You have plotted, and but too successfully effected, a revenge, such as the cruellest mind conceives against its bitterest enemy."

Antoine still remained silent, but the kindling, almost exulting expression of his eye, confirmed all Haima's surmises.

"Antoine," he continued with increasing emotion, "have I merited this at your hands? Have I given cause for such deadly revenge? Interest, if not gratitude, might surely have secured your fidelity. What was wanting to your comfort and happiness? Say! what could you wish for, that you did not possess?"

"My liberty!" said the African, in a tone of mingled pride and bitterness.

"And did I not grant you, more than every thing which liberty could have afforded you?"

"I was your slave!" And Antoine drew up his tall and handsome form to its full height, and clenched the manacles that bound his hands, as if he would crush the iron chain in his grasp.

"Wretched man!" said his master, as a conviction of the truth at last settled on his mind. "These, then, were your motives! But your own father and mother—your nearest relations?"

"Have I not poisoned them, I should myself have been suspected."

"Good God!" exclaimed the planter. "And this is the man I had treated as my own child, and to whom I had confided all I possess?"

"He was but a part of your property," said the slave with a scornful smile.

"Do you feel no compunction—no remorse for the multiplied and ungrateful crimes you have committed?"

"None."

"Have I ever given you the shadow of a cause to complain of my conduct towards you?"

"Never."

Antoine was forthwith conducted to prison, tried, and executed. He died tranquilly.

Haima's fellow-planters, as the story circulated among them, moralised on the danger of evincing partiality to a slave; and bade their overseers double their vigilance and increase their severity. While the philosopher and the friend of freedom thence deduced, with greater reason, a striking argument against slavery itself, be its form or disguise what it may.

I have not related a tale of fancy. I hold the above facts from a French gentleman, who resided on the island at the time they happened, who was personally acquainted with M. Haima, and who had seen the high spirited and misguided Antoine, in the height of that favor and prosperity, which could not weigh with him against the name of—
SLAVE.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

THE following is an extract from a lecture by Mr. Macconnell, just published under the above title, and advertised in last week's Crisis.

Having descanted on the leading characteristics of the age, let us attend to the things of which these signs are symptomatic. As all these signs which we have noticed refer to the mind, they shew, first, that there is something good, and noble, and sound, in the human mind after all, be that mind whatever it may, and be it wherever it be. Degradation is its accident not its element. To descend, is not the law of its nature, but that if bad circumstances send it downwards, it will be only, that by its own innate and recuperative energy, it may again bound aloft, and demonstrate its fibre, elasticity, and elementary fire. Whoever puts chains upon it, is only giving it the opportunity of shewing its strength, by snapping them asunder; and whoever tyrannizes over it, is only giving it room to shew that he cannot do this without its leave, and that it is the slave which makes the tyrant, by obeying, and the free man that destroys the tyrant, by rebellion. How noble did it show itself in the French, on the three memorable days of July, when they struck a blow on their chain which sounded through the world, and by breaking which, they caused other nations to feel their common nature ennobled by an exploit, in the achievement of which, they had no participation whatever! These signs of the times, Gentlemen, shows that in the outward animal shell of man, there is the fine, the sweet, intellectual kernel, and that the shell only requires to be broken to show us its contents. This inspires us with hope in the redemption of mankind, and causes our spirit to stand erect, more than all the victories which our naval and military heroes have gained in battle.

Such, then, is our experience from the sign of the times with regard to the mind of man, that although it is bowed down by oppression, degraded by ignorance, shackled by superstition, corroded by care, and consumed by anxiety, that there is untouched, undeteriorated goodness in a faculty, which when free, enlightened and excited, is ever on the wing for information; which having courted acquaintance with all, above, around, and beneath, finds the universe itself too narrow for the full play of its faculties, and looks forward with eagerness to an anticipated futurity, which it believes can alone afford an adequate scope for the complete expansion of its godlike powers!

Secondly. The present perplexity and troubles of society, convince us that yet society is unacquainted with the real cause of its difficulties and calamities, which plant pangs in the bosom, draw tears from the eye, and sometimes fetch blood from the heart. If the root of the mischief had been discovered, such a variety of clashing opinions upon it, could not have existed so long; and if the disease had been understood, the remedies applied would not have failed in unseating it. But they have notoriously failed, and cannot pay sixpence in the pound of their debts, to their creditors. That the disease is inseparable from a state of society that is the lot and doom of humanity, is so heavy and so melancholy, that we cannot believe it without evidence as luminous as light and as clear as crystal. This evidence cannot be given, till every attributed cause has been investigated, and every prescribed remedy applied. Competition as the cause, and community as the cure of evil, have not yet been investigated and brought to bear; till this has been done, let no man say that the cause of all the perplexities of societies is the depravity of human nature, which neither education, nor law, nor religion, nor example, can cure! Let no man preach the heart-withering doctrine, that our only resource is submission to the lot and doom of society, and that we must contentedly bear evils, which our reason tells us ought not to exist. Let competition be destroyed, and let community take its place, and then let us see whether men cannot live as contented and peaceable as fishes do in the

sea, birds in the air, and beasts upon the earth, a thing which they have not yet done!

Thirdly. These signs of the times are symptomatic, that the days for naval and military heroes are gone by; for the people into whose hands power is now got, will no longer be such simpletons, as to spend their money, or to let others spend it in wars, which would destroy both their property and power; or to go for sailors or soldiers. The people who perceive that they have no interest in war, and never had any, will not fight against their own interest; and especially when they will always be able to settle their matters without a battle, reason and intelligence will take and keep the place of brute force. A long day it is true military renown has had of it, but that day is over. The shadows of evening are gathering around its head, and it will soon be in the night, a night we hope without a morning, a death without a resurrection.

Physical force must now be abandoned and public opinion must be the only sword which hangs on the thigh, or is wielded by the strong arm of humanity. It is a sheer steel weapon, and may be whetted to the sharpest edge, and ground to the finest point; and must always prove victorious in every struggle. It does not merely secure the defeat of its enemies, but their destruction; and whoever will not bend to it, will be broken by it. It has recently fought and beat the Duke of Wellington—the conqueror of Junot, Marmont, Massena, Souchet, Soult, Ney, and even Napoleon himself! It has bloodlessly beat the whole of the boroughmongers, and sent down all the rotten boroughs into the place for all rotten things—the grave; where they are buried, not in sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection, but in the persuasion that they will never more rise again, to solace the Tories or annoy the Whigs. It has done for Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, and such places, in securing their representation in parliament, what can never be undone. It has done the same for the Roman Catholics. It has destroyed the Corporation and Test acts. It will destroy West Indian and all other slavery, it will do away with a standing army; and it is worthy of observation, that whatever reason, in the shape of public opinion destroys, is destroyed for ever; whereas whatever is destroyed is destroyed by the whirlwind of passion may rise again, when the storm is spent, and a calm succeeds. I shall never forget the august image which public opinion assumed when the ex-king of France was hanging round the shores of Portsmouth, after he had fled from Paris; and the authorities of Portsmouth, on account of public opinion, durst not let the wretched but illustrious fugitive land! I was there at the time, and much struck I was with the fact that a descendant of the ancient house of Bourbon, whom we had placed on the throne of France at an enormous expenditure of life and property (and yet such was the force of public opinion, that the authorities of the court, and authorities naturally sympathise with authorities) durst not let a king of France do that which would not have been denied to the meanest of his subjects. Men are now past being ruled by physical force.

Fourthly. The signs of the times are symptomatic of approaching republics in all free countries; and from them to all enslaved ones. When the people of this country are faithfully represented in Parliament, and they will be so in a Reformed Parliament, or else that Parliament must be reformed, they will have a republic in reality, though they may have a mixed government in form. Hereditary rulers and hereditary legislators will be necessitated in and contest with the gigantic might of representative power to yield; and if they uniformly acquiesce, it is more than probable they will not be thought by the country worth the expence which it costs. Cheapness is a consideration now in government, as well as it is in every other commodity. Every thing will be weighed in the balances of utility, in which a spade will weigh heavier than a sceptre; and the success and example of the United States of America, will be continually look-

ed to as a land mark for every vessel of state which is tossed upon the restless ocean of European politics.

Fifthly. Symptoms of the death warrants of all monopolies, chartered companies, and corporations, appear in the signs which are now hung out in the political sky. Catholic Emancipation broke up the protestant monopoly of state emoluments and honours. The Reform Bill, broke up the monopoly of Boroughmongers. A renewal of the charter of the Bank of England, if it is procured, will be obtained as water is obtained from a sponge, and fire from flint, by pressure and striking. The devout monopoly of church property by those whose time should be employed in laying up treasures in heaven, is threatened, and a distribution anticipated and talked of. When the charter of the East India Company comes before the public, it must be decided upon, according to its merits; and the whole fry of little corporations scattered throughout the kingdom, must yield to the strong spirit of the age, and in time, and by degrees, be broken up. These all, are so many little islands, around which the high-waters of public opinion are beginning to roll and beat, and under whose billows they will be a sepulchre. A monopoly of the soil of the land-owners of this country, is beginning to be agitated and questioned; and Mr. Cobbett has just said, that if he gets into parliament, and I sincerely hope that he will, the right of exclusive proprietorship to land shall be investigated, discussed, and decided.

Finally. The signs of the Times are symptomatic of a great change for the better in the minds and condition of mankind. Out of the chaos of conflicting opinions in society on almost all subjects, which chaos is every day becoming more chaotic, what creation of order, harmony and beauty can possibly arise? To this we reply, that evil frequently corrects itself and works its own antidote; and that this increasingly huge heap of conflicting opinions, will at length weary men and induce them to abandon subjects of endless wrangle and fruitless controversy, about which they have been debating hundreds of years without coming to any conclusion, and which if they were to go on for hundred of years longer, would be as far from any satisfactory termination as they are now. The mind will become weary of labouring in vain, especially when science is inviting it to labor to purpose. Men will, as they have now full liberty to express their opinions, see in the bewildering variety and confusing contradiction of their opinions on the same topics, that these topics are useless topics; that upon them "they are spending their strength for that which is not bread, and their labor for that which satisfieth not," while the golden sands of life are fast running out, and matters upon which they would agree, are neglected to attend to those on which they will eternally differ. Men, thus wearied and sickened with jarring opinions upon abstract subjects, which opinions will one day be seen, as the great ashes heap of the world, which should be carted to the verge of the universe, and shot into the immensity of space, will settle down upon universal matters of fact, which they now neglect, and upon which they will of necessity agree. By the clear and steady light of universal fact, they will be gradually led to truth, and having once felt the solidity of facts, and trusted the sweetness of unanimity of sentiment, and realized the advantages of union in practice, they will desist from making excursions into regions of unsearchable darkness; and no longer covet to skirt along the margin of unfathomable depths. The empire of fancy, Gentlemen, will be contracted, and knowledge enlarged; knowledge will take the place of faith, and facts the precedence of fancies. Instead of ghost hunting in the clouds, men will prefer wealth hunting amongst the clouds. Facts will every where be sought after, and pipes will be laid to convey the living waters of knowledge to the public reservoir, from those pure and perennial springs. As men become acquainted with the facts of the amazing fertility of nature, and that branch of Social Science called the production of wealth, in which it is known that one man can

produce six times more than he requires—when this fact is universally known, that clay mixed with sand will make a most excellent soil; that by spade cultivation so very much more may be produced from the earth than by the plough, when the fact of the wonderful capability of machinery in production is universally known, and Exchange notes as a circulating medium are understood and appreciated, no power on earth, Gentlemen, can prevent the circumstances of men from becoming good. Good circumstances will make good characters, as bad circumstances have made many bad ones, and mixed circumstances, mixed characters. Peace will follow with her olive, and plenty with her horn; profuse of comfort and prodigal good the arts and sciences will follow in their train. These universal facts when men are induced to walk in their light, will lead into community, in which the science of human nature, and the science of society will be developed, and the millenium, anticipations of which have floated in men's minds through all past times, will be realised. The dream of ages will be broke. A heaven will be found in the only place in which ever a heaven can be found, viz. under the clouds; a heaven in which all our heads will be light, all our hearts love, all our speech truth, and all our lives happiness.

CO-OPERATIVE CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL, *In commemoration of the Anniversary of the Foundation of the Institution for the Industrious Classes.*

NEXT Wednesday evening, the First Anniversary Social Festival, will be held in the rooms of the Institution. The arrangements will be similar to those originally adopted for these meetings, with such improvements as experience has suggested, to preserve order without formality, and decorum without fashionable pretension. We desire to make this a meeting of friends and fellow-laborers in the good cause, where all shall be welcome who wish well to man, and who desire to aid in creating and preserving among the Industrious Classes, kind and rational feelings, and in pushing forward an experiment to relieve society from poverty and ignorance.

While each arrangement shall be made with a view to the comfort of all parties, economy, in furnishing refreshments, shall be strictly studied. The servants who attend on the occasion, are hired on condition that they receive nothing from visitors, and it is particularly requested that no money be offered to them.

The Festival will commence at half past six o'clock, and in the course of the evening a *Vocal Concert* will be introduced. Particulars regarding tickets, &c., are given in the advertisement.

J. D. STYLES

W. H. BOHM

GOULDEN

JAMES EAMONSON

W. R. WOOD

} Stewards.

THE ALLOTMENT SYSTEM. Under this title a pamphlet by Captain Pole, R. N. has just been published by Eamonsen. The object—a most important one—is to show how easily and effectually the industrious classes may be relieved, by placing them on land to support themselves, instead of raising additional poor-rates to maintain them in ignorance. Captain Pole's suggestions are perhaps the more valuable, because, however coincident with the views of co-operators, they were penned out at sea, by one totally unacquainted with the plan of social communities.

POEM BY A MECHANIC. If our readers wish to read only a too true, if a somewhat revolting picture of the effects of that most degrading of vices, intemperance, they will find it in the "Mechanics' Saturday Night," advertised by us last week.

RATIONAL LIBRARY, No. 5. Will be published by EAMONSON next week. Price two-pence.

LABOR EXCHANGE. Details of an important meeting at Greenwich, and of other satisfactory public proceedings, received too late for insertion, will appear next week.

A NEW FEATURE IN ENGLISH HISTORY PRESENTS ITSELF!

Nor one of those emanations of self-interest which are daily and hourly obtruding themselves upon public notice, but a subject of the highest, the most vital importance in a national point of view! a subject that cannot fail to attract the attention, and ensure the ultimate support of all good men,—all ranks, sects, and denominations, from the monarch downwards! As it is calculated not only to uproot the colossal mass of human misery in this Empire, but its beneficial influence may also be readily extended throughout the civilized world!

An Equitable Labour Exchange Company has been formed in the capacious building (the Institution, Gray's Inn Road, King's Cross,) where deposits of every description, of either raw materials or manufactured articles of general utility, may immediately receive the value thereof in notes of the Exchange Bank, which entitles them to take back from the Company's stores, other property of equal value to that deposited.

By this new and simple mode of exchange, namely, bartering the necessities and comforts of life with each other, depositors avoid all the evils of short or long credits, debts, fraudulent dealings, and the whole train of disasters resulting from insolvency.

In the short period that has elapsed since the Equitable Labor Exchange opened, thousands of the heretofore unemployed productive classes have experienced the benefits of its operations, by finding an instant market for their industry; and so soon as this most natural mode of dealing shall be fully known and appreciated, the Agriculturist will no longer hesitate to exchange his corn, vegetables, &c., for farming implements and other requisites; whilst the Merchant will find it equally advantageous to exchange the varied raw materials for manufactured productions; and thus, not only the common business of life may be transacted, without the intervention of money, but also an immense portion (if not the whole) of the present pauperism and wretchedness may be obliterated from the country! B.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

If the individual who some months since expressed his regret at being compelled to follow the avocation of publican, will call at 36, Paul Street, Finsbury Square, he may hear of a situation more suited to his feelings and principles.

Confucius' Morals are received, and shall claim attention.

THE ANNIVERSARY FESTIVAL of the ASSOCIATION of the INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, established for diffusing the most useful knowledge and creating general good feeling amongst all Parties, will be held at the INSTITUTION for REMOVING IGNORANCE and POVERTY, Gray's Inn-road, on WEDNESDAY, Dec. 26, 1832. Tickets of Admission—Visitors Tickets 2s. 6d.—Members, 1s. 6d., may be had at the Institution, and at 280, Regent-street; 421, Oxford-street; 49, Shore-ditch; 10, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street; 62, Barbican, corner of Red Cross-street; 79, Regent-street; 37, Regent-street; 37, Marsham-street, Westminster; 30, Great Ormond-street; 95, Newgate-street; Mr. Hopkins, opposite Gower-street, Tottenham Court Road; Symonds, Seymour-street, Euston-square; Wilmer's Library, Ditto; 84, Hermondsey-street; Norfolk Coffee-house, Marylebone-lane; 15, Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road; 213, Tottenham-court-road; 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden; 59, Poland-street, Oxford-street, and 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

Printed for the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published by EAMONSON, next door to the Institution; STRANGER, Paternoster-row; BERGER, Holywell-street; and PURKISS, Old Compton-street; and may be had of all Newsmen in Town and Country.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer,
Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

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OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. No. 43]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN & ROBERT DALE OWEN.—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1832.

[ONE PENNY.]

WEEKLY PROCEEDINGS.

SUNDAY MORNING, DEC. 23.

ROBERT DALE OWEN delivered his introductory lecture on Geography, of which the following is a brief outline:

He said it was scarcely necessary at the present day, to advert to the importance of an exact knowledge of men and things, as the only foundations of just opinions and rational practice. Physical facts are the stuff of which sound judgments are made. They are the only just foundation even of morals. We must have examined the phenomena of the one, and the nature of the other, before we can frame any trustworthy plans to improve either.

The lecturer took a cursory view of the gradual progress of geographical science, from the early ages, when the savage thought the world a circular disc, and even imagined that the line which bounded his own horizon, bounded the habitable earth; when the heavens were looked upon as a coloured canopy, set at night with ornamental spangles, and containing a huge reservoir of water; when the sun was a fiery ball, coming up from behind the eastern forest and gradually sinking again in the west; and when every thing savoured of the crude ignorance.

He glanced at the early history and popular imaginations and gradual enlightenment of those nations, that had been the first to start in the race of discovery and improvement; of the ancient Greeks, who long believed the islands of the Mediterranean, peopled by dwarfs and giants, and other uncouth monsters; of the Phœnicians who first colonized these islands; of the Egyptians, whose antiquities attest their early progress in the arts; of the Medianites, who, 1,500 years before Christ, carried on foreign trade. He adverted to the fact how much the very oppressors of mankind had often, incidentally advanced the interests of science; how Alexander's victories had promoted the geography of Asia, and Caesar's conquests opened up that of Northern Europe; how the blind zeal of the Caliphs to spread the religion of Islam, had explored the eastern world from the pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Ganges, while the proseliting spirit of the Portuguese carried their discoveries far into the African continent.

He traced the history of geography through its successive improvements by Herodotus, who first imagined the earth a sphere, to Aristotle who confirmed that one true idea, and spread so many false ones; then to Strabo with his rude, distorted maps; then, from Ptolemy through ages of darkness, to the period when the stern perseverance of one man added to the known world, a second hemisphere; and the discovery of the mariner's compass cast navigation loose from the land, and permitted to traverse in safety, unknown oceans; until at last, Magellan, and Drake, and Cook, succeeded in circumnavigating the globe.

The lecturer was enabled, by the kindness of a friend, to illustrate his lecture by means of maps and a globe of the largest size.

TUESDAY, CHRISTMAS DAY.

MR. OWEN lectured at eleven o'clock; and notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the audience was numerous and attentive.

In taking a review of man's past history, the lecturer adverted to the slow and difficult manner in which the human species had advanced from false opinions to true ones. They had heard, last Sunday, in what manner, and by what gradual efforts, men of science, after holding for centuries the most unfounded notions regarding the earth, its shape, and its divisions, had at length discovered its spherical form and elliptical orbit. Up to the hour when the truth was discovered, all the geographical and astronomical conceptions of men, and all the opinions deduced therefrom, were not worth a moment's thought. So had it been in the moral world. A great error, which supposed man to be his own mental and moral creator, has hitherto pervaded the earth, and has falsified all social and political theories.

On this error all governments and all religions are founded. Though various in their phases, all these are but one,—but one false system of society. Having discovered its falsity, it behooves us, not to oppose it in its petty details, but to reject it as a whole. It behooves us to recur to the great moral principles of truth; there is our vantage ground, which we must never abandon to any enemy whatever. (Hear, hear.)

It is a general opinion, that on this day, many hundred years ago, there rose from the dead a savior of the world. Let truth now rise up as that savior. Let truth without reserve be henceforth promulgated. He was resolved, from that place or in whatever place his lot might be cast, to speak truth without reserve. (Applause.)

As one of the first and most important of these truths, he would tell them, that the priesthood of all nations had hitherto kept their deluded followers in the grossest ignorance. What right had they, except the right of force, to preside and make money at the birth, as at the death, of men and women? (Great applause.) The ignorance of man gave them these and similar rights. Human governments, for sinister purposes, confirmed these rights; and human credulity believed all the frightful stories invented to terrify it, while, in truth, there never has been, never would be found a hell, but on our misgoverned earth, or devils, but in the persons of human oppressors: (Great cheering.)

The two great measures which must redeem the world from these and other errors, are National Education, and National Employment. But in vain shall we look for any real good from National Education while clerical influence remains so powerful as to seize on the management of National Schools,

and convert them to sectarian engines. (Hear, hear.) And while we are accustomed to leave things as they are, and merely pray for their improvement, we shall have no efficient plan for national relief. Prayers can bring no guineas from the clouds, nor produce from the soil. (Laughter and cheers.) But, without the funds and the industry, the people cannot relieve themselves. To aid them in effecting this, was the Labor Exchange established. But it was only a means, only one of the means to bring about a great change.

To aid in bringing about that change, it was proposed, next Saturday morning, to convene the original council of the Association, and on Monday next, to call together the Association itself, in order, in lieu of all the petty schemes that are and have been suggested, to form One National Association, for carrying at once into effect, those great principles and radical reforms, which it had been the object of his life to establish. (Loud and long continued cheering.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE

For promoting the Principles of Labor Exchange. A deputation attended the Carpenters' Society, Argyle Arms, Argyle street, at which a full development of the exchange principles were given; with what degree of satisfaction to the Society, may be judged by the following letter, addressed to the secretary of the Committee:—

Argyle Arms, Argyle street, Dec. 18, 1832.

"SIR—At a meeting of the United Carpenters, held at the above house, it was resolved that a vote of thanks be given to the deputation that waited on them on Monday evening, the 17th inst., and that the above society fully agree with the proposition of the above deputation, and earnestly recommend all societies to co-operate with them, in their endeavour to extricate themselves and families, from their present degraded and precarious condition.

By order of the society,

E. ASHDOWN, Secretary."

The deputation also attended a meeting of the Tailors' Society, at the Coach and Horses, Frith street, Soho. The meeting was attended by upwards of 300 members, who appeared to receive the communication with much pleasure. A long discussion connected with the principle of valuation in regard to their particular trade then ensued, the termination of which, seemed to satisfy the whole meeting. They promised to transmit the result of their subsequent deliberations, which, as soon as received, shall be laid before our readers.

After the bustle of the holidays is over, the Committee will go on to visit other trade societies; from whose co-operation, much may be expected.

PUBLIC MEETING AT GREENWICH.

We adverted last week to a numerous and interesting meeting, which was held on the 19th instant.

Greenwich. Several gentlemen of that place who take an interest in our proceedings here, hired the largest public room in the town, and sent a deputation to invite the managers of this establishment to explain their views to the public. Mr. Owen and the directors attended. Mr. Owen's address was listened to with much apparent satisfaction; and the questions which followed elicited explanations in detail, illustrative of the principles and practice of the Labor Exchange. It was announced at the meeting, that a society for carrying out the object had been formed at Greenwich, consisting of 57 members, who hold their weekly meeting at the Globe Inn.

EDITORIAL.

LONDON, DECEMBER 29, 1832.

CONSISTENCY.

REASON is a glorious thing; but in the absence of reason, we may well be content to find **CONSISTENCY**. Great were the joys and well repaid the efforts of liberty's and mankind's friends, if true principles might prevail in theory and direct in practice; but, in the absence of true principles, let us rejoice to see men consistent to *any* principle. When the great line is drawn, let us not be over-anxious if we perceive a mighty majority against us. Let us be content that men and women take *any* side, if they will but take it honestly, consistently, and distinctly.

"Let the line be drawn," says the religious world; "let us see who is for God and who for Mammon—who for this world and who for the next." Amen, say I. Let it be drawn—and drawn, too, in darkest and most defined outline. Let us all see and know where it runs. Let us see and know which is one side and which the other. Let there be no shuffling or irresolute feet on the line itself, to blot or obscure. Let all stand off, like the sheep and the goats, either to one side or the other.

It becomes us not to trifle with sacred things. Man's eternal happiness, if there be such a thing, is to man the most sacred of all things, inasmuch as it is the most inconceivably important. Every other thing, every earthly object, every worldly care or enjoyment sinks to utter insignificance before this one. The man who would labor for a hundred years to obtain a crumb of moulded bread, while he neglected every other occupation, were a sage, compared to the insane trifler who spends his time and his money to satisfy earthly desires and affections, when he might spend them in obtaining for himself and others, eternal bliss.

I rejoice most sincerely that the clergy are beginning to perceive, that if they have any rights and duties at all, they have those which swallow up, and, as it were, annihilate all others. For many centuries, even the aristocratic and powerful clergy of England, have been content (with most inconsistent modesty) to receive a paltry tenth of the earth's produce for the service of the Lord and the concerns of eternity.

R. D. O.

OUR OPPONENTS.

It is very much to be regretted that a difference in opinion, should be construed into a cause for enmity and separation among men. For, if it be more pleasant to associate with persons who agree with ourselves in sentiment, it is yet perhaps more useful to communicate with our opponents. If we live and converse with those only who live as we do, we are very apt to fly into extremes, by pushing our own principles and views beyond the lines of demonstration and prudence; whereas, friendly intercourse with dissenters from our own creed, corrects the bias of undue partialities, and sometimes saves us from errors into which an unreasoning attachment to the offspring of our own imaginations, serves to betray us.

An organized party often strengthens the hands and confirms the hearts of its members; but it also stirs their passions, and sometimes blinds their eyes and obscures their judgments. Contradiction, if it be not rude or illiberal, is frequently very wholesome. As men in office have a much quicker eye to the public good, when they feel that at any moment they may be called to account for their actions, so will the advocate of any set of opinions put a much more careful guard upon his lips, if he be accustomed to live and speak among those who listen to his words without the partial prepossessions and excusing indulgences of partisans.

Thus the intolerant feeling which leads a man to shun the society of those who do not chance to see as he does, deprives him of that very society, which of all others, is calculated to instruct and improve him. Like a spoilt child, one is then in great danger of learning to talk nonsense without opposition, and of being capricious and extravagant without once finding it out. One's idlest whims and fancies are treated with respect and favor, until at last we mistake them for infallible truths. And, in short, for want of a little corrective argument and admonition, one is apt to lose one's modesty and good-temper, and to become a very violent, unreasonable, and disagreeable sort of person.

Nor do I imagine that this applies only to men whose opinions are false and pernicious, but to all men. No man is unerringly wise, and the very best principles may run up to the seeds of extravagance, for want of proper pruning and culture.—Therefore however sincerely and positively a man may believe his own opinions true, that is no excuse for refusing to listen and converse with those whose minds have been differently improved. If our own creed be imperfect or false, we have thus an opportunity to detect its imperfections or discover its falsehood; if it be true and just, we shall at least be warned from extremes, our wavering convictions may be confirmed, and the stamp of reason added to the idle words of belief. In either case, we shall probably become better, because more tolerant, more moderate, more social, and perchance, more modest beings; and, while we may be more thoroughly convinced than before of our own accuracy, we shall, at the same time, be more courteous and reasonable in expressing that conviction.

Let us, then, never shun our adversaries and opponents. Even if we cannot change their sentiments we may learn to improve and correct and define our own. And, if we fail to win their friendship, we may at least gain their good will and respect.

R. D. O.

MATERIALS FOR THINKING.

AMONG the miscellaneous periodicals that swarm the penny press, I have not observed one that seemed to me so deserving of general circulation as the unpretending series, under the above title. It is composed entirely of selections; but these are made with so much judgment, that their value is far above nineteen twentieths of the original matter of the day. They have, too, that quality, which "Covereth a multitude of Sins," I mean brevity. As a sample I select two extracts, from the opening number, which however excellent, are but a fair sample of the whole.

R. D. O.

"*True Spirit of Reform*—A system of fundamental reform will scarcely be effected by massacres mechanised into revolution. We cannot therefore inculcate on the minds of each other too often or with too great earnestness, the necessity of cultivating benevolent affections. We should be cautious how we indulge the feelings even of virtuous indignation. Indignation is the handsome brother of anger and hatred. The temple of despotism, like that of Tescapoca, the Mexican deity, is built of human skulls and cemented with human blood; let us beware that we be not transported into revenge while we are levelling the lathsome pile, lest when we erect the edifice of freedom we but vary the style of architecture, not change the materials. Let us not wantonly offend even the prejudices of our weaker brethren, nor by ill-timed and vehement declarations of opinion, excite in them malignant feelings towards us. The energies of mind are wasted in these intemperate effusions. Those materials of projectile force, which, now carelessly scattered, explode with an offensive and useless noise, directed by wisdom and union, might heave rocks from their base, or perhaps (dismissing the metaphor) might produce the desired effect without the convulsion.

"For this 'subdued propriety' of temper, a practical faith in the doctrine of philosophical necessity seems the only preparative. That vice is the effect of error and the offspring of surrounding circumstances, the object therefore of condolence, not of anger, is a proposition easily understood and as easily demonstrated. But to make it spread from the understanding to the affections, to call it into action, not only in the great exertions of patriotism, but in the daily and hourly occurrences of social life, requires the most watchful attentions of the most energetic mind. It is not enough that we have once swallowed these truths—we must feed on them as insects on a leaf, till the whole heart be coloured by their qualities, and shew its food in the minutest fibre.

"Finally, in the words of an Apostle, 'Watch ye! Stand fast in the principles of which ye have been convinced! Quit yourselves like men! Be strong! Yet let all things be done in the spirit of love.'—S. T. Coleridge.

A PRISON.

And this place my forefathers made for man!
This is the process of our love and wisdom
To each poor brother who offends against us—
Most innocent perhaps—and what if guilty?
Is this the only cure? Merciful God!
Each pore and natural outlet shrivelled up
By ignorance and parching poverty,
His energies roll back upon his heart
And stagnate and corrupt, till changed to poison
They break out on him, like a loathsome plague-spot!
Then we call in our pampered mountebanks;
And this is their best cure! uncomfortable
And friendless solitude, groaning and tears,
And savage faces at the clanking hour,
Seen through the steam and vapour of his dungeon

By the lamp's dismal twilight! So he lies
 Circled with evil, till his very soul
 Unmoulds its essence, hopelessly deformed
 By sights of evermore deformity!
 With other ministrations thou, O nature!
 Healest thy wandering and distempered child;
 Thou pourest on him thy soft influences,
 Thy sunny hues, fair forms, and breathing sweets;
 Thy melodies of woods, and winds and waters!
 Till he relent, and can no more endure
 To be a jarring and dissonant thing
 Amid this general dance and minstrelsy;
 But bursting into tears, wins back his way,
 His angry spirit healed and harmonized
 By the benignant touch of love and beauty.

S. T. Coleridge.

PROGRESS OF INTELLIGENCE IN FRANCE.

The following article, written for the New York Free Enquirer, may furnish evidence to our readers, that among our neighbors of France, the spirit of reform is alive and stirring:—

SITUATION OF WOMEN,

And Progress of Popular Instruction in France.

In this morning's *National* (one of the principal daily papers of Paris) is the following advertisement, which I have read with much interest, and now translate, in the hope that our readers will find it as interesting as I did:

"JOURNAL OF MATERNAL SOCIETIES; explaining to every woman who can read, her duties as a wife and a mother: her rights as a widow and a guardian: her interests as a member of the conjugal community, and in all her domestic relations. Price free of postage to any part of France, five francs; for foreign countries, six francs. Published on the fifteenth of every month, in a pamphlet, containing as much matter as is contained in 300 octavo pages.

"Women who may consult this guide, will there find developed in the most simple and practical form:—
 "1st. The duties they contract in marrying; the prudence and foresight required from them to guard against pecuniary reverses, to which they are often exposed without defence.

"2nd. The physical education which so few young mothers know how to give to their first born; since our statistical tables substantiate the fact, that, out of seven first born children, but one, on the average, survives; the accidents and diseases to which children are exposed, and the art of preventing them; the cares they actually require, and those which are superfluous or injurious.

"3rd. The simple and economical methods, and the best elementary works, by means of which, without having had an elaborate education themselves, they may gradually form the minds and characters of their children.

"4th. The best education to be given to their sons and daughters, in view of assuring them, according to their situation in life, either an independent and useful position, or a productive profession. The instruction which a mother gives to her children should always be productive, and should represent the interest of the capital it has cost.

"5th. The means of providing in the future for their sons, and of laying up a dowry for their daughters, by proportional economies, scarcely felt and increasing at compound interest.

"6th. The rights which the laws guarantee to them; those which they possess over the persons and property of their children, and those which accrue to them on the decease of their husbands.

"7th. The necessary acts as administratrix, be it of their own property or that of their family.

"8th. The particular situation in which they find themselves when they engage in commerce.

"9th. The various articles which they may daily economise; useful expenses; purchase of provisions; art of supplying a kitchen.

"10th. The occupations which are unhealthy or unsuitable to their sex, and the means of replacing them by others.

"11th. The especial art of health which women ought to practise, according to their age, state, &c.; what is necessary to become an intelligent sick-nurse.

"12th. The duties which they have to fulfil when called by the government, to form parochial committees of primary instruction, to superintend the education of girls. In the education of women is entirely comprised the question of domestic happiness, of the progress of national industry, and of popular instruction.

"In order to raise the French nation from a state of comparative ignorance, it is not boys whose education should be of preference attended to, it is young girls; it is not so much teachers and professors that must be formed, as that mothers should be trained to be the educators of their children.

"The first number will contain the entire details of the plan, which are too voluminous to be comprised within the limits of this brief prospectus."

This is one of many signs to be found throughout this country, both of the practical objects which occupy the public mind, and of the situation which women occupy in France. The *Salic* law indeed (strangely in discordance with the national spirit) excludes them from the throne, while, in England, a woman may become in her own right, a sovereign. But throughout society, they occupy a rank very different to that which is accorded to them in any other country I ever visited. Here, they share with men every employment which is not especially laborious. In almost all the chief counting houses, you find female clerks; often female conductors. At the various stage, omnibuses, and other offices, you much more frequently find women than men keeping the books and receiving the money. It is quite common to see the firm of dry-goods and other similar establishments, *Madame* such-an-one and company, or *Mr. so-and-so and sister*. In a late list of postmasters in one of the departments, I found about two-thirds of the post-offices superintended by women. In the shops you find two women for one man behind the counter. In the omnibuses, too, which run through Paris in every direction, and in which I have had occasion to travel almost daily, you meet nearly as many women as men. I do not, at this moment, recollect to have seen a single omnibus filled by men alone.

Nor could the most fastidious, I am sure, find fault, either with the modest, quiet, business-like manner in which I have always observed the French women conduct such employment as is entrusted to their care, nor with the respectful politeness with which they are uniformly treated by the other sex. This politeness, indeed, is exercised on the most trifling occasions, by almost every Frenchman towards all his fellow-citizens, male or female. It has been the fashion to stigmatize this habitual courtesy, as national hypocrisy. "Do you imagine," it has been argued, "that this same smiling gentleman, who so sedulously sacrifices for you in trifles, who makes way for you in a stage coach, and exercises a thousand little attentions towards you on the road, do you imagine that he, if it came to the test, would stand by you on some more important occasion; would expose, for instance, his life for yours?"

Perhaps not; have you the least right to expect it of a stranger? Or should you, on that account, undervalue what, after all, constitutes so much—so very much of the charm of life—the little nameless kindnesses, which, at every moment of the day, we may exercise or may neglect. The other day, when the omnibus was full, a servant-maid wished to enter. The *conducteur* offered her his own seat, which was rather an uncomfortable one. A young man sitting at the other end of the coach, fashionably dressed, and with the manners of a gentleman, instantly rose, and begged *Mademoiselle* to exchange seats with him, which, notwithstanding her declining the civility, he insisted upon her doing. (And, in parenthesis be it said, the young woman, though neat and respectable in her appearance, had no beauty to boast of, which ill-nature might have fastened on as the sole cause of this little piece of gallantry.)

Now, you can scarcely enter a public place or a public conveyance without witnessing some trifle of the sort. And, however it may be with others, I know that, in my own case, even such trifles can put me in good humor with human nature, can contribute to make me a more sociable being and a better man. You may smile, but it is a fact, that whenever I express myself in French, I feel, from habit, more disposed to urbanity and to respect for the feelings, than when I speak English.

Another trait of the French at the present day is very striking and encouraging. It has developed itself more or less rapidly, ever since the revolution of '89, and more especially since that of 1830. I mean the zeal for popular education. In the first revolution the middle classes (the *bourgeois*) found their place; in the second, the mass of the people have found theirs; in the former a hereditary nobility lost their station to give place to a moneyed aristocracy; in the second that moneyed aristocracy is falling before the rights of honest industry.

Forty years ago, a proposal for general education, would have been, almost as a matter of course, confined to the children of the *bourgeoisie*, of the shopkeepers, small proprietors, and so on; and these classes alone would have been addressed on the occasion: but now it is the *working men and women* (*le bas peuple*, as the phrase formerly was) for whose improvement and intellectual elevation, societies are organised by the first men in France. A prospectus, for instance, was put into my hands the other day, by a zealous young liberal, to whom other business had introduced me, containing the proceedings of an *Association for the free education of the people*, in the list of the managing committee of which, I perceive the names of Lafayette, Mangin, Odillion Barrot, Arago, Magendie, and others of the same stamp, and having for its object "the intellectual and moral education of the middle class of citizens and of those who live by their daily labour; to be given in public lectures, free to all without expense."

The committee, by the way, contains, in connection with the above distinguished names, those of several ladies, some of them unmarried, who have devoted their leisure time to this great object.

I do truly believe, that were there but a political revolution in France, this would be the finest country—the very first, perhaps, in the race of moral and intellectual improvement in the world. R. D. O.

[The essay which follows, is one of a series originally written for, and published in the editorial columns of the New York Daily Sentinel, at a period when I was one of its editors. The whole series (of six essays) will be published by Eamson next week.]

What sort of education is good enough for the Common People?—In approaching the details of our subject, this is the first question to be asked and answered. If the answer be, "a plain English education, that is, reading, writing, accounts; and, by way of a finish, a little grammar, and geography"—if this be the answer, then public education is no such great thing, after all. It is all very well and very proper in its way, and the public attention ought to be called to it, as one of fifty other things, to be attended to. But to talk of education regenerating the nation; to speak of it as the most important of earthly concerns; to call on the present generation, as they value the freedom and happiness of the next, to unite heart and hand, for the establishment of public education,—all this we think is to make a mountain of a mole hill. A large proportion of our population can read and write and cast up an account; and if all they are to gain for their children beyond that, is a little grammar and geography (which many of them probably have already picked up at home) no wonder that they sit with their hands across and yawn, and wonder that people should make such a fuss about public education.

We, for our parts, have a very different conception of the matter.

If we are asked "What sort of education is good enough for the common people?" we ask in reply, "What sort of education is good enough for the richest and most favored classes in the land?" The answer to the one question, is, with us, the answer to the other.

"Do we propose," we shall be asked, "that every poor man's son should study Hebrew, and his daughters learn painting on velvet?" No; but not because Hebrew and velvet paintings are only good for the rich and the privileged, but only because we think them useless for any one.

We do not enquire then, "what is good enough for the common people?" we enquire "what is good enough for human beings?" What makes a man better, wiser, a more enlightened citizen, a more useful member of society? If we are asked whether we propose arithmetic, astronomy, history, the modern languages, chemistry, physiology, comparative anatomy, drawing, music, as branches which should be taught to every child in the republic; we reply, if any one, or if several, or if all the branches are essentially useful to human beings—if they contribute to mental cultivation, to moral improvement, and if they do not occupy time which might be more importantly employed—we do most assuredly propose them as proper to be taught in all state schools, to every child, rich or poor, patrician or plebeian. We may chance to consider some branches of study which now occupy much time, unfit for public schools. But, if we do, it will be, not because they are too good for the people, but too useless for them; not because they are fit only for the rich, but because they are fit for no body.

We ought to reflect and reason on this subject, as we may suppose an enlightened parent to do, who, possessing ample means, sits down to consider how he shall train his favorite child. Does he ever enquire what is good enough for it? No, he enquires what will benefit it. He enquires how he can best and most usefully employ its time; what studies will cultivate its intellect and develop its capabilities. He enquires what situation will best mould its dispositions to virtue and habits of wisdom. And, governed by such considerations, he decides. So ought a republic to reason, and so to decide, for all her children.

When we propose a system of republican education for the people, therefore, we propose that it should be the best—not the most brilliant, not the most extravagantly expensive, not the most fashionable—but the best that the nation in its wisdom, may be able to devise. We need not be told that it will be imperfect. Every thing human is. But if it be only as scientific, as wise, and as judicious as modern experience can make it, it will regenerate America in one generation. It will make but one class out of the many that now envy and despise each other; it will make American citizens what they once declared themselves, *free and equal*.

Such a view of the subject may be set down as Utopian, or ridiculed as extravagant. We cannot help that. It is the republican—and the only truly republican view of the subject. And, unless we greatly mistake the signs of the times, it is the view which this nation will soon take of it.

A SKETCH FROM REAL LIFE.

BY O. P. Q.

HALF an hour ago I was crossing the Palais Royal, when I noticed a lad of about thirteen years of age, singing, as he bustled along with a small parcel under his arm, a popular song, and at the end of each stanza, came the word "Liberte."

I stopped the lad in his progress, and asked him the following question: "What do you mean by liberty?"

The boy heard my question without anger or astonishment—and, looking at me fully in the face, he said:

"What is Liberty? Why, the liberty I was singing about is the liberty of saying, and doing, and writing what we please, without being persecuted by the government; but we are not to say, or

do, or write any thing which can injure our neighbor or our country."

"Admirable boy!" I exclaimed, "and what is your age?" "I was twelve years old last May." "What is your father?" "A porter." "What is your mother?" "Why, a porter's wife."—"What do you do to live upon?" "I work." "In what capacity are you placed?" "I am an errand boy at a shoemaker's." "Where did you receive your education?" "At a school in the Rue du Gros Chenet." "Are you happy?" "Very much so." "Can I do any thing for you?" "Nothing—but let me run off with this packet."

Now do you think this lad is a wonderful exception? No, I tell you he is not!! I tell you he represents the rising generation of France—the generation so much calumniated, and so much dreaded by the advocates of peace at all prices.

These are the principles which he has acquired with Lord Brougham's primer! Oh, yes, you cannot teach a child his letters in France, without giving the power, and the taste of spelling—"Liberty!!" I will occasionally give you these sketches of real life. I have hundreds of these delightful adventures, in my intercourse with the people—with what your aristocrats call the "Canaille!!" "Canaille," indeed!! Believe me, this "Canaille" shall emancipate the world; for the day of the people approaches, as the day of despotism is drawing to a close. You may swear to this.

MECHANICAL RELIGION.

THE most curious of the Calmuc system of religion is their mode of praying by means of machinery. "It consists of hollow wooden cylinders, of different sizes, filled with Tangued writings. The cylinders are painted with red stripes, and adorned with handsome gilt letters, in the Sanscrit character, commonly containing the formula Omma in bad mactum; each of these is fixed upon an iron axis, which goes through a square frame; this frame is capable of being shut up flat, and is formed upon a small scale, much like a weaver's shearing machine. Where the lower parts of the frame cross, there is a hole, in which the axis of the cylinder turns; by means of a string which is attached to a crank in the spindle, the machine can be kept in motion, so that the cylinder turns in the frame, like a grindstone (only upright) upon its axis. Before the fire at Sarepta, we had two large Kurds of this kind, with Tangued writings of all sorts, rolled one upon another round the spindle, in the inside of the cylinder, to the length altogether of some hundred feet. These paper mills perform a much more important office than a rosary, which only serves to assist the person who prays. The Moguls believe, that it is meritorious respectfully to set in motion (whether by wind or otherwise) such writings as contain prayers and other religious documents, that the noise of these scraps of theology may reach the gods, and bring down their blessing. As these prayer machines usually contain the Tangued formulae, which is serviceable to all living creatures, (repeated it may be ten thousand times, so that there is a multiplication of power like that in the English machines, equivalent to the labor of so many individuals)—as prayer can, in this manner, be carried on like a wholesale manufactory, it is not very surprising that prayer mills are so commonly to be found in the houses of the Moguls. An ingenious contrivance this, for storming Heaven with the least possible trouble.—*Zwick's Travels in Calmuck Tartary*.

An honest man is believed without an oath; for his reputation swears for him. Xenocrates was a man of such truth and fidelity, that the Athenians gave him alone this privilege, that this evidence should be lawful without swearing. And it is said of Fabricius, that a man might as well attempt to turn the sun out of its course, as to get him to do a base or dishonest act.

IMPORTANT PUBLIC MEETINGS NEXT WEEK.

NEXT MONDAY morning, at ten o'clock, will be held in the great Lecture Room, a Meeting of the Association of the Industrious Classes, to receive a Report of Accounts and Proceedings of the year.

At one o'clock of the same day, and in the same place will be held a PUBLIC MEETING, for the purpose of organising a National Association with Metropolitan and Provincial Branches, to unite the objects of the Labor Exchange and of the present Association, and carry forward with unity, plans for the gradual change of society from its present ignorance and wretchedness to intelligence and happiness.

Mr. Clarkson will shortly deliver a lecture "on St. Simonism," of which due notice will be given.

FESTIVAL.—The Anniversary Festival held last Wednesday, was attended by an assembly so numerous as to crowd the spacious rooms of the Institution, though the whole range was opened, including the upper lecture room. Dancing was kept up until two o'clock—the company separated pleased with the harmony and good feeling which prevailed undisturbed throughout the evening.

LECTURES DURING NEXT WEEK.

The regular lectures will be given, On Sunday morning at 11, by Robert Dale Owen, on Geography.

On Sunday evening at 7, by Robert Owen, on the necessity for a change of the system of society.

On Tuesday evening at half past 7, by Mr. Saull, on Geology.

On Thursday evening at half past 7, by Mr. Rogers, on Geology.

Just published, Price One Shilling,

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Printed for the Association of the Intelligent and well-disposed of the Industrious Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty, by Education and Employment, at their Institution, Gray's Inn-road, King's Cross, New Road. Published by EAMONSON, next door to the Institution; STRANGE, Paternoster-row; BERGER, Holywell-street; and PURKISS, Old Compton-street; and may be had of all Newsmen in Town and Country.

WILLIAM DENT, Printer, Institution, Gray's Inn Road.

THE

OR THE

FROM ERROR AND MISERY,



INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

CRISIS,

CHANGE

TO TRUTH AND HAPPINESS.

"IF WE CANNOT YET RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US NOW ENDEAVOUR TO UNITE ALL HEARTS."

VOL. I. No. 44]

EDITED BY ROBERT OWEN & ROBERT DALE OWEN.—SATURDAY, JANUARY 5, 1833.

[ONE PENNY.]

WEEKLY PROCEEDINGS.

SUNDAY MORNING, DEC. 30, 1832.

ROBERT DALE OWEN gave his second lecture on Geography. After taking a general view of the situation and early history of the nations which were conspicuous in ancient times, the lecturer entered into the details of those exertions which, in the case of Columbus, resulted, after eighteen years unwearying exertions, in the discovery of a New World; a noble and encouraging instance of what unremitting perseverance may effect, against a thousand seemingly insurmountable obstacles.

Columbus, he said, had first probably imbibed his spirit of adventure by living on an estate belonging to his wife in Porto Santo, the smallest of the Madeira islands; that island lying in the line of the Portuguese trade to Guinea and on the very frontier of adventure. Many and vague ideas then prevailed regarding the existence of a great Western Continent. Columbus caught up, with a degree of almost religious enthusiasm, the idea, that a few weeks' sailing to the West would bring him to India. His application to John II. of Portugal was unsuccessful. His subsequent application to Ferdinand and Isabella was referred to a learned Council which met at Salamanca. The result of this reference is worth giving in the words of Washington Irving, extracted from his most interesting work, the "Life and voyages of Christopher Columbus:—

"Religion and science were at that time, and in that country, closely associated. The treasures of learning were immured in monasteries, and the professors' chairs, were exclusively filled from the cloister. The domination of the clergy extended over the state as well as the church, and posts of honor and influence, were, with the exception of hereditary nobles, almost exclusively filled by ecclesiastics. Nay, Cardinals and Bishops were to be found in helm and corslet, at the head of armies. The era was distinguished, at once by the revival of learning, and the prevalence of religious zeal; and Spain excelled all other nations, in the fervor of her devotion. The Inquisition had been established in that country, and every opinion that savored of heresy, exposed its owner to odium and persecution.

"Such was the period when a council of clerical sages was convened, in the collegiate convent of St. Stephen's, to investigate the new theory of Columbus. It was composed of professors of Astronomy, Geography, Mathematics, and other branches of science, together with various dignitaries of the church and learned friars. Before this erudite assembly, Columbus presented himself, to propound and defend his conclusions. He had been scoffed at as visionary by the vulgar and ignorant, but he was convinced that he only required a

body of enlightened men, to listen dispassionately to his reasonings, to ensure triumphant conviction.

"The greater part of this learned junto, it is probable, came prepossessed against him, as men in place and dignity are apt to be, against poor applicants. There is always a proneness to consider a man under examination, as a kind of delinquent or imposter, whose faults and errors are to be detected and exposed. Columbus, too, appeared in a most unfavorable light before a scholastic body; an obscure navigator, member of no learned institution, destitute of all the trappings and circumstances, which sometimes give oracular authority to dulness. Some of the junto, entertained the popular notion, that he was an adventurer, or at best, a visionary; and others had that morbid impatience of any innovation upon established doctrine, which is apt to grow upon dull and pedantic men, in cloistered life. (Ay! and upon many out of cloisters too!) What a striking spectacle, must the hall of the old convent, have presented at this memorable conference. A simple mariner, standing forth in the midst of an imposing array of professors and churchmen, pleading, as it were, the cause of the New World. We are told, that when he began to state the grounds of his belief, the friars of St. Stephen alone, paid attention to him; that convent being more learned in science than the rest of the university. The others appear to have entrenched themselves behind one dogged position; that, after so many profound philosophers and cosmographers had been studying the form of the world, and so many able navigators had been sailing round it for some thousands of years, it was the height of presumption in an ordinary man, to suppose there remained for him so vast a discovery to make.

"Several of the objections, made by this learned body, have been handed down to us, and have provoked many a sneer at the expense of the University of Salamanca. But these are proofs, not so much of the peculiar deficiency of that institution, as of the imperfect state of science at the time, and of the manner in which knowledge, though rapidly increasing, was still impeded in its progress by monastic bigotry. All subjects were still contemplated through the obscure medium of those ages, when the lights of antiquity were trampled out, and faith was left to fill the place of enquiry. Bewildered in a maze of religious controversy, mankind had retraced their steps, and receded from the boundary line of ancient knowledge. Thus, at the very threshold of the discussion, instead of geographical objections, Columbus was assailed by citations from the Bible and the Testament, the book of Genesis, the psalms of David, the prophets, the epistles, and the gospel. To these, were added the expositions of various saints and learned commentators, St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, St. Jerome and St. Gregory, St. Basil and St. Ambrose, and Lactantius Firmianus, a redoubted champion of the

faith. Doctrinal points were mixed up with philosophical discussions, and a mathematical demonstration was allowed no truth, if it appeared to clash with a text of scripture, or a commentary of one of the fathers. Thus the possibility of antipodes, an opinion pronounced even as early as Pliny, to be the great contest between the learned and the ignorant, became a stumbling block to some of the sages of Salamanca. The passage cited by some of them, from Lactantius, to refute Columbus, is worth recording:—"Is there any one so foolish," he asks, "as to believe that there are antipodes, with their feet opposite to ours; people who walk with their heels upwards, and their heads down; that there is a part of the world in which all things are top-sy-turvy; where the trees grow with their branches downward, and where it rains, hails, and snows upward. The idea of the roundness of the earth," he adds, "was the cause of inventing this fable of the antipodes with their heels in the air; for these philosophers having once erred, go on in their absurdities, defending one another."

"More grave objections are advanced on the authority of St. Augustine. He pronounces the doctrine of antipodes, incompatible with the historical foundations of our faith; since, to assert that there were inhabited lands on the opposite side of the globe, would be to maintain that there were nations not descended from Adam, it being impossible for them to have passed the intervening ocean. But the bible expressly declares, that all mankind are descended from one common parent.

"Such were the prejudices which Columbus had to encounter in the very outset of his conference. To his proposition regarding the form of the earth were opposed texts of scripture. They observed, that, in the psalms, the heavens are said to be extended like a hide, (that is, according to commentators, the curtain or covering of a tent which among ancient pastoral nations, was formed of the hide of animals): and that St. Paul, in his epistle to the Hebrews, compared the heavens to a tabernacle or tent extended over the earth which they thence inferred must be flat. Columbus, who was a devoutly religious man, found that he was in danger of being convicted not merely of error but of heterodoxy."

Other objections, some of more and others of less reason, were made. It was urged that the voyage would require two or three years, and the adventurers must perish of hunger and thirst; and some expressed their opinion, that even if the ocean could be traversed, it would be impossible to return, because the rotundity of the earth would present a mountain up which it would be impossible to sail with the fairest wind!

Still Columbus' arguments had weight; the more so, as he opposed, with much ingenuity, scripture to scripture. Mr. Irving says:

"When Columbus took his stand before the

learned body, he appeared the plain and simple navigator, somewhat daunted, perhaps, by the boldness of his task and the august nature of his auditory. But he had a degree of religious feeling which gave him a confidence in the execution of what he conceived his great errand, and he was of an ardent temperament which became heated in action by its own generous fires. Las Casas and others of his contemporaries have spoken of his commanding person, his elevated demeanor, his air of authority, his kindling eye and the persuasive intonations of his voice. How must they have given force and majesty to his words, as, casting aside his maps and charts, and discarding for a time his practical and scientific lore, his visionary spirit took fire at the doctrinal objections of his opponents, and he met them upon their own ground, pouring forth those magnificent texts of scripture and those mysterious predictions of the prophets, which in his enthusiastic moments, he considered as types and enunciations of the sublime discovery which he proposed!"

The result of the learned council's report was unfavorable. The ignorant remained obstinate, with the dogged perseverance of dull men. The wiser thought it a delightful vision, too fair to be realized.

But Columbus was not to be discouraged. For seven years longer he remained at the Spanish court, suffering all the torments of procrastination and neglect. When at length, Isabella furnished the funds to fit out three small caravels, or sloops, it was with the utmost difficulty, that Columbus could induce any one to venture on what seemed to them almost certain destruction: and when the crews did embark, he found them dispirited, discontented, and almost mutinous. Yet amid these overwhelming discouragements, he still persevered, still pushed forward to his great object, and finally, in October 1492, landed on the island of St. Salvador.

Irving well expresses the lesson taught to us by Columbus' history:

"Let those who are disposed to faint under difficulties, in the prosecution of any great and worthy undertaking, remember that 18 years elapsed after the time that Columbus conceived his enterprise, until he was able to carry it into effect; that most of that time was passed in almost hopeless solicitation, amidst poverty, neglect, and taunting ridicule: that the prime of his life had been wasted in the struggle, and that when perseverance finally crowned it with success he was in his 56th year. His example should encourage the enterprising never to despair."

(The audience was numerous, having increased to a greater number than have hitherto attended on Sunday mornings; an apparent evidence that these lectures are heard with interest.)

SUNDAY EVENING, DEC. 30, 1832.

MR. OWEN read to the audience a letter, stating that the writer had called on the overseer of his parish, and hoped he might be induced to employ many able bodied paupers under his care in working for the labor Exchange instead of supporting them in ignorance.

MR. OWEN said, he should be glad that parishes should take advantage of the exchange system, to relieve them from a portion of the burden now oppressing them; but he should not be satisfied with this. It was not enough to relieve pauperism, we must prevent it.

He said this was the last Sunday of the year, and it was suitable to review the progress made in the course of the past twelvemonth. Many had feared, when this Institution was first taken, that it was far too extensive for us. They said we should not have more than forty or fifty persons to hear the lectures; and yet they had seen that this great room had often been too small to contain the crowds collected. In addition to the Sunday evening lectures, arrangements had now been made for scientific lectures three or four times a week.

He adverted to the establishment of the Crisis, a paper by which cheap knowledge had been sent and wide. It was, he said, now but in its in-

fancy. Should the taxes on knowledge be removed—and he did not see how any government could much longer maintain an impost so unjust and unpopular—he hoped soon to see it enlarged to a sheet of much larger dimensions, that should contain a summary of all the really important and useful-to-be-recorded news of the week.

The Labor Exchange had been commenced, and carried on through its first stage. Yet he must say, that, in its present infant and imperfect state, he looked upon it as little better than a superior pawn-broking establishment. It was but proceeding from this now to assume the character, first of a retail trade, then of a smaller wholesale, and finally of a great wholesale establishment. The Branch established at Blackfriars had proceeded most successfully; it already cleared all its own expenses, and was sure, if its conductors continued their present course, of complete success. In Birmingham they had already raised more money for the establishment of their Branch, than had been advanced here altogether for the present establishment. (Cheers.)

A public meeting is to be held here tomorrow, first to hear a report of the accounts of the Association for the past year; then to consider what means should now be adopted to change a system that was rotten to its core.

Did they wish a proof how false and injurious it was? They had but to cast their eyes over the daily papers; to read of the doings at Antwerp; of one set of men shut up there in a fort, and others led on to attack them: at loss of life, loss of good feeling, loss of happiness; only to aid one despot in injuring another. (Loud cheering.)

They would say, perhaps, that however false the system, they now present were but a handful, and could do little to change it. Let them but stand united and they would do much. When yet a youth he had felt, even at the moment when he believed that not one human being shared his sentiments—he had felt certain, that these were the sentiments that must, at no distant period, spread over the world. Then, the language he had often held to them here, would have affrighted or revolted every one; now such sentiments were received with attention and with approval, and were daily becoming incorporated with a national public opinion.

The room was crowded to overflowing in every part.

MONDAY, DEC. 31, 1832.

A meeting of the Association of the Industrious Classes was held pursuant to notice in the Lecture Room, and was attended by a large number of the members. The accounts of the year were laid before them, and Mr. OWEN gave an extempore report of the general proceedings of the past twelvemonth, and the objects attained during that time.

He particularized—

1st. The establishment of Lectures for the formation of a new public opinion respecting man and society; the superadding of other lectures during the week, on various branches of physical science, in their connexion with the great science of man and society.

2nd. The arrangements for Festivals each month, to accustom the working classes to enjoy rational, economical recreation, united with a more extended instruction in the principles of the new system, which we desire to introduce, to supersede the old system.

3rd. The establishment of a cheap weekly paper, to convey our sentiments more fully and extensively to the public, and to prepare the way for a regular newspaper in due time.

4th. The commencement of the new method of exchange of property, by means of the Equitable Labor Exchange of labor for an equal value of labor, and the new circulating medium of Exchange Notes.

5th. Extension of the system into the country, by the commencement of public proceedings in Birmingham, preparatory to the establishment of the First Provincial Branch in that town.

6th. The establishment of the First Metropolitan Branch, in the Surrey Institution, Black Friars Road.

7th. The attainment, by the means of members, and an audience prepared to reject the old system of the world, and to adopt an entire new one, founded on rational principles, and leading to beneficial practices only.

It was then moved and carried unanimously, "that this report be received as most satisfactory."

According to the accounts presented, there had been received in loans, donations, subscriptions, &c., and expended during the year 1832, in purchase of fixtures and furniture, in repairs and general expenses of the establishment Four thousand three hundred and nine pounds, ten and ten-pence half-penny. The books of the establishment containing every particular of the expenditure, are now, as they have always been, open to the inspection of any member desirous of examining them.

At one o'clock a Public Meeting was held, at which a similar Report was given. Notwithstanding the meeting was advertised only through the Crisis, the Lecture Room was filled, soon after the hour appointed.

It was unanimously resolved, that the Association of the Industrious Classes and the Society for carrying on the Labor Exchange be united, so as to form one Great National Association, for carrying forward the various objects contemplated at the commencement of this Institution and detailed in the original prospectus.

It was also unanimously resolved, that a Committee be appointed to prepare, and to lay before a future public meeting to be called for that purpose, a plan for the establishment and management of a National Association with metropolitan and provincial branches, to be formed for the purpose of carrying on, under one united direction, the various objects of this Institution.

A committee of twenty-four individuals was chosen; and the meeting adjourned to next Monday at one o'clock, to receive their report. See notice on our fourth page.

Previously to its adjournment, Mr. Weddington addressed the meeting. He said he considered the money expended had been thrown away; that the exchange system was useless and would lead to no practical benefit; that it was just expiring; that until the laboring classes went on land they would never be permanently relieved; that the same money expended in settling the poor in the country would have provided for some millions. (His address was received with mingled expressions of disapprobation, and cries of "Hear him;" "let him speak.")

The chairman (Mr. Nash) stated, in reply to the assertion that the Labor Exchange was just expiring, that the weekly deposits, which in the first weeks had not averaged over twenty thousand hours weekly, were now from thirty six to thirty eight thousand. This did not look very like an expiring system. (Laughter and applause.)

A gentleman suggested that the shares should be put as low as possible, that all might contribute according to their means. He thought they might be put as low as one pound. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Owen said he would recommend that this suggestion be adopted; but it was of course for the Committee to decide.

Several other gentlemen addressed the meeting, and the audience appeared throughout to take the most lively interest in the proceedings.

TUESDAY AND THURSDAY.

Mr. Saull and Mr. Rogers delivered their lectures as announced, much to the apparent satisfaction of their audiences. Mr. Saull's lecture was his concluding one for the present, and was illustrated by many rare and beautiful specimens of fossil remains; among the rest of fossil palm, which is of very seldom occurrence. Mr. Rogers' lecture was illustrated as well by geological specimens as by diagrams on a large scale, exhibiting sections of the various strata.

FRIDAY EVENING.

Mr. Hiscoc delivers on Friday evening, his introductory lecture on Astronomy, illustrated by a large Orrery. Our paper goes to press too early to

be able to report the result; but we doubt not, from the interest evinced, the audience will be large, though the lecture was decided on too late to allow its announcement in last week's Crisis. Mr. Hiscock continues his course next Friday. See fourth page.

EDITORIAL.

LONDON, JANUARY 5, 1833.

"THE BEE."

THIS is an ably edited paper, the same size as the Crisis, just commenced in Liverpool, and devoted to the cause of co-operation and improvement. Not the least interesting feature about the little publication, is, that it has three editors—one a Churchman, the second a Catholic, and the third a Unitarian, who seem, if not in all things to agree, yet most cordially to agree to differ. The first number contains a useful and important table or map of society, condensed from Colquhoun's resources of the British Empire; a table which we may hereafter transfer to our columns. In the meantime, we copy the following excellent article, from the second number:—

ANOMALIES IN THE PRESENT STATE OF SOCIETY, IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

One moment's reflection upon the economy of the Bee, the Map in our last number, and what we daily witness around us, is quite sufficient to convince any reasonable man, of the absurdity and folly of the present system, or rather want of system in society. The diligence of the Bee in collecting, and its wisdom and justice in the distribution of its honey, afford lessons of instruction to mankind far superior to what statesmen, philosophers, or political economists have taught. In human society, hundreds of thousands, willing to become industrious as bees, are only partially employed, or can get no employment at all, whilst nearly four-fifths of the honey collected, is distributed among those who gather none themselves. About one-fifth only, falls to the share of those who produce all, and a class that renders less real service than any other, though their number is only one-fourth of the producers, receive a larger aggregate amount. More than half as much as the labouring classes receive has been expended upon the class of government, which should have protected the industry of the country, and the poor man's scanty pittance, but whose chief study has hitherto been how to abstract as large a portion from it as possible for themselves. A class nearly half as many in number as the producers of wealth are employed in its distribution and superintendence, who receive for these services in the aggregate half as much more as the creators of it, and individually on an average, three times the amount; whilst the class of instruction, the most honorably, and next to the producers, most beneficially employed, are remunerated in exactly the inverse ratio of their usefulness to the great body of the people, the majority of those who support this as well as every other class, being suffered to remain in total ignorance, or to receive an education of little or no real value, whilst immense sums are expended in worthless accomplishments, upon beings destined to become equally worthless to their fellow men. The labor performed by individuals, in the manufacture of gaudy toys and trinkets, the decoration of shops and shop windows, and in various other ways, is of no service, and that expended upon articles and instruments made for the destruction of human life and property, are worse than useless. These remarks might be carried to much greater length, but we must proceed to another subject of still greater importance—that of religion.

England is said to be a Christian country, and we

are called a Christian people, we have a Christian King and Parliament, a Christian Establishment and Priesthood daily offering up the Christian prayer, "Lead us not into temptation," and Christianity, which teaches "as ye would that man should do to you, do ye even so to them," and "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" is said by the highest authorities to be part and parcel of the law of the land. Notwithstanding all this, a state of society which renders the practice of this religion next to impossible, is not merely permitted to exist, but is lauded by Christian philosophers, statesmen and political economists, and even merchants and tradesmen as the very height of human wisdom. The state of society so much admired is that of competition. We are exultingly told that competition draws forth latent talent, sharpens wit, stimulates industry, is the parent of invention and improvement, that it prevents extortion, equalizes the price of articles, increases and cheapens productions, open new channels for labour, and thus in a great variety of ways ultimately benefits the great body of the people. But let us examine this matter a little in detail by the assistance of the Map of Society given in our last number, let us see whether the effects produced by competition can be reconciled with the principles of our religion; we shall then think it worth while to inquire whether the benefits derived from it might not be better obtained in some other way. Competition has indeed so much cheapened productions, and reduced profits and the wages of labour, that the bulk of the people can scarcely purchase the coarsest food, much less are they able to obtain the various articles they manufacture; the markets consequently are overstocked with manufactured goods, whilst the greater number, the labourers, are in want of every thing. Having great difficulty therefore, in procuring employment, they compete with, and underbid each other, in the price of labour, till in many cases they are unable to earn by 12 hours hard toil six-pence per day; and means the most nefarious are frequently resorted to for the purpose of supplanting each other; hence arise strife, quarrels, fightings, hatred, malice, envy, and all uncharitableness as necessary consequences of this unholy competition. Instead of its being the interest, of labourers to love each other as brethren in the present state of society, their interest would be better secured if millions of their fellow sufferers were either transported to the antipodes, with the political economists, or perished in one night by famine, earthquake, sword, or pestilence; in order that those who remained might the more easily obtain remunerating employment for themselves and their famishing children; let those who imagine that any measure short of this will afford adequate relief, as things are at present, look at the miserable condition of poor unfortunate Ireland. So much then for the effects of Competition upon the first and most useful class in our map of society.

The same or similar results follow in the second and in all other classes from this demon of evil. The interest of each merchant, banker, shopkeeper, manufacturer, and tradesman, is evidently, that those in the same line of business as himself, either do remove, give up business, or become bankrupt, and consequently, it is his interest to wish they might become so, that he might have more business and obtain larger profits. For the same reason, sailors are also interested in the drowning of seamen, and ship-builders in storms and wrecks. Government is interested in enormous taxation, and in the ignorance and intemperance of the people, as the principal sources from which their taxes are derived. Judges, barristers, and lawyers, are interested in the prevalence of quarrels, crimes, the poverty which produces bankruptcy, and the disposal of property. It is the interest of physicians that sickness should prevail, and of clergymen that the people should at least be credulous, if not ignorant and vicious. It is the interest of soldiers that there should be war, and in war that they should murder, pillage, and destroy. And the interest of brewers, distillers, and publicans, requires the prevalence of drunken-

ness. The fifth and last class alone, so long as they can obtain good interests for their money, high rents for their lands, security in the funds, and articles at low prices, are interested in the continuance of a competitive state of society.

Let those moralists and divines who affirm that the interest of man and his duty are the same, seriously reflect on these things. If it be said that this is the natural state of man, and inseparable from the condition of civilized society, we deny both propositions, and confidently affirm, that both reason and religion, concur in teaching that man was made to love his fellow man, and that universal happiness can never be attained till it is his interest on every occasion, to love his neighbor as himself.

Co-operation based on reason, human nature, and the purest Christian principles, points out arrangements by the adoption of which, all these evils can be speedily and forever removed from society. The interest of each, then, will become the interest of all, and general prosperity will go hand in hand with the highest individual enjoyment. It will be our business to develop the principles of this system. It was necessary that we should first point out the evils of society, and the causes of those evils, before the means could be discerned for their removal.

TWO KINDS OF MISERS.

In a conversation with a few friends, the other evening, the question was broached: "Whither may we trace the origin of the strange idea, *that there is merit in suffering, and advantage in adversity?*"

Our readers know, that no idea has been more strenuously inculcated by the church, or more generally believed by the people, through whole centuries, than this. The worthiness of the devotee has been graduated by the number of his self-inflicted stripes, and the degree of virtue been gauged by the severity of the mortification which was thought most effectual to achieve it. Penance was looked upon as a bit of moral Indian rubber, wherewith the darkest pencil-marks of crime might be readily effaced. He who inflicted the worst sufferings on others was deemed guiltless, if, in addition, he but inflicted enough on himself also. Nay, to such a pitch has the absurdity been carried, that men have considered themselves, and been by others considered, as happy and favored, in proportion as they have been, in their earthly circumstances, miserable and afflicted.

Some of us, in discussing the point, were inclined to set all this down at once, as one of the thousand whimsical aberrations of the human mind, without an origin save in wayward fancy, or any, the least shadow of a rational reason to excuse its adoption.

But on a further examination, we were induced to believe, that, like most others superstitious fancies, it had some foundation. Suffering is experience; and experience is the parent of virtue and happiness. Human beings are often rendered better by adversity; why? because, when by irrational conduct, they have entailed suffering on themselves, that suffering, not unfrequently, proves a monitor and a guide.

The transition was easy from this to the folly I have spoken of; it is a similar transition to that which makes a man a miser. At first, money is valued because of the advantages it brings; at last, from habit, it is often valued for its own sake, and without reference to its utility. So in the case before us. The ascetic is a sort of moral miser, who would hoard up pain and suffering, as in themselves valuable, as the best gifts of Him, who chastens wherever he loves, and scourges every son he receives; and who has quite forgotten, that physical evil is only of value, inasfar as it is the purchase money of experience.

R. D. O.

POOR LAWS.

THE following excellent article is from the editorial columns of a late number of the True Sun.

"We had occasion, yesterday, to commend the observation of Mr. Baron Gurney, on the inefficiency of 'EDUCATION,' to secure happiness to the great body of the people, 'UNLESS PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT WERE PROVIDED FOR THEM.' The learned Judge declared at the same time, the payment of wages out of the poor-rates, to be illegal.

"The payment of wages out of parish rates, is one of the many abuses that have obstructed the healthy operation of the poor laws. In every respect, indeed, the administration of these laws has, for a very long time, been liable to objection.

"We object, moreover, to the name—Poor laws. The sternest Malthusian will admit LABOUR to be at all times, one of the elements of wealth—also the source of all wealth:—and we cannot admit, that men able and willing to labor, are justly designated paupers. The unemployed labourers of England demand occupation—not charity;—and in the event of employment being withheld from them, they are entitled to fall back upon the land, which is mortgaged for their support. There is nothing of alms-giving in all this—more than there is, in the receipt of rent, by a landlord.

"We object, then, we repeat, to the name—Poor Laws. The lame, the blind, the impotent, and the insane, may, indeed, be provided for, by enactments, bearing such a title—but the able-bodied mechanic, and artisan, should not be comprehended in the same class, with the absolutely helpless. The laws which provide employment for the unemployed mechanic, should be termed LABOUR LAWS—and such laws—if appreciated in their true spirit, and administered in the spirit in which they were conceived—would do more to increase social happiness, and even to impart security to PROPERTY, than all the laws which have ever been framed for the direct and ostensible purpose of protecting the possessions of the rich.

"It is obviously impossible that property can be secure, when any considerable proportion of those who constitute the strength of the community, are without employment, or the means of supporting life. In England, the necessity of finding employment for those who require it, is, not only one of the conditions on which the wealthy hold their possessions,—but it constitutes a bond of connection between the interests of those, who, in their respective positions, occupy the extreme points of the social scale. The necessity of providing at all times a market for labour, has a tendency to augment the productive application of capital—to create trade where it does not exist—and to prevent the withdrawal of the means, by which trade is carried on. If the rich must either find employment for those who desire it,—or support in idleness, the applicants for employment—there can be little doubt, to which alternative the wealthy will incline. The commerce of England increased a hundred fold, immediately after the enactment of what have ever since been termed the Poor Laws.

"The condition, then, on which the wealthy—and more especially the owners of land in England—hold their possessions, is the supply of employment to all who require it. But, even if there existed no such well defined charter of the rights and duties of the various sections of the community, the operation of Government upon the condition of the working classes, would entail upon Government, the necessity of discharging those duties, which statute-law has rendered imperative on the wealthier classes.

"The cry of every Government with which this country has hitherto been familiar, has been, the necessity of securing property! Yet, the whole business of our Government has been, interference with the security of property. The property that has been disturbed, has, to be sure, been generally the property of the poor—but the shilling which rewards the mechanic's toil, is no less his property, than his rental is the property of the landlord, or his dividends, are the property of the owner of stock.

"Government never allows a laborer to receive his wages, without claiming a portion of these, for the service of the State. Now, if Government has a right to share in the gains of a laborer in employment, that laborer has, by parity of reason, a right to require of Government, employment, when the fluctuations of trade have deprived him of it. Besides, if 'the service of the State' require a portion of every laborer's earnings, the 'service of the State' must, *a fortiori*, require that every laborer should be fully and profitably employed.

"It appears to us all-important, that this right of the laborer, should be fully established. The recognition of it, would do more to render the working classes respectable in their own eyes, and in the eyes of those who have hitherto, treated them as beings of an inferior species, than all the legislative enactments of the last hundred years."

THE VOICE OF TRUTH.

"Quanto, oh quanto è dolce
La voce della verità!"—*Metastasio*.

From the nations of earth a voice I hear,
Which calls me down from my starry sphere,
It arises from Africa's burning sands,
And is echoed back thro' the polar lands.

From the tribes of the spicy East it ascends,
Where the sun's rich color and odor lends;
And it follows his course to the gorgeous West,
When in purple and gold he is cradled to rest.

It is borne by the breeze as it whispers by
The azure arch of fair Grecia's sky;
From Italia, the birth-place of painting and song,
The Adrian waves its murmurs prolong.

And the earth resounds with the call for me
From the throne to the hut there is misery,
With joy I answer—I come, I come,
With man for ever to make my home.

I will set all gentle affections free
Which have pined so long in captivity;
And the icy bands which custom has framed,
Change to flow'ry garlands when I am named.

I will whisper the heart, and all visions bright,
At the magical sound, start to life and light;
The poet's dream will I realize
And earth shall become one true paradise.

My path shall be marked by knowledge and peace;
In the light of my presence dark error shall cease;
And sorrow, and vice, and bigotry's band,
Can have no abode in my happy land.

Pale falsehood shall flee at my potent voice;
I call on the kindoms around to rejoice,
For the spirit of man once freed from its chain,
Can never be bound in its fetters again.

CONCORDIA.

MYSTERY.—Mystery is the antagonist of truth. It is a fog of human invention, that obscures truth and represents it in distortion. Truth never envelops itself in mystery; and the mystery which it is at any time enveloped in, is the work of its antagonist, and never of itself.—*Paine*.

SOCIAL TEA AND DANCING PARTY.

As our anniversary festival was held so lately, there will be no regular monthly festival for January; but many of our friends having expressed a wish to meet in a quiet and friendly manner, more frequently than heretofore, we propose to open the large Lecture Room for a SOCIAL PARTY next Monday evening at eight o'clock. Tea or coffee will be served at the commencement of the evening without any charge. An opportunity will thus be afforded for social conversation among the members; and dancing will commence about nine o'clock. Tickets to members eighteen-pence; to visitors two shillings, including tea or coffee as above. Fruit, confectionary and other refreshments if required, extra.

J. D. Styles John Goulden
W. H. Bohm W. R. Wood.
James Eamons

IMPORTANT PUBLIC MEETING.

ON Monday next at one o'clock, a PUBLIC MEETING will be held in the Lecture Room, for the purpose of receiving the report of the Committee appointed at last Monday's meeting, and of forming a National Association for the purpose of carrying on the Labor Exchange in conjunction with the lectures, festivals and other objects of this Institution; and ultimately of extending similar institutions, by metropolitan and provincial branches, over this city and the kingdom.

* * We invite the attention of our friends to the public meeting advertised in to-day's Crisis. It is one of the utmost importance to our cause. The Committee appointed last Monday have already advanced considerably in their business, and will have a report of deep interest to make. Now is the moment for a determined and united effort, to place the affairs of the Association on a firm and solid basis. Let our friends come forward in good earnest, and next Monday may be an Era in the history of our Institution.

This number completes the first volume of the Crisis. In our first number of the second volume, which will appear next Saturday, we shall publish a statement of the total weekly business done since the commencement of the Exchange.

The CRISIS, which will hereafter be issued by EAMONSON, 15, Chichester Place, will now be enlarged to an eight page sheet, beginning next week, with the first number of the second volume. Advertisements will be received up to twelve o'clock on each Wednesday.

LECTURES DURING NEXT WEEK.

On Sunday morning at half past 11, ROBERT DALE OWEN, on Geography.

On Sunday evening at 7, ROBERT OWEN, on the Change of Society.

On Tuesday evening at half past 7, DAVID DALE OWEN, on Chemistry.

On Thursday evening at half past 7, Mr. ROOZE, on Geology.

On Friday evening, Jan. 4, at 8, Mr. HISCOCK, on Astronomy, illustrated by an Orrery.

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EXTRACTED FROM THE WORKS
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BY AN INVESTIGATOR.

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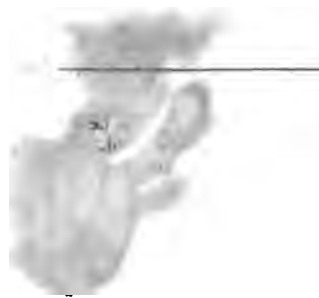
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THE
C R I S I S.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—OWEN.

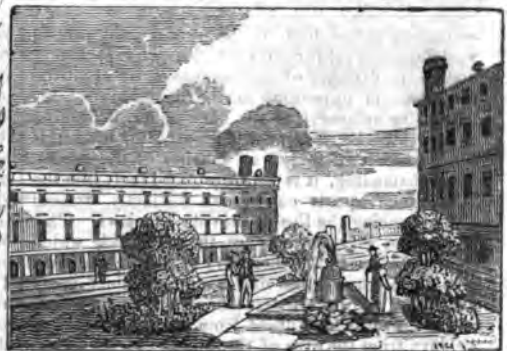
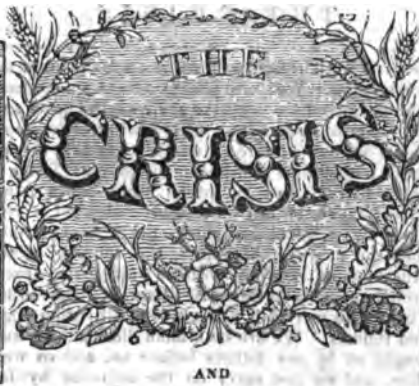
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1834.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

FRONTISPIECE.

PICTURES should explain themselves; but as in a fable the moral may be variously deduced, so may the design of the pencil admit of widely different constructions.

In the above sketches the artist has intended to represent the irrational and the rational arrangements of society. In the former, we see the cumbrous buildings, inconvenient and crowded, of the old system; in the latter, the regular structures, scientifically disposed, of the new system. In the old state are seen the neglected or half-cultivated lands which lie the farthest from over-populated towns; in the new, are to be seen every where throughout a well-divided territory, the highest degree of cultivation of the soil, and the embellishment thereof, for health and enjoyment.

In the old or present condition of mankind, we see the drunken, the criminal, the idle, and the crippled (each the victim of injustice and mal-arrangement), jostling against and mutually irritating the proud and wealthy; while in the new, all are elevated to the same noble equality, alike instructed from birth in the best habits, manners, and acquirements, and, by means of the enormous powers of chemistry and mechanism, enabled, without the necessity of human labour other than that which is wholesome and desirable, to live in perpetual competency, and generally to progress towards the highest degree of refinement, physical and mental, which the human mind can rationally imagine or desire. The Model of Community, as designed by Mr. Owen, will shortly be open for inspection at the Institution, Charlotte-street.

The elegant devices of the centre, around the word "Crisis," we leave to the curiosity and penetration of our youthful readers.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 1.

Mr. Smith lectured on "EDUCATION."

MEN, instead of seeking after truth, have ranged themselves into parties, where they profess already to have discovered all truth, and where they will even oppose matters of fact, if these matters of fact overthrow any of their favourite theories. A Radical vilifies every Whig and every Tory, and a Tory regards every Radical

as a scoundrel. The Christian throws all sorts of aspersions on the Infidel, and the Infidel on the Christian. A Christian will admit any thing without hesitation, if it has a tendency to strengthen his own position in arguing with his opponent, and an Infidel rejects all testimony in favour of the Christian, and greedily catches at the most trifling and suspicious circumstance that will throw a stumbling-block in the way of his adversary. Thus society, as at present constituted, cannot adopt a national system of education, unless all these parties agree to make concessions to one another. The Christian wants his children to be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, to read the Bible, to learn the catechism, and to be instructed in the tenets of the Christian religion. Many of the Infidels would not only banish this branch of education from schools, but if they could, would obliterate the Bible from the page of time, and annihilate it by pure force: a most irrational victory it would be, even if they could accomplish it. The reading of the Bible in schools has the very contrary effect of what is intended; it sickens the child, and creates an aversion, which lasts for life; and it certainly is not justice to the intellectual faculties of a child, to impose upon it any dogmatical doctrines before it has come to maturity of thought, more especially when all other doctrines, all other religions are carefully concealed, and the child is prevented, from want of information, from comparing the religion of his parent or teacher with any other. This is not education; it is merely an imposition of the opinion of the teacher upon the credulity of the pupil. This is a specimen of Christian liberality. The Infidels are equally dogmatic and unjust. If the Christian asserts to his child or his pupil, that the religion he professes is literally true, the Infidel merely goes to the other extreme, and informs the child, with the same presumption, that it is not, that it was invented by priests, and imposed upon the people by force, with all the other dogmas of his party. "Did ever such a person as Jesus Christ exist?" says an Anti-theistical catechism, which is no doubt intended to be liberal: "No, never," is the answer. Which is the more liberal of the two—the Christian who teaches the child to say "Yes," or the Infidel who teaches the child to say "No?" If this is a fair specimen of the

liberal mode of teaching children, I should take pretty good care that none over whom I had any charge should have the benefit of a liberal education.

No dogmatism is liberal. Scepticism is the only liberal state of mind on all subjects of opinion. A man who positively denies, is as unpardonable as he who asserts what he cannot demonstrate; and if by any process of reasoning he comes to any conclusions upon a given subject, he has no right to impose those conclusions upon his pupils as infallible; those very conclusions to which he comes may be contrary to the experience of those whom he professes to teach; in which case his dogmatism would only demonstrate his own ignorance. For instance, it is possible to suppose a case in which some dogmatical, self-called philosopher was asserting that it was impossible for a man to speak except by the mouth, and that no articulate sound could be produced but by the usual organs of speech. The teacher in this instance would speak from his own experience; he himself found it impossible to articulate sounds, except by moving his lips and the muscles of his face. But we may suppose that, amongst the number of this learned philosopher's audience, a ventriloquist was seated, and that after uttering this oracular dogma from the professional chair, a small shrill voice from the writing desk upon which his notes were arranged, were to cry out, "Pray, how can you demonstrate that, Mr. Wiseacre." Mr. Wiseacre would be rather at a loss to know how and where that voice originated; his philosophic head would no doubt be wise enough to discover that nobody could be contained within the writing-desk, and like many learned men of his own stamp, he might have already, without any knowledge of the subject, have come to the conclusion that ventriloquism was a species of delusion, the effect of which was heightened by the imagination, and hence the learned professor would probably become a little confused. By and by, however, let us suppose that the ventriloquist showed himself to the audience, and without any motion of his mouth, or the muscles of his face, made distinct articulate sounds proceed from any part of the room, by the mere action of his belly and throat; would not this be a complete refutation of the professor's dogma? Yet even with this

refutation before him, he could not comprehend ventriloquism; it is contrary to his own experience; and as the distance of time increased, he would be apt, even in opposition to the testimony of his senses, to relapse into his old dogma, imagining that because he, forsooth, is ignorant of the art, it must have been merely an illusion of the senses. Notwithstanding, it is an ascertained fact, that the best ventriloquists can speak distinctly without either opening the lips or moving the jaws. This shows that experience is not the only guide which we can follow in the discovery of truth; we must also have observation and testimony, since many secrets of nature are made known only to a few, and are as much withheld from the rest of men as colours from the eyes of the blind. Hence, dogmatism upon subjects beyond our experience is folly, whether we take the affirmative or the negative of the question.

A truly liberal man, therefore, will rather cherish a spirit of scepticism and inquiry upon all facts and occurrences, instead of taking the side of a party; and it is only such a man that can present both views of the question in so favourable a light as to do justice to each. Upon past events it is as impossible to speak with precision, as it is to speak with precision of the future, or even of the present. We know that, even in the present inquisitive age, thousands of false reports are daily in circulation respecting both public and private characters; so much so, that we cannot even trust our faith to the public newspapers. We have no reason to judge more highly of the ages of antiquity. Man is always the same, and he almost invariably mixes up error with truth. Hence, a liberal-minded teacher would show partiality to neither view of the subject before his pupil; whatever were his own private sentiments, he would not express them without doing full justice to the opposite opinion. If this method of moral instruction were adopted, it might satisfy even the most scrupulous mind. If teachers were appointed, upon whose honour and fidelity confidence might be reposed, even the most headstrong sectarian might yield acquiescence in such a liberal system of education. For every man who professes a system of religion or philosophy, feels convinced that his system is the most rational and consistent; he conceives that it has the strongest evidence to support it; and hence he cannot consistently oppose a fair competitive trial of strength between it and others: truth fights merely by intellectual weapons, and if she cannot conquer by those only, she is not worth fighting for.

Now, there are some who entirely oppose all religious instruction in schools. I don't consider this as by any means politic. If a child is not taught at school, he will be taught by his parents at home; and these most probably would infuse into his mind their own peculiar dogmas. The child of a Christian is reared a Christian, the child of an Infidel becomes an Infidel; and the child of a pick-pocket grows up into a thief. If you put two yards of broad cloth into a tailor's hands, he makes it either into a coat or a pair of breeches, as he pleases. So it is with the child. It is therefore essentially necessary that the children be protected from this fatality, that they be sheltered alike from Christian, Mahomedan, and Infidel dogmatism—that they be not subjected to the caprice and party-spirit of their parents—who have it in their power to clothe their young minds with illiberal and irritation prejudices. No effectual check can be given to this evil but one, and that one is the plan to which I have already alluded, of giving a fair and impartial view of the prevailing systems of religion, placing each in the strongest light, and pointing out in what respects they agree, and in what they differ from each other. This I conceive to be true liberality, and it would have more effect upon the minds of the rising generation, in bringing about a general reconciliation of conflicting sects, than any other system. It would familiarize them so much with each other from their youth upwards, and present all opinions in such a favourable light, that they would naturally make friendly advances

towards each other, and come to a common understanding. We have always adopted a contrary system hitherto. We have always taken good care to cherish ungenerous and uncharitable sentiments in our children's minds, because we feel those ungenerous sentiments ourselves. There is not a Christian or an Infidel editor of a newspaper, there is not an author, either of a religious or political pamphlet, that can ever mention the name of Mahomet, the founder of the Mussulman's religion, without putting the opprobrious name of impostor before it. Just so the Turks with us; they call us dogs, Christian dogs, and Infidels. We are both alike illiberal, we were taught so by our fathers before us, and so were they, and we just carry on the injustice by following a bad example, and yielding to the impulses of an uncharitable spirit. Our children imbibed this spirit from us, it grows with their growth, and strengthens with their strength, and thus disunion is perpetuated from father to son. Many, I know, talk thus from good motives, that is, they speak what they think. There is no occasion to speak what we think at all times. Silence, on many subjects, is an evidence of wisdom; but, above all, when we can speak nothing but abuse, and slander. Opprobrious names bestowed upon private individuals, can never propagate a principle of charity; and when these individuals are the founders of systems, an abusive title bestowed upon them is a reproach upon the whole of their followers. When I was a boy, I looked upon a Jew with abhorrence; now that I am circumcised, and become a Jew myself, I look upon him with pleasure. Upon a Roman Catholic I used to look with a degree of melancholy, such as might be created on seeing a man ascend the gallows to be hanged, for I considered all the Papists as sure to be damned. An Unitarian I equally abhorred; and I have stood and gazed upon an Infidel in a kind of nervous agitation. A Mahometan I never saw, but my imagination clothed him with all the attributes of devilry, though my pity did not fail to commiserate his ignorance, and his unhappy destiny. This is an extreme case, for I was brought up in the strictest sect of our religion—a Pharisee; but the principle of illiberality is the same in whatever degree you practise it, whether you practise it as an extreme Christian or an extreme Infidel; for if you infuse any kind of prejudice into the minds of children or youth, you give them an inclination which will pervert the rules of justice for years to come, and most probably for life.

After a few other observations, Mr. Smith made the following remarks upon

LANGUAGE.

Language is the vehicle by which our ideas are communicated to each other: and it is as full of corruption as the other arts and sciences which engage the attention of man. The great bulk of the people speak very inaccurately; and a very great proportion of what are called the educated and even the literary are carried away with the current:—not only has every province its own peculiar blunders, vulgarisms, accents, and modes of pronunciation;—but the very meaning of the same word is frequently found to change by a change of latitude and longitude: many words also are so ill defined, and consequently so ill understood, that people contend for hours together; and at last discover that their views are entirely the same, only they have followed different definitions of some abstract term. For instance, I once heard a long contention between two individuals respecting the being of a God—the one party said, there was no such being, and the other maintained there must be; of course the one appeared to be an Atheist, but it was not so, for after the argument had continued for some time, without either party perceiving where the point lay upon which the two scales of the controversy were supported, one proposed a definition of the word "being," and it was found that the one understood by being, a person having a distinct shape and form, the other party said, that the word "being" did not include the idea of

either shape or form; this settled the dispute at once, and the two parties were reconciled. Many instances of a similar nature have I observed, where the evil of dissension entirely originated in an ignorance of language. It is much better to have few words which are well understood, than a great multiplicity of words used without discrimination. Hence, a child should be early taught to define, and to make use of all its discrimination in pointing out the differences and the resemblances of artificial terms. A general outline of science, physical and moral, will follow; and the youth is now prepared for taking his station as a respectable member of general society.

SUNDAY EVENING.

An unusually large congregation was assembled to hear Mr. Owen's account of his tour in the north.

Mr. Owen commenced by stating that he had sometime ago received a letter from an individual, who asked him why he opposed the doctrines or moral discipline of Jesus of Nazareth, and if he did so after a proper investigation of the subject, &c.? Mr. Owen said that he had replied to this letter, and that circumstances rendered it useful at this particular period to change it into the following discourse:—

SIR,—You ask me why I am "an enemy and opposer of the benevolent Jesus of Nazareth?" and "what it is in the Blessed Redeemer to which your convictions lead you to object? Is it his life? his character? or if not, then is it the peculiar doctrines which he promulgated? or the moral discipline which he enforced? Do you consider these doctrines less imbued with benevolence than his actions, or his moral discipline injurious to man's individual or social welfare?"

You afterwards say, "You, no doubt, deeply reflected upon the conduct and religion of Christ, before you presumed to include this religion in the general denunciation which you have uttered against all creeds; may I solicit an acquaintance with the result of your reflections, that I may be enabled, if possible, to account for the extraordinary union of benevolence and infidelity which your statements and actions have evinced you to possess." These are, indeed, questions of deep interest, not only to you and me, but to all who have been trained in any religious creed.

I will now endeavour to answer them, in such a manner, that no one, hereafter, shall misunderstand the convictions which an accurate observation of facts, a patient comparison of those facts with each other, and I believe unprejudiced deductions from them, have forced upon me, even (for a long time) in direct opposition to my wishes, for my early education made me very desirous to remain a sincere Christian according to the general acceptance of the term.

I have not, I cannot have, any personal enmity or hostility to any character, ancient or modern. Could it be possible for such an anomalous being as the devil is described to be, to exist under the circumstances in which it has been written he came into his present state, I should not blame him, but pity his sufferings, and do all in my power to relieve him from them. Such are the feelings which the religion I am obliged to entertain forces upon me. I therefore, as expressed in my former letter, am not "an opponent of the benevolent Jesus of Nazareth."

"And what is there," you ask, "in the Blessed Redeemer to which your convictions lead you to object?"

I reply, whatever there is in the doctrines of those who profess to be his followers that is in opposition to facts, or to truth.

His life and his character, as they here have been handed down to us, appear, according to the light of the period in which he lived, to have been irreproachable. Judging from the popular documents which we possess respecting him, he was a sincere reformer of the abuses of his time. He was benevolent and kind-hearted, and desired to relieve the poor in their distress. He was opposed to hypocrisy, and sterner

recommended what was just, and that all men should love one another.

This was going a great way for the time in which he lived, and that he was sincere in his desire to ameliorate the condition of mankind no one can doubt, if the testimony regarding him be true, for he was willing to sacrifice himself for the sins of the world, according to the phrase then used; that is, he felt so great a love for mankind, that, to relieve them from sin and misery, or, which is the same, ignorance and poverty, he was willing, so far to oppose the popular prejudices of the day, as to run the risk of life, by teaching doctrines which he thought were true, in opposition to the generally received notions of the people.

He knew what was injurious in the effects; he desired to remove these and to introduce better. He perceived that the world was selfish or individualized; that it was full of envy, hatred, strife, covetousness, and all uncharitableness; that these could not exist with real virtue and happiness; and that, before this change could be made in their character, they must be taught to acquire new thoughts and new feelings, to love one another in all sincerity; that, in fact, they must be born again into a new life, in which the purest charity and affection should pervade the whole man.

This he knew and taught, and in those days it was a great deal for any one to know and to teach; but he knew not the real cause of these evils in man, or the practical remedy for them.

He knew not the true origin or cause which perpetually generates envy, hatred, strife, malice, wars, murders, massacres, covetousness, and all uncharitableness; he knew that all these were grievous evils, and he desired to remove them. He knew also, that to make man happy, he must be taught to acquire affection and charity for every individual of his race.

As the "Benevolent Jesus of Nazareth" knew not the cause of the evil that he discovered in man, or of the miseries which, in consequence of it, pervade society; so neither do his followers know or suspect the real cause of the one or of the other, nor the practical remedy for them; and, therefore, these errors and evils remain now, and afflict man, and render the world as wretched as in all times past.

The great remedy of the "Benevolent Jesus of Nazareth" for all the evils of human life was in the precept, "Love thy neighbour as thyself;" and whenever this precept can be applied to practice, the remedy thus proposed will be, indeed, found all-powerful; for man will then know no sin, and the earth will be in peace, its inhabitants will be full of intelligence and happiness,—continually increasing, as real knowledge advances,—will pervade all parts of the world; and then will the fullness of time be come.

The first coming of Christ, when relieved from the mystery with which the ignorance and inexperience of our ancestors clothed all new and important knowledge, to make the multitude receive it with veneration—means the announcement of some truths essential for man to know, to prepare him to attain future happiness; but truths spoken in parables, and mixed with errors, and, therefore, incapable of being applied to practice; and, therefore, no man has yet been formed to "love his neighbours as himself."

The second coming of Christ—means the open promulgation of simple truth, freed from all error relative to the nature of man, and the practice which he must adopt before he can "love his neighbour as himself," before there can be "peace on earth and goodwill to man," and when there will be no need for parables, mysteries, or miracles. Turn your thoughts inward, and ask yourselves—what do the signs of the times portend? Are there any indications of the period approaching when men may speak and hear the whole truth regarding themselves, unfeigned by any error, and without parables, mysteries, or miracles?

Is not the earth, on this day, full of the means, if they were rightly directed, to give real knowledge, abundance of wealth, and the best and kindest feelings to all its inhabitants? and yet are not the latter, for want of truth devoid of error upon these subjects,

afflicted with mystical creeds, with poverty almost too much for men to bear, and with all manner of inferior passions and feelings, and especially with selfishness and uncharitableness?

And shall the means of attaining this good for man be, day by day, before us, and shall these evils continue to overwhelm us with crime and misery?

The reply to these questions is my answer to the question "Why I appear to oppose the benevolent Jesus of Nazareth?"

The truths which the Christian history attribute to him, hidden, as they are, in parables, confounding, as they have been made, by mysteries and miracles, and defiled, as they are, by Pagan errors and imaginations, are totally unfit to relieve the world from its present evils, or to prevent their continuance or their accumulation, through all future ages.

The world of intellect has been growing for nearly 2,000 years, since the "Benevolent Jesus of Nazareth" spoke in parables and in mysteries; new facts, new sciences, and new knowledge of various descriptions, have been subsequently made known. And these new facts, sciences, and knowledge, have so accumulated, as now to render it necessary, nay, unavoidable, that new arrangements for forming the character of man, and uniting him with his fellows, in a superior and happy state of society, cannot be much longer delayed.

Will the followers of the "Benevolent Jesus of Nazareth" stand still, and adhere to olden times, when it was stated that men, for a season, owing to their ignorance or partial blindness, were compelled to see as through a glass, darkly? Or will they now bestir themselves in good earnest, and press forward to gain the prize of their high calling, to endeavour to pass through this valley of the shadow of death in which our friends and fellow-men are daily dying of famine around us, and attain for themselves and all future generations, a state and condition of life, in which there shall be no wailing or repining in our streets; but in which overwhelming circumstances shall be formed to prevent the possible existence of ignorance, or poverty, or of crime?

I ask you, Amicus—you who, by your letter, seem desirous of removing the dim glass now before your eyes, and the eyes of the whole Christian and religious world, will you press onward and endeavour to pass from darkness into light? from useless reveries into practical operations, founded on real knowledge, that will enable you to attain all you seek?

If you and your friends, then, are in earnest in searching after truth, for the truth's sake, arrange the means for a friendly intercourse between the conscientious religious and conscientious irreligious, that they may detect the errors which destroy brotherly love; which produce estrangement of mind and feelings, and which prevent the cordial co-operation of all for the benefit of each.

It is for you and your friends, having the power in your hands, now to form these arrangements, in mercy to suffering humanity.

Let us now lay aside our angry feelings; let us henceforth cease to apply abusive and unmeaning, but irritating terms to our fellow-men, erring, as all of us have, from our birth. Can you and your friends expand your minds, and so far overcome your early prepossessions, as to bury all distinctive deriding terms in oblivion; and be content to become, indeed, and in very truth, searchers after truth for the truth's sake, and to be denominated simply, the "Lovers of Truth?"

If you and your friends can now do this, then may we expect the dawn of a new day to be near at hand, and a new, superior life to be opening upon us.

Then shall all the opprobrious terms which have hitherto divided, which now divide man from man, cease from our lips, and be no longer used to prevent us from loving one another.

While the terms are applied of Jew or Gentile, of Hindoo or Christian, of Mahomedan or Pagan, of Sceptic, of Deist, of Atheist, or any other conveying an unkind and uncharitable feeling, by which men shall distinguish the errors of each other; it will continue beyond human power to make man to "love his neighbour as himself," or to receive within his bosom the feelings of pure and genuine charity.

You term me an infidel. An infidel to what? to

the notions which, whether true or false, you have been compelled, without your knowledge or consent, to receive from infancy, and for which you never can be entitled to merit, or can deserve demerit? No, Sir! I am no infidel! I abhor the term as well as the deed! To avoid the latter, I have made the sacrifice of every private consideration! and I am yet ready to make all the sacrifice that man can make, to remove infidelity from the world! To make it unknown to man. How ardently do I feel while I write this, that no infidelity existed upon earth! That all men were placed under those circumstances in which they might successfully search for truth, and when they found it, they might in all simplicity and good faith, declare it openly and freely to all their fellow-men?

No, Sir! I am no infidel to truth! Willingly would I now sacrifice the few years I may yet live, to establish it in all its purity and never-changing consistency, for the benefit of this and future generations.

But, Sir, to inconsistencies, of all descriptions, as they must be opposed to truth; to all mysteries beyond our comprehension, and to all miracles opposed to the laws of nature, I am compelled to be an infidel.

Yet, why should there be anger or the slightest irritation from man to man because of that, which, by the constitution of his nature he could not avoid?

He is compelled, by the constitution of his nature, which he did not create for himself, to receive his convictions and his feelings; and when he does not express these in all the genuineness of faithfulness, then, and then alone, is man an infidel.

An infidel to his own thoughts and feelings! an infidel to his fellow man, from whom he hides the truth! and an infidel to that power, whatever it may ultimately prove to be, which gave him being, and a living existence.

Now, Sir, those questions which you addressed to me in the true spirit of humanity, I have answered according to the bare knowledge I have received, and without there being, as far as I know myself, a particle of infidelity admitted into them. And, perhaps, what I have stated may now enable you to account for, as you express it, the extraordinary union of benevolence and infidelity which, you say, my own statements and actions have evidenced me to possess.

With thanks for your letter, and a sincere desire for your happiness, permit me to subscribe myself,

Your friend and servant,

ROBERT OWEN.

After this Mr. Owen proceeded to lay before the congregation the prospects which had been opened to the working classes in particular, and all mankind in general, by the important events which have taken place within the last few weeks in the north of England. Mr. Owen stated that he left London in consequence of a letter which he received from a friend in Manchester, giving an account of proceedings in that place of more importance to society than any which had taken place for a very long period. He alluded to a serious and determined strike, or turn out, which had taken place amongst the builders there, which seemed to indicate that a favourable opportunity presented itself of suggesting to the operatives a plan of organization by which they might in a short time emancipate themselves from the thralldom of their present condition. That now the minds of the working men were strongly directed to their degradation in society, they were resolved upon some important change in the relative condition of master and men, and, if now properly counselled, they had spirit and resolution sufficient to carry the most triumphant measures into execution.—[They were also so fortunate as to have the hearty co-operation of two of the masters, Messrs. Hansam and Welsh, partners in trade, men of large benevo-

lence and liberal and enlightened views, under whose patronage and direction great things might be accomplished. After reading the letter above alluded to, which shall be published at a future period, along with several others which were read this evening,]—Mr. Owen proceeded to state that he went to Birmingham, where he found the builders again at work, in consequence of a compromise between them and their masters. On Monday following, Mr. Hansam came to him, and was with him several days from morning till night.—“I found him,” says Mr. O., “a man after mine own heart,” a man who took the deepest interest in the welfare of the working man, and who was willing to sacrifice every personal consideration of his own to accomplish their deliverance. Mr. Owen presented his own views and plans before Mr. Hansam, and at the end of the third day of these interviews he found him quite prepared to co-operate with him in furthering the great work of human redemption. Mr. Welsh was absent from Birmingham at the time, and Mr. Hansam felt a little anxiety about the impression which this resolution of his might make upon his partner's mind, but his fears were vain. Mr. Welsh at his return expressed himself equally ready to enlist in the service, and further with his time, his talents, and his influence, the cause of all mankind.

Mr. Owen then stated that he went to Manchester, and afterwards to Liverpool, in both which places he had the most interesting and satisfactory interviews with the working men; they insisted upon his returning speedily to see them, which he promised. Here Mr. Owen read a number of letters, relative to his own and other proceedings in Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool, which at present we have not room to introduce. They, however, satisfactorily showed that most important movements are now going on amongst the working classes in the north, which cannot fail, in a very short time, to form a new body politic amongst us—a body of producers, not of idlers, formidable by their number, formidable by their industry, and also formidable to all evil doers, by their grand views of general benevolence.

While at Manchester, Mr. Owen stated that he recommended to the union there to send delegates to Birmingham, to confer with their fellow-workmen in that place; they complied. The delegates and Mr. Owen set off together, and next day they met in council at Birmingham, and sat in consultation over the interest of mankind from seven in the morning till late in the evening; next day also from seven in the morning till seven in the evening; “and I may venture to say,” says Mr. Owen, “that in these two days were accomplished for Britain and the world, more than has been accomplished in any public or private meeting for the last five hundred years. The destruction of the old, and the commencement of the new world are decided; the foundation of the new world is already laid—it is also laid upon a rock—the rock of truth, the rock of justice; its principles are such as none but the enemies of mankind can oppose; they consult the good of the whole and the individual, and therefore every man will lend his strength to defend them. No evil can befall a system which is founded in the heart of every individual, and is endeared to the species by the liberty, the equality, the happiness, which it diffuses through all human society. It was a most gratifying sight to see these working men in

their plain clothing, consulting with such deliberation and good sense upon subjects of national importance, taking up their ideas so accurately and so consecutively, and coming to such just conclusions, and it presented a favourable omen for the success of their cause, when they shall have the management of their own affairs.

Mr. Owen concluded by saying, that he had requested the delegates, twenty-two in number, to subscribe their names to the important resolutions which they had made; and observed, that those subscriptions would, by succeeding generations, be accounted of as great historical importance as the signing of the declaration of American independence; for this would prove to be the declaration of the real independence of the producing classes over the world, and that all human beings must become useful producers. He stated that he was under engagements to return next week to Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A. B. of Birmingham's letter is received, and shall be answered by Mr. Smith next week.

We had begun V. C. L.'s contribution, but were obliged, for want of space, to postpone it to next week. Several pamphlets have been kindly sent us for review, which shall be immediately attended to.

G. F., X. L. and “Sweet Nonsense,” in No. 2.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPT. 7.

A CORRESPONDENT writes from Manchester the following acute and apparently forcible letter:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Since hearing Mr. Owen's late lectures in Manchester, I have been thinking about the proposition he advanced in support of his project for the alteration of society; and whether I have thought too much or too little upon them I cannot say, but I find myself completely unable to reconcile one proposition with the other. One proposition is (and he asserts it as a positive fact), that man is not responsible for anything that he does; that nature or God is responsible. The other is, that he believes man in five years hence, or some future period, will be in a different state from that which he is now in; that instead of being wretched and miserable, he will be happy and comfortable. Now, in my opinion, both of these propositions cannot be true; one of them must be false, if not both. For, if man be not responsible for what he does, it is evident that he cannot help doing what he does do; and if he cannot help doing what he does, how is his condition to be changed? If certain actions make man miserable, and if he cannot help committing these actions, how is he ever to be happy? And if he is ever to be happy (as Mr. Owen believes), I beg to ask who or what will have produced that change? Will it be nature or God, or man himself? If it be nature or God, I should like to know how. And, if it be man himself, how can he be irresponsible, when he can change his actions from bad to good? For his actions must be different to produce different effects. My opinion is this—*if man be irresponsible, he never can be happy,*

unless the power that formed him alters his nature; and if he be responsible, *he can be happy by his own exertions.*

These are my thoughts upon Mr. Owen's above-mentioned propositions, and my purpose in troubling you with them is, to request you to favour me with an explanation, sufficient to reconcile this apparent absurdity. With the hope that you will thus oblige me,

I am, with respect, C. J. H.
Manchester, August 30, 1833.

The mistake of this writer is in misapprehending the term “responsible.” An accurate observance of our own nature teaches that we are governed by motives; that these originate in properties beyond our control, either physical or mental, or both; that according to the force of these motives the will is formed, and the consequent act or conviction takes place. As, therefore, the will of man (dependent on motives) is not free, he cannot rationally be accountable to any being whatever for his thoughts or actions—so far only is he irresponsible.

But, on the other hand, he is responsible, in his personal happiness or misery, for the natural or unnatural course of his thoughts and actions. If he act in unison with the laws of his nature, and if he be surrounded by those of his fellows who pursue the same wise course, he will be happy; if he or they act contrary to the laws of human organization, there will be unhappiness. So far only can he be responsible.

The confounding of this kind of responsibility with the previously assumed one, originates in the vague notion that man cannot become happy but by means of laws beyond those of his original formation, and an equally false conclusion, that the happiness of one human being is necessarily opposed to that of others.

The ignorance of men engenders error and perplexity—nature is all simple and harmonious.

The most palpable law of our nature is the necessity of pursuing what we conceive to be our own happiness; or if evils only are presented to us (as in the present system of society) to choose the lesser ones. This harmony between the motives which decide the will and the will itself has given birth to the absurdity of our possessing free-will. The cause and the effect have been confounded, and the incomprehensible power which directs man towards happiness has been blended in his conceit with that still more incomprehensible power called free-will. The great first cause alone can possess this power. Every subordinate agent, if not determined by fixed laws, would perpetually confound the whole scheme of creation.

But it requires to be explained to our friend C. J. H. how man, as a creature of necessity, can be brought to will a true state of enjoyment, and to pursue it.

The progress of real knowledge is the first grand means of attaining this object. Science teaches man continually more and more the qualities of the things by which he is surrounded, and enables him to select the good, and destroy or neutralize the bad. Science possesses this power as well with animate as inanimate

objects; the treatment of the former is her highest department. The most lofty branch of human knowledge is that respecting man—he can rise no higher. All his finer perceptions of superior beings, all his sublime imaginings originate in, and ultimately fall back upon, his own most noble species. Man to man is the only adequate subject of exaltation. When, therefore, the sciences shall be fully developed, and especially those concerning man and society (which have now begun rapidly to make progress), then shall mankind know the way to be relieved from all the manifold evils arising from error, and, knowing it, shall from that delightful necessity of their organization, misnamed free-will, be compelled to pursue it.

The best study we can recommend upon these subjects is the outline of the Rational System, in No. 10 of the *Crisis*, vol. I. A.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT.

UNANIMITY is a power of good—it is omnipotent—it is the cordial balm that will give happiness to mankind—that must raise the industrious and oppressed to their proper station in society, and be the harbinger of peace and goodwill to the whole human race. For this important cause, then, we are anxious to see equitable labour exchange carried successfully out, feeling convinced that there is no other system than this, combined with the knowledge and conviction that the character of man is formed for and not by himself, that can ever thoroughly unite the industrious classes or better their condition; it being evident to all that reflect on the subject, that the only antidote to competition is labour exchange properly understood and acted upon; and to effect its success, we are anxious to see the best possible organization of the Association effected as quickly as possible. Every member of the Association should now direct the whole of his energies and efforts to this important object; now is the time for those who profess co-operation to prove what they profess; the nucleus is formed of a power sufficient to show to the world practical results. The materials are with us, we only want the strength of combination, like the bundle of sticks in our Institution, and the world is our own in truth and happiness.

The idea of a grand association of the industrious, intelligent, and well-disposed, consisting of upwards of a thousand members of both sexes, in equal rights and interests, is so important, that it requires a comprehensive mind to see it in all its force and bearings. The governing and directing of such a mighty machine requires intelligence, firmness, and energy, and we shall never rest satisfied till we see it organized into departments, sections, and classes—to see the Institution surrounded by a circle of united knowledge and industry, carrying on all operations in it for our mutual benefit, drawing from the old world of competition and strife all that we can fairly obtain, and working, dealing, and exchanging it in the new world of co-operation and harmony. Here,

in this Institution, sacred to truth and equity, let all our energies and means be concentrated; let all our operations be carried on by ourselves for the Institution: in other words, we have but one interest, that of doing every thing to support the Exchange, we receiving a double interest in return through its well working, being in fact for one penny a week its sole proprietors and managers. This, fellow-citizens and workmen, brothers and sisters, is a bright epoch in the history of co-operation, to see a thousand human beings of both sexes in perfect equality, managing their own affairs, and endeavouring to emancipate themselves in peace and goodwill towards each other; and we hope to see workmen of all kinds throwing aside their old competitive prejudices and ill-feelings, mixing in one common workshop, and subscribing to one common fund for their employment; to hear the busy hum of the bees working for themselves, without the fear of the task-master, or being thrown out of employment; or to see them mixing in mutual enjoyment and equality—their countenances beaming with joy and intelligence. And now we say to you, seek not so much to get subscribers, as to make real converts to the principles, and organize and concentrate yourselves well first. You are sufficient for the purpose—have patience—remember that nature is progressive—be you so likewise. It is your duty then to assist those you have placed to act for you; they are but your fellow-labourers; they are worthy of their hire. You must be aware of the difficulties they have to contend against; beginning without capital, and with many burdens. Can you suppose that they have a different interest from yourselves? they are doubly interested to make these operations succeed (both in reputation and subsistence); give them your confidence and sympathy, not treat them with jealousy and suspicion; act in mutual council and harmony together. Remember that a democratic power, combined with intelligence, good feeling, and charity, is real liberty, equality, and happiness, wherein all should speak and act openly, and in friendship together for the general good, and none assume a power to command in authority over others; only to direct in council that which is necessary to be done. But a democracy without these limitations, wherein all assume a power to command, because they have a delegated office, is real despotism in its most oppressive form—that of many instead of one. Keep this ever in your mind, that you are combining for your own interest, all that you do is for your own good, and not in charity for the sake of charity, as in the old world. There must be no exclusion; those who would exclude their fellow man do not rightly understand our principles or their own interest. Why do we seek to combine? Why is our condition bad? Because we have been divided! To bear and forbear, then, must ever be our motto, if we want that which the industrious classes have been strangers to—confidence in each other: if we want this feeling, there can be no confidence; every little bicker-

ing, every idle repetition of an error, every whisper, shakes confidence and prevents union. Confidence we must have, not blind confidence, but open and certain confidence; and we must be careful that, while we seek to establish democracy, liberty, and equality, we do not, through mistaken zeal and feeling, set up a despotism.

J. R. T.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

The heart, like a tendril, accustomed to cling,
Let it grow where it will, cannot flourish alone;
But will lean to the nearest and loveliest thing
It can twine with itself, and make closely its own.

MOORE.

The lines I have just quoted remind me so forcibly of a tale I used to hear in my nursery days, that I will tell it to those who may be disposed to listen, and we will then see if any useful lesson can be drawn from it:

For truth sometimes, like Eastern dames,
Can speak her thoughts by flowers.

One very beautiful morning in June, when the sun in all his splendour was emerging from a curtain of grey clouds, and the frolicsome zephyrs were whispering their musical *revels* to the slumbering flowers, who quickly opened their lovely eyes, a herald appeared, bearing a proclamation from their beloved, their gentle queen, Rose, the purport of which struck dismay to the hearts of all who heard it. After the usual preamble, it stated that “her Majesty, acting upon the advice of her most experienced councillors, and in order to promote general and individual happiness, decreed that for the future, each flower should keep to itself that affection and sympathy which must not only be weakened, but positively wasted by exchange; that, therefore, the beauty, sweetness, shade, and support which they were now mutually giving and receiving, should be immediately withdrawn, and every flower live henceforth for itself.” The effect of this extraordinary mandate, the mere announcement of which seemed to have withered the very life of the parterre, was soon evident in the altered appearance of every flower; the poor little sensitive plant, who before the fatal order was read to the end, had folded up her leaves, and looked in vain for pity or aid from her more sturdy neighbours, now seemed ready to expire; the convolvulus and woodbine, suddenly deprived of the friendly support of their respective companions, trailed in disorder over the path; the stately glycane, after an ineffectual struggle to live alone, bowed her beautiful head to the dust, and mingled her tears with the lovely and the sweet who were victims to this absurd and ignorant regulation. Some there were, however, who manifested strong symptoms of rebellion: for the passion-flower declared, most vehemently, that, rather than submit to such tyranny, she would brave the storm; the tiger-lily vowed he would never be separated from the lady of his love; and the ivy mildly, but firmly, said nothing, but force should sever her from the friend with whom she had been associated since her infancy: nor were the sorrow and indignation confined to the more lovely but weaker inhabitants of the garden; the sturdy evergreens murmured at being not only deprived of the beauty and sweetness of their gentle companions, but at losing the pleasure they had always found in assisting or defending them; and many a homely stem, which had produced a very picturesque effect when

surrounded by the star-like jasmine, or gay morandia, looked now deserted and melaucholy.

At length, when the first tumult of grief and indignation had subsided, a balm suggested the propriety of sending a petition to the queen, showing "how impossible it was for her subjects to obey a law which deprived them of all that was dearest and most valuable; nay, which if obeyed, must destroy life itself; they begged her to remember, that the happiness which she was so anxious to procure, consisted in the interchange of that friendly intercourse she prohibited, that solitary happiness was a contradiction in terms, that nature having rendered them capable of experiencing the pleasure of social affection, would not suffer her laws to be infringed with impunity; and, finally, that if her Majesty should still think proper to enforce obedience by the demoralizing, and to them, novel system of penalty, with the threat of which her proclamation had concluded, her subjects must either disobey or perish."

This petition being eagerly signed by all who had strength to do so, was entrusted to the olive, whose peaceful disposition and useful talents, had secured him the marked respect of the queen; but scarce had he proceeded half way towards the palace, before he met the sovereign, whose flushed cheek expressed no ordinary emotion. "Tell me," she exclaimed, "my dear friend, tell me, what mean the disorder and sorrow which I every where behold? Wherefore is it, that I, who have been always greeted with joyful looks, see every eye closed or averted?—what dreadful contagion has thus prostrated the strong and disfigured the beautiful?—or what can have disturbed the harmony and affection which formerly united my subjects, that they thus tear themselves from the friends whose sympathy seems now to be peculiarly needed?" The olive, with his usual good sense, instantly inferred that some malicious imposition had been perpetrated; explained briefly to his royal mistress the transaction of the morning, and discovered that a forgery had been published in her name, which, upon investigation, was traced to the intriguing spirit of her distant relation, the bramble, who, defeated in his efforts to obtain the crown, thus attempted to cause misunderstanding between the ruler and people. A general meeting of the latter was immediately called, when, attended by her worthy friend, the queen thus addressed them: "My beloved friends, my children! If the heartless forgery, which has caused us all much sorrow, had not been made to assume so strong a semblance of truth, I might almost be justified in employing the language of reproach. I might inquire what part of my conduct could for a moment make you believe, that I should thus suddenly act with unkindness and folly; thus forget that nature is alone our safe guide; or that with glaring inconsistency I should attempt to legislate contrary to her, whose voice, has hitherto been my sole oracle. But let me not be misunderstood: if you have felt or acted unkindly towards me, I blame you not; I know that, circumstanced as you were, you were compelled to think as you did; and, my friends, while you gladly take advantage of this beautiful, this merciful truth in your own favour, remember, oh, remember it, when you believe yourselves the party injured. As to the falsehood, which has forced a doubt of my affection to insinuate itself into your heart, thus do I destroy it; would that we could as easily remove the recollection of the sorrow it has

caused! would that we could as easily recal those hours of happiness which it has clouded! Let us not, however, yield to vain regrets. All lamentation for what has occurred does but increase the evil; rather let us seek to remedy it. Take then nature again for your guide, convinced that, having received from her beneficent hand social and affectionate feelings, you do well to exercise them. And," continued she, turning with a gentle smile towards the passion-flower, and those who had been rather loud in expressions of anger, "another time, before you condemn your queen, your friend, think whether, from her past conduct, she is likely to deserve it."

That the heart wants something to love, is a truth evident to any one who studies himself and those around him. We may be disappointed in our expectations of sympathy; but the affections, promising to take a lesson from experience, renew their search—we may be separated from those we love, but we find a consolation in treasuring up recollections of them, which then become so precious. Death may deprive us of them for ever; but still "the heart wants something to love;" and though the feeling it bestows will and must vary as the objects are various, yet, wherever we find congeniality, we are so constituted that we cannot help loving. Why then is it that, while forced to bear witness to this truth, we almost regret that it is so? Because the strange, unnatural state of society in which we live has turned our highest privilege into bondage—has transformed our dearest blessing into a curse. If we did but dare to speak the language of sincerity, what is the great evil of which we should unanimously complain?—Separation from those we love—a want of sympathy in our pursuits, thoughts, feelings—an isolation of the heart, that destroys every generous, every social impulse. When Nature bestowed upon her children the capability of sympathising, she gave it as a crowning gift—a gift, which, properly understood, comprehended all that is good and happy!—but has it proved this? Alas, no!—it is Pandora's box, deprived even of hope.

Madame De Staël, in her beautiful and feminine manner, says, "it is so delightful to love and be loved;" and this we believe to be the language of every human being; but who amongst us has experienced this in all its depth and extent? Who amongst us has ever been so favoured as to drink of the cup of affection, without tasting there the wormwood and gall thrown into it by our false institutions? But is this a consequence necessarily attendant upon us? Are there no means by which we may free ourselves from this thralldom? Must this miserable legacy be bequeathed by us to succeeding ages? Before we reply in the affirmative, let us well examine upon what foundation society is at present based—if upon truth and nature, it will be the part of wisdom to submit patiently; if not so founded, will it not be the interest of each to give it solid basis.

CONCORDIA.

RATIONAL SYSTEM—CONDITION VI.

The power of associating at pleasure with those for whom we feel the most regard and the greatest affection.

* "Il est si doux d'aimer et d'être aimé."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—We feel it incumbent upon us to say a few words to our friend, Mr. Warden, in

reply to his observations in the *Crisis* of August the 24th, upon the projected "Practical moral union of the women of Great Britain and Ireland," for the purpose of enabling them to attain a superior physical moral and intellectual character."

Mr. Warden greatly errs, if he supposes that, when we call for a union of women, we entertain the slightest idea that the interests of the two sexes are in opposition to each other. If attention be paid to the exact reading of the article in the *Crisis* of August the 17th, it will be perceived that the words legislating and legislator do not occur; neither is there the remotest allusion to the by-gone societies of nuns and monks. It is precisely *because* we believe the interests of man and woman to be the same—it is *because* we advocate an equality of education—it is *because* we look forward to an equality of right and condition, without exclusive privilege to either sex as the *sine qua non* for the emancipation of the species, that we call upon the women of all ranks to unite for the purpose of *assisting* those valuable and enlightened men who, like the writer of the observations alluded to, are putting forth their moral and intellectual strength to extricate that deeply-injured half of the human race from the thralldom in which they are involved.

Yours,
ONE OF THE PROJECTORS.

OPERATIVE BUILDERS.

(From the *True Sun*.)

For some time past, the attention of the operative builders throughout England has been greatly occupied in the consideration of various projects for improving their condition. Meetings of the respective lodges have been held in Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and other of the large towns, and important resolutions have been adopted. Their object, we understand, is to realize some part of Mr. Owen's plan of society; and, to enable them to do this, two gentlemen of great practical knowledge and considerable pecuniary resources have offered their co-operation. The number of men in the Union exceeds 40,000; and they are daily increasing by hundreds. On the 24th of September, a grand meeting of delegates from all parts of the kingdom will be held in Manchester, to decide upon the steps first to be taken. On Monday last Mr. Owen, who has been present at many of their meetings, attended a general meeting of deputies from all the lodges in Manchester, and read the following address, which was received with great approbation:—

"The system which is now in practice throughout the British empire, necessarily gives to the few, who produce nothing, large masses of wealth which are continually increasing, while it daily abstracts from the wealth of those who are the only producers of it.

"This state of society, by depriving the real producer of the wealth of the fruits of his industry, is not only grossly unjust, but it perpetually generates all manner of deception, division, vice, crime, and misery throughout the population. To introduce honesty, union, prosperity, and happiness among all classes, this system must be gradually changed until no motive shall exist to accumulate large masses of wealth in single hands, and poverty or the fear of it shall not be experienced by any industrious producer of real wealth.

"That the existing system is wretchedly bad in principle and practice, all who reflect upon passing events and are intelligent readily admit; but no one has yet appeared competent to advise how this great change, from error and evil to truth and happiness, is to be effected without violence and injustice to some portion of the population.

"The important question to be solved is, 'Can a superior state of society be now introduced with-

out inflicting violence, injustice, or misery on some class?"

"My conviction is, that you who produce all the wealth may now bring about this glorious change, without disturbing society as much as when any great improvement is introduced by substituting machinery for manual labour; an evil to which you have been so often subjected.

"This conviction is founded on the knowledge that, under many grievous disadvantages, you now produce more wealth than, were it wisely distributed, is necessary for the permanent, full, and complete happiness of the whole population; and that by improved arrangements to produce and distribute wealth, now easily to be introduced, you may increase wealth to an unlimited extent, and make it for centuries to come, under any possible increase of population, tenfold more than sufficient to insure the happiness of the whole people in all countries.

"The present poverty among the producing class, and crime and misery among all classes, are necessary effects arising from the division of society into three classes, the upper, middle, and lower; and while this injurious and highly artificial arrangement shall be permitted, poverty, crime, and misery, must of necessity continually increase.

"It is you, alone, who can put an end to this state of disorder in human affairs, and it is now for your interest and the interest of the upper and middle classes that you should bring it to a speedy termination.—Your class, greatly more numerous and powerful than the other two combined, perform the essential and really important business of life, while the other two are, from ignorance, formidable obstacles to your progress in all kinds of improvements. For these classes keep you in ignorance of your power, prevent your best faculties and most valuable qualities being cultivated and called into action; they make you their servants and slaves, and employ one part of your class to keep the other part in abject subjection, greatly to the injury of their own true interests, the real happiness of their children, and the welfare of the world.

"But the middle and upper classes have been formed, like yourselves, by the progress of events or circumstances, through many previous ages; the individuals, therefore, who now compose those classes, are no more to be blamed for being what they have been made to be, than you for being what you are. Under the circumstances in which they were born and educated, they could not have thought, felt, and acted otherwise than they have done; and they are now, on account of their uselessness and helplessness, real objects for sympathy and compassion, and not for punishment.

"Long have I waited for you to understand this knowledge, that you might learn to emancipate yourselves from the most cruel and fatal slavery, without doing violence or injustice to any portion of your fellow-men. The change contemplated must be a peaceful moral regeneration of society.

"Some of you have already made a progress in attaining the rudiments of this knowledge, and all may now be taught to comprehend its truth, justice, and importance.

"It is in consequence of this preliminary advance which you have made that I now appear among you in the manufacturing districts, that I may further advise you how to proceed to improve your condition in life, and that of every other class.

"The turn-out of the building operatives, and the existing differences with their masters, will, I doubt not, tend greatly to effect a permanent good for both parties. It affords a fair opportunity to you, the producing classes (and masters and men are producers) quietly, calmly, but most effectually, to make a stand, at once, and put yourselves in your right position, and thereby gradually accomplish the great change required; that is, that individual competition, the bane of the producing class, shall cease among you; that machinery and chemistry, and all the arts and sciences, shall be made to work for you, and not, as at present, against you, that your children shall be well trained

and instructed in all that is useful from their birth, that they may become men and women possessing superior dispositions, habits, manners, and conduct, and that whatever is injurious or inferior may be speedily removed out of society, and be replaced by those things which are good and in all respects superior for the use of man.

"For if the individuals of the human race are surrounded by those things which are injurious and inferior as at present, they will be of necessity, with few exceptions, vicious and inferior in their principles and conduct; while, if they were placed from birth, as they now easily might be, in the midst of superior circumstances, including good and well-informed society, they would become, in like manner, with few, if any exceptions, good and superior in principles, habits, and conduct.

"The practical mode of effecting this change from evil to good is now become simple and easy, a convincing proof that the proper time for action is arrived. You possess all the means requisite to effect the change; they are, at this moment, in the greatest abundance at your control, and await only your decision to be immediately put into active operation.

"Your industry wisely combined and directed, is all that is necessary to insure the most beneficial change for the human race that has ever been effected during the past history of the species. Nay! the time and funds which you have wasted in futile and ill-digested turn-outs, would have been, if properly applied, more than sufficient to demonstrate the truth of all that has been stated.

"The upper and middle classes, with very few exceptions, have not yet been taught any knowledge, either of principle or practice, really beneficial to mankind, and, in consequence, all their present practice is directly opposed to the improvement, well-being, and happiness of the human race. They know only how to waste the fruits of your industry by cruel warfare; by keeping you in ignorance; by holding you in subjection to their errors and folly, and by making you do every thing for them, while they are conscious that they are unable to do any thing without your aid, and that, if you were to decide to produce wealth for yourselves only, or to use and enjoy the best of it, and allow those who do not produce any thing of real value to have the refuse, only they could not help themselves, and must be content with it or starve.

"But to act in this manner, now that you have acquired a knowledge of your power, would be to act according to the wretched system of the world, which is 'Gain from all, all you can, and keep it for yourselves as long as you can; and this is the great rule of conduct among all classes, throughout what is absurdly called the civilised world.

"Now as you perceive that you alone have been taught to do any thing beneficial for society, decide at once to form new arrangements, to reorganize your selves, to produce and obtain a full supply of the best of every thing for the whole population of Great Britain and Ireland, yourselves enjoying, as well as the upper and middle classes, superior food, houses, furniture, clothes, instruction for yourselves and children, and daily rational recreation, such as will improve your health and contribute to your happiness.

"This you may now do, and you may accomplish this change for the whole population of the British empire in less than five years, and essentially ameliorate the condition of the producing class throughout Great Britain and Ireland in less than five months.

"I know you will require assistance to form the great outline arrangements to effect this change; for you have to make and set in motion a new extraordinary machine to perform all the business of society in a superior manner; but that assistance is at hand, and will be given to you under circumstances of disinterestedness such as the commercial world has seldom witnessed.

"Be assured that the eternal flint has gone forth which dooms to utter destruction the old system of the world, in which uselessness and idleness have been honoured and highly pampered, and in which usefulness and industry have been degraded and despised, and that society is about to be immediately

regenerated, and man made to understand his own nature, insure his own happiness, and, for the first time in his history, to be trained and placed to become a rational being.

"And thus is that period at hand, when peace, unity of hearts, and goodwill to all mankind shall take place of war, division, and hatred, and of commercial cupidity, and all shall be made to rejoice in the change."

THE FESTIVAL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I have regularly attended your festivals, and truly glad I am to see such an increase of visitors. The festival of the 12th ult. was extremely gratifying to many, though not to me; but your last festival wound me up to the highest pitch of indignation towards certain existing laws. Your festivals have at all times had a strange effect upon my spirits. On Monday evening last I felt determined to conquer, I entered the ball-room in excellent spirits, and while the company continued to drop in I felt really delighted. I bowed, shook hands, and spoke to many old friends; the ladies were extremely interesting. I looked in vain for an angry or disdainful frown; even among the men there was neither snarl, nor growl, nor jealous sneer; they all seemed happy, too happy, yes, much too happy for me Mr. Editor. I took courage, and offered my arm to a young lady who was walking by herself, it was accepted with grace and tenderness; twice I attempted to speak, but in vain; presently I felt a lovely girl hanging upon my other arm: this was a severe trial. We walked round and round the ball-room, I bowed to every person I knew, and to some I did not know, (I can make a tolerable bow,) but the agony I experienced all this time was beyond description. One of the young ladies asked me whether I preferred the quadrille or the waltz. I answered by a polite bow; at this moment I felt a tremendous tug at my heart, accompanied by an awful rattling of heavy chains. The other young lady inquired the time; I answered with a serious bow; again the heart plunged and the chains rattled. She then, with much feeling, inquired whether I was well, I answered by a long and melancholy bow. Here my moral and physical courage were put to the test; the fangs of some demon twisted and wrenched my heart, round which he had riveted his infernal fetters, from its bearings. I became lock-jawed. At this moment the dancing commenced; I hastily retreated to the most retired spot; I smote my breast, I smote my forehead, I bit my lips, and snuffed incessantly; while all were busily engaged in the dance, a repulsive wretch stood before me, with an altar on one side of him and a halter on the other side; he approached with a fiend-like grin, and chuckling in his triumph, poured into my ear (impregnated with the heart-withering stench of his hellish entrails) the appalling word "MARRIAGE," "ye—ye—yes," answered I, with shuddering frame and quivering lips, the death-sweat drops which tremble on my brow convince me I am married. "Your fate is sealed," cried the priestly vampire, "by the altar I decoyed thee, by the halter I'll secure thee, and in hell I'll keep thee;" under the impression of such awful alternatives I fainted.

That the above may be responded to, and that some kind spirit may suggest arrangements, the adopting of which may remove the baneful effects of the present law of marriage, and may set at liberty the human heart, is the earnest wish of

Poet's Corner.

Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe!
Thou Soul, that art the Eternity of thought!
And givest to forms and images a breath
And everlasting motion! not in vain,
By day or star-light, thus from my first dawn
Of childhood didst thou intertwine for me
The passions that build up our human soul;
Not with the mean and vulgar works of Man,—
But with high objects, with enduring things,
With life and nature; purifying thus
The elements of feeling and of thought,
And sanctifying by such discipline
Both pain and fear,—until we recognize
A grandeur in the beatings of the heart.

WORDSWORTH.

LOVE OF LIBERTY.

A Boy—I dream'd of Liberty:
A Youth—I said "but am I Free?"
A Man—I felt that Slavery
Had bound me in her chain:—
But, yet, the dream which, when a boy,
Was wont my musings to employ,
Fast rolling years could not destroy,
With all their grief and pain.

No! still the thought that mocks control,
Whose only rest is Freedom's goal,
Would, mantling, rise within my soul,
'Till ev'ry vein ran free!
My spirit in a spell was bound—
The spell of an enchanting sound,
Which bade me wake—and breathe around
The murmurs of the Lyre!

That spell is on my spirit still:
Yes! lovely Freedom! yes! I will
The task by heaven assign'd fulfil—
And wake the Lyre for thee!
The dream of boyhood still is bright,
And bursting through Oppression's night,
I see a radiant form of light—
Celestial Liberty! C. COLB.

"Oh, mankind!" continued Augustus, "what noble creatures you ought to be! You have keys to all sciences, all arts, all mysteries, but one! You have not a notion how you ought to be governed! you cannot frame a tolerable law, for the life and soul of you! You make yourselves as uncomfortable as you can by all sorts of galling and vexatious institutions, and you throw the blame upon 'Fate.' You lay down rules it is impossible to comprehend, much less to obey; and you call each other monsters, because you cannot conquer the impossibility! You invent all sorts of vices, under pretence of making laws for preserving virtue; and the anomalous artificialities of conduct yourselves produce, you say you are born with;—you make a machine by the perversest art you can think of, and you call it, with a sigh, 'Human Nature.' With a host of good dispositions struggling at your breasts, you insist upon libelling God Almighty, and declaring that he meant you to be wicked. Nay, you even call the man mischievous and seditious who begs and implores you to be one jot better than you are. Oh, mankind! you are like a nosegay bought at Covent Garden. The flowers are lovely, the scent delicious; mark that glorious hue; contemplate that bursting petal; how beautiful, how redolent of health, of nature, of the dew and breath and blessing of heaven are you all! But as for the dirty piece of string that ties you together, one would think you had picked it out of the kennel."—*Paul Clifford*, vol. 2, page 154.

FOR THE CRISIS.

VISIONARY.—One of those gifted minds, vulgarly termed visionary, discovered and foresaw the mighty power of steam, but he was called a visionary; he made an experiment on the river Clyde, but it failed, some part was imperfect. An intelligent individual, Robert Fulton, was present; he knew many experiments on the most surely-ascertained and greatest discoveries had failed, but he gave due attention, and perceived where the machine had been deficient. On his return to America, he made a successful experiment, and realised this noble vision, the application of the mighty power of steam to the service of man.

When Galileo first discovered, by an examination of facts, that the earth must be a globe, so visionary, so mad, so blasphemous, did the unthinking class reckon the discovery, that they imprisoned this grand discoverer great part of the remainder of his days. But it was soon after generally acknowledged, and has placed his name among the honoured list of the talented and nobly great. It is now attempted to apply this flap-trap wind to the great truth, "That the character is formed for, and not by, the individual;" but I can see, with the gifted poet,

That hoary-headed selfishness has felt
Its death-blow, and is tottering to the grave;
A brighter morn awaits the human day,
When every transfer of earth's natural gifts
Shall be a commerce of good words and works.

C. W. W.

POLICE.

Under this head will be given in our future numbers the most striking cases of law and police, not by way of news or literal narrative, but in order to exhibit to reflecting minds the leading features by which to arrive at the actual condition of society. The assistance of our friends in this department is respectfully requested.

NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

WEEKLY REPORT—ENDING AUGUST 31.	
Exchanges 5,508h. 5s.	Deposits . 8,568h. 3s.
Charges 8l. 6s. 7d.	Commission 14l. 15s. 1d.
Rent . 4 7 4	Provisions 15 2 11
Wages . 15 15 6	Reed. by Festival 5 3 0
	Rent Sub. . 4 7 4
28 3 5	

Profits . 11 4 11
Excess of Deposits . 8,659h. 4s.

R. ALGER, Auditor.

Charlotte-street, September 2, 1833.

Notices.

LECTURES, &c., NEXT WEEK.

Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.
Sunday morning, at 11, by the Rev. J. E. Smith;
and evening, at 7, by Robert Owen.

Sunday afternoon, at 3, the members of the Social Community.

Tuesday evening at half-past 7, Mr. Detroner will lecture on the Principles of Equitable Labour Exchange.

Wednesday evening, at half-past 7, public discussion of the Social Community.

Thursday evening at half-past 7, the Trades' Delegates.

Friday evening, at 7, the Ladies' Association.

The next General Meeting of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, Sept. 16th, at half-past 7 in the evening.

AN individual, who has the great pleasure to be known to Mr. Owen, of whose admirable system she is happy to acknowledge herself a zealous disciple, — reluctantly ventures on this address, although she trusts it may awaken the generous sympathy of her recently acquired, and cordially adopted Brothers and Sisters of the New Social Community. These lines form but a brief outline of circumstances, which, being of a personal nature, are unwillingly intruded on the attention of others: but a painful necessity is the stimulating motive of this address. Deprived by death of her near relations,—by the mutability of human affairs, of the talented Society to which she has been accustomed,—and by injustice, of her paternal property: she has experienced the severest reverse of fortune.—Still she has persevered in every honorable exertion for the support of an orphan family. And having recently embarked in a promising business, she is now contending with the disadvantage of insufficient means to conduct, and establish it, as a permanent future support. She has, therefore, a pressing necessity for an immediate pecuniary assistance in her business, of 30l. or 30l., which (being able practically to do) she proposes to repay by weekly instalments of 10s., as might be agreed upon; under these circumstances she begs to submit her difficulty to the friendly consideration of any generous-minded individuals, whose advice and assistance would, indeed, render a kind and most valuable service to one, whom they will not find unworthy their sympathy and confidence.

Every satisfactory information will be candidly given on the favour of a line in the first instance, addressed to L. E. L., 29, Percy-street, Rathbone-place.

THE TWENTY-THIRD SOCIAL FESTIVAL will be held on Monday next, at the Institution, Charlotte-street. The Concert will commence at 8 o'clock, after which, Quadrilling and Country-dancing. In the course of the Evening, the Company will take Tea. Tickets, One Shilling and One Hour Labour Note each.

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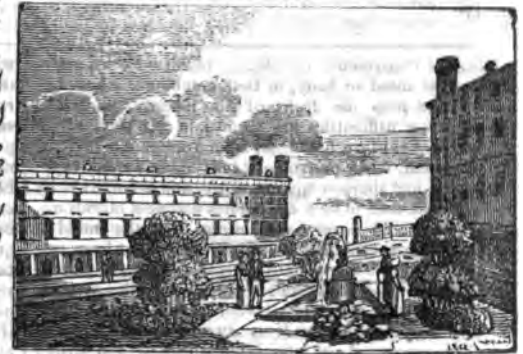
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The Trades' Delegates' Report is unavoidably postponed till our next.

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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 8.

Mr. Smith lectured on "EDUCATION."

Education of children has two great ends in view; the first to exercise the mind, and the second to communicate instruction. I shall treat of these two in succession; and, in the first place, I shall speak of the exercise of the mind.

Exercise of mind, like exercise of body, communicates strength. A labouring man is stronger-bodied than the man whose mode of life subjects him to little muscular exertion; the bones, and especially the muscles, are wonderfully invigorated by continued and powerful action; even a few hours' digging or hay-making, to a sedentary person, will give a sensible increase to the vigour of his hands and arms; and wrestling, throwing the stone, and all species of gymnastics, have the same beneficial tendency. These are facts which respect the body, and by analogy we can easily make an application of these facts to the exercise of the mind. Analogy is a safe, for it is a certain, guide to truth, in all abstract speculations regarding mind; for it goes upon the supposition that nature is perfect—that there is a harmony subsisting in all her parts—and that she is eternally directed by the same invariable and unchangeable laws. Did we not reason upon this supposition, the search of truth would be a vain and an unprofitable study. The first idea suggested to us in the process of education is difficulty. This is an unchangeable law of nature, that evil precede good; there is no exception to it; there is no royal road to knowledge; teachers, and books, and systems of education, are of no avail, unless the mind of the pupil be vigorously exercised in accumulating information, and arranging that information in systematic order. This cannot be done without labour—mental labour—a gymnastic exercise of the mental faculties. Some fond parents, and even teachers, imagine that education should be rendered as light and easy as possible; but if the mental exercise be easy, there is no strength of mind acquired; the vigour of the intellect is not called forth; the child is left in the same state of imbecility in which nature brought him forth. This, there-

fore, is a most erroneous notion; but, notwithstanding, it is very nearly allied to the truth, and only requires a little variation of the manner of expression to be quite in accordance with nature. If education should not be rendered light and easy, it ought by all means to be rendered attractive, that the young mind may be induced to undergo the labour of mental exertion without the compulsion of arbitrary and tyrannical punishment. The perfection of a system of education for children consists, like every other species of perfection, in the union of two extremes—difficulties to surmount, and attraction to stimulate the mind to surmount them. I believe that no intelligent man will dispute the truth of this axiom, which I lay down as the foundation principle of a perfect system of education. It is founded in Nature, who is, or ought to be, our guide in every department of thought and action. It is thus that she has taught the human race. She has brought man forth in a savage and naked state, without any experience, without any practical knowledge; she has given him a mind capable of reaching to an indefinite degree of intellectual and moral perfection; she has furnished him with senses susceptible of an infinite variety of pleasurable sensations; she has furnished him with the means of attaining to this exalted state of happiness, both in physical and intellectual pleasures. Yet these means are all beset with difficulties, which require both labour of mind and body before they can be serviceable to his purpose. When man in this savage state first goes out in search of truth, he finds nothing but falsehood. Nature tells him all manner of lies, with the most grave and deliberate assurance. Does he want to know the nature of the world he lives in? Nature tells him that it is a fixed and immoveable surface, quite flat from one end to the other, that the sun moves round the earth, and all the stars move round along with it. She also tells him that the planets are wandering stars, that go backward and forward, and won't keep pace with the rest. She tells him that the stars frequently fall down to the earth, by showing him occasionally the phenomenon of a falling star. Then, perhaps, she shows Will-o'-the-wisp, or Jack with the lantern, wandering amongst the bogs, and she tells the poor wondering savage that that is one of the stars come down to visit the earth, and that

it wanders up and down on marshy ground on purpose to cool itself; then she infuses into his head the idea that these stars are gods and goddesses, and all the rest of the mystery of delusion; and this is the first lesson that nature gives man in the science of astronomy. A downright imposition, but she swears to the truth of it, and gives him the evidence of his senses to prove it. What a liar she must be! For some time the poor fellow believes all this; he imagines, as the religious world do with God, that nature won't deceive him; but by patient inquiry and observation, he finds that this explanation of the matter is unsatisfactory; he seeks for a better; nature also helps him to this, she teaches him geometry, mathematics, the laws of perspective, meteorology, &c.; and by and by, after much mental labour, and wading through a sea of difficulties, he finds that the first lesson of nature is false, and that there is no possibility of discovering truth but by encountering the hardship of mental exercise; he blesses Nature even for this law of necessity, rejoices in the splendid discoveries of science, and even admires Nature the more that she really is false before she becomes true. This is Nature's method of teaching mankind; she speaks riddles or mysteries first, and then speaks truth when man has sufficiently exercised his mind to deserve it. Thus Jesus Christ says to his disciples, "Now I speak unto you in parables, but the time cometh when I shall no more speak unto you in parables, but show you openly of the Father;" this is the teaching of nature. Then in respect to the arts of life, Nature adopts the same system as she does with the sciences. Man, unlike other animals, gets none of his favourite dishes prepared directly by nature's hand. Does he want bread? he gets it only in the shape of wheat, and he requires to thrash it, and grind and bake it, before it becomes palatable; and he must submit to a great deal of mental exertion before he can discover this simple process. Does he want clothes? he must shear the sheep and dress the wool, and spin it, and weave it, and invent machinery to assist him in the process. Does he want ornaments of gold or of precious stones? he finds them all in a rude, unpolished state; he must melt them, and cut them, and polish them. In fine, whatever he obtains that is valuable, or contributes to the

higher enjoyments of life, he obtains by an exertion of mind or body, or both combined. And before he reap the fruits of his labours, thousands of minor difficulties are thrown in his way, all of which he must encounter and overcome; and all of which, when overcome at last, increase his experience and sharpen his ingenuity, and often, as if by accident, lead to new discoveries and new inventions, which would never have entered into the mind of man to conceive, had these obstructions not been cast in the way of immediate success. Thus the path of education which Nature has ordained is a thorny path, with flowers interspersed—her system is not a light and easy system, but it is *attractive*; and her disciples are urged and stimulated to further and further exertion as the difficulties increase. Besides, she is ever furnishing them with some reward or another, to encourage them. Even the deluded alchemist, whom Nature imposed upon for hundreds of years, was not without his reward from his deceitful schoolmistress. If he did not find the gold he was in search of, he found something more precious than gold, by giving birth to the science of chemistry,—a science which has contributed more to the happiness of mankind, than all the gold of Monophtn or Amazonia could furnish. The reward bestowed was greater than the reward anticipated; and thus it will always be, for Nature makes ample compensation for the delusion practised.

I have given this general outline of Nature's system of education for man, because it serves as a model, and the only good model, for us to follow in our education of children. Any departure from the great prototype of perfection will fail, and sad experience will teach us our folly at last. If we follow a proper mode of reasoning on this subject, we shall follow the course of our all-perfect teacher. Let us return to Nature, after having so long departed from her; let us follow all her general plans of operation, for they are all wisely calculated for accomplishing the greatest good, in the surest and most effectual manner. We shall endeavour, therefore, acting upon this principle, to make a good application of the foregoing premises to a system of education for children. In the first place then, by all means, put difficulties in the way of children under mental training. If it is a species of information which it is possible for them to attain by a little exercise of their inventive faculties, let them have the benefit of that exercise. When a teacher sits down to give a full and particular account of a natural phenomenon, and afterwards appends a philosophical exposition of the mystery, repeating it over and over till the pupil either commits it to memory, or understands it from the clearness of the illustration, what does the pupil gain? He gains nothing but the information; but he has gained it at no expense of mental labour, and consequently it contributes very little to strengthen his intellectual faculties; besides the impression which it makes upon his mind is much more weak than an impression indented by the vigour of his own mental struggles, in the exercise of his powers of invention. Nature, as we have already observed, begins with riddles; she shows false appearances, which at first lead to false conclusions, but by the ingenuity of the human mind are solved, and the veil of mystery taken off. So it ought to be with children; children ought to be instructed by men, as men are instructed by Nature; the riddle ought to be propounded to them, and they ought to be called upon for a solution. In this attempt they ought to be assisted by the teacher, as occasion requires; but, if by any means they can solve the query by their own unassisted exertions, the two great ends of education are accomplished; the exercise of the mind, and the information of the understanding. This is particularly observable in the teaching of arithmetic and mathematics. In the study of these sciences, questions are given for a solution, and the inventive powers of the mind are called to exercise; the great difficulty in the solution of all these questions, lies in stating of the question at first. If this first step is removed by the teacher, the pupil's task by a kind of mechanical process,

which requires almost no exertion of mind. All the intellect is required in making the first arrangements; if these are made by the pupil himself, without the assistance of the teacher, then the pupil has by his own intellectual strength surmounted the difficulty; he has discovered the secret; he has strengthened his intellectual powers, and capacitated himself for engaging with more intricate and perplexing questions. As long as he requires a master to solve these difficulties, he may be said to be unprofitably employed, in so far as respects *mental exercise*. These difficulties, I say, ought to be surmounted by the pupil himself; and if they appear easy to surmount, they ought to be clothed in more mystical language, in order to try his discriminating powers. This also we learn from Nature, who herself is a genuine mystic, who teaches all her adult children by mysticism chiefly, and puts their powers of solution and exposition to the test of experiment. Our teachers of arithmetic and mathematics are well aware of this secret, and the utility of following this mode of mental probation: they clothe their questions in all sorts of language; they transpose terms, and equivocate phrases, and invent questions, merely to probe the understanding of the pupil. This is true nature, and its effect upon the young mind is more beneficial than a plain, simple question, which almost carries its own answer along with it before it is solved. It habituates the mind to difficulties, prepares it in some measure for the mystery and perplexity with which future life will obstruct its progress, and gives it the satisfaction as well as the advantage of working out its own education. This hardy mode of discipline ought to be followed up in every other department of education, and not confined to arithmetic or mathematics only; difficulties render the mind acute; by long habit and experience the sailor learns to discern the sail in the distance, when the eye of the landsman can discern nothing but the grey tint of the atmosphere. And the tradesman whose chief employment consists of making the eyes of needles, has more discrimination of small objects, than he who has not undergone a similar discipline. So the mind which has often struggled with the difficulties which every man must encounter who eagerly searches after truth; has acquired the useful habit of arranging his thoughts systematically, and drawing just conclusions.

Mr. Smith made several other observations, but confined himself entirely to *mental exercise*, and not the *information* of the mind, which is another important branch of education.

SUNDAY EVENING.

Mr. Owen lectured.

The system of society is destined to undergo a complete change, from the sovereign down to the pauper. This great change shall be accomplished by a union of all the productive classes. By this union the producers of wealth shall obtain a due reward for their labour; they shall acquire by their independence a superior character for themselves, and shall be enabled to impart a superior character to their children. They shall be enabled by a good education to fit them for their new life, and make them what nature intended they should ultimately become; that is, men who not only desire to enjoy happiness, but who know also how to procure it. Hitherto the non-producers have governed the world; henceforth the sceptre must be put into the hands of producers only, and the consequence will be that the affairs of society shall be conducted much more rationally, and much more beneficially for all parties, than they ever have been in any former period. The manner in which this great change shall take place is very simple; we shall only be surprised, when it occurs, that it was kept secret from the world so long. The poor now perceive their wretched condition; they have long looked to their rulers for redress, and were so simple as to believe that their rulers had redress in their power; now they have discovered that their rulers know not the secret, and therefore have not the power of granting redress, even were

they possessed of the will. Hence they are resolved to seek that redress from themselves. To accomplish this they will firmly cement themselves into one general band, afterwards divide themselves into distinct classes and companies, and all shall be conducted with the most perfect decorum and order, and every man shall enjoy the reward of his labour. Competition is the bane of society, it makes the producers of wealth the slaves of those who produce nothing; the working men have resolved that competition no longer exist; that the interest of society, be one grand, all-comprehensive interest, subject to one general management, moving with the regularity of the seasons, and producing a ten-fold proportion of wealth. The government shall consist of divisions and subdivisions, each having its own directors or director, and by this means due order shall be preserved in each part as well as in the whole.

The means of creating wealth are in our power, to an indefinite extent, beyond even the desire of all parties; there can be no fear of poverty, there shall always be a large surplus of every variety of wealth. This great work is already begun; a few humble mechanics have commenced the destruction of the great hydra of corruption, by the institution of labour exchanges; from this grain of mustard seed shall spring up a system to overshadow the earth. It is out of the course of things, however, to expect that these institutions can establish themselves in a few weeks or months, considering the opposition which they have to encounter; look at all new discoveries and inventions, how they are at first beset with difficulties; how long was the gas-light obstructed in its progress to public adoption! how long the steam-engine, spinning works, &c. These, however, were mere trifles to the change before us; these were merely partial changes, and their benefits were conferred only on a few monopolists; ours is a great moral change, and shall come upon society like a thief in the night: after working in secret, it shall publicly declare itself, and astonish the great by its formidable power. Our political rulers attach great importance to trifles, and overlook great things; what a deal of trouble they give themselves about Don Pedro, Don Miguel, and such other inferior objects, and overlook the operations of their own subjects. Let them however persist to their old system of physical force and military law; but they are much mistaken if they think that armies will henceforth exercise any influence on working men. No! working men will say to their rulers "if you won't allow reason to govern the world, then raise your own food, and make your own clothes, and build your own house, for we are independent of you."

As I am about to leave you for a week or two, I shall suggest for your own good, that many individuals amongst us have too much of the old leaven about them; they require new minds, a reformation of character—they require to be *born again*. And to have all their actions and feelings based on genuine charity, they ought to look calmly on the failings of others, to point out errors with gentleness, and endeavour to correct them—to show no party or selfish spirit, but be guided by a spirit of general benevolence. Officers have many difficulties to encounter that none but themselves experience; they require patience and perseverance themselves, and an eye of charity to judge them. Keep also an eye on the markets of the world, and see that your prices do not exceed the average; but soon prices shall be of little consequence; the principles of exchange shall become so clear, as to allow of no mistake.

Mr. Owen then said he should conclude by reading a discourse which was delivered in the Rotunda, Dublin, before a very large and respectable audience—a discourse which produced a wonderful effect on all classes, from the Lord-lieutenant downwards. Before reading the discourse, he alluded to the unhappy circumstances of Ireland, and the errors of her political rulers. He also referred to the absurd speculations of political economists, respecting excess of population and excess of production, and asked how it was possible that an excess of population and an excess of production could exist at one and the same time?

Surely, upon this point the wisdom of the old world has exhausted itself in vain. The position of Malthus, that population presses upon production, is false in theory and erroneous in practice; population never was so great as at this moment, and now only four hours' labour are required, where eight were necessary a hundred years ago. The reverse of the Malthusian doctrine is true. Mankind are able to produce food in a geometrical ratio to their increase of number. There is no manufacturing town in the country but may maintain fifty times its present number of inhabitants. Such false notions, however, as those of Malthus are prevailing notions, and taught as wisdom in all our seminaries of learning.

THE SUPERIORITY OF THE LABOUR NOTE OVER MONEY, AS A CIRCULATING MEDIUM.

What Nature wants commodious gold bestows,
'Tis thus we eat the bread another sows;
But how unequal it bestows observe,
'Tis thus we rot while who sow it starve.

Pope.

To account for the distress that now prevails amongst the labouring population of England, the political economist has two favourite theories—namely, over-population and over-production. A superficial observer would say that it is impossible that these two things can co-exist, as they are evidently calculated, in a natural state of society, to counteract each other. But they do exist; for it cannot be denied that, while hundreds are at this present moment in a state of utter destitution, there are food and clothing, more than sufficient for all, rotting in stores and warehouses, for the want of consumers. This shows at once the miserable and unnatural circumstances in which society is placed.

Political economists have, at all times, considered these things (over-population and over-production) as primary causes, and, as such, have endeavoured, by several means, to remove them. They are, however, mere secondary evils; consequently their labours are of no avail, as the circumstances complained of will continue to exist, until such time as the first and principal cause of these evils, so assumed, is discovered and destroyed.

It becomes us, then, as producers of wealth—as men feeling the weight and suffering, the misery of these unnatural circumstances, to inquire into this first and principal evil—this mighty incubus (resulting, in my opinion, from the want of a proper circulating medium), and endeavour of ourselves to remove it, seeing that our aristocratical rulers are, either from ignorance or corruption, not disposed to remove them for us.

I have said that the principal cause of our distress is the want of a proper circulating medium, and I think the experience which has already been gained in the system of labour exchange will bear me out in my argument; for it is not because people do not want the produce of my labour that I am without employment, but because they have not the means of purchasing it; and I, for the same reason, am a non-consumer of the productions of others.

It matters not of what material the circulating medium is composed, so that it is possessed of the following properties, that is to say, that it should be the representative of real property; that it should be available for no other purpose than the one intended; that it should be in proportion to the power of production; and that it should be capable of being augmented to any extent.

Gold and silver are the worst materials for a circulating medium, as they have a continually fluctuating value of their own; though sometimes it is of advantage to those who possess it, to apply it to other purposes, which, of course, contracts the currency and injures trade; neither does it bear any proportion to the producing power of the country, as it is a scarce commodity, and can only be procured by a great sacrifice of labour, and cannot be augmented to any great extent; consequently, while gold and silver constitute the circulating medium of this, or any other country, over-population and over-production will continue.

Let us now examine the Labour Note, and we shall find that, as a circulating medium, it possesses every requisite quality—it is the representative of real wealth—possesses only a nominal value, and consequently cannot be converted to other purposes—will always be in accordance with the power of production, and can be augmented to any extent.

I, therefore, call upon every working man in England, as he values his own comfort, to support the system of *Equitable Labour Exchange*. Let that system be but once permanently established, and the labour note become the circulating medium of the labouring portion of the country, the Emigration Committee may then suspend its labours, and the political economist may talk of "over-population and over-production" as by-gone things.

Sept. 7th.

G. SIMPKIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Being a regular and thorough sceptic, it was with the greatest effort that I could partly succeed in reconciling charity, that greatest of virtues, with that unconquerable disposition of my mind, and in repelling an injurious doubt which seized it on reading "Reflector's" letter, addressed to you in the first number of your third volume. His serio-comic style, on a subject, perhaps, the most grave that can occupy the deep thoughts of the philosopher and the man of feeling. His jest, when he confesses himself to be a victim to "certain existing laws," his funning or punning on the "altar or halter," his diabolical, but certainly comical, expression, "impregnated with the heart-withering stench of his hellish entrails." All this, Sir, to use his style, smells very bad, and without that charity which we ought to practise, I should "wind up my indignation to the highest pitch," and show his epistle as a piece of mystification, more fit for insertion in the *Times* than in the *Crisis*; but as I am willing to believe he is not a black ram, seeking to do mischief among a happy and unsuspecting flock, by surprising the vigilance of the anxious, but may be too confident, shepherd, he will, I hope, consider it his duty to express his feelings in a manner capable of inspiring more sympathy for himself when he speaks of himself only, and avoid another time to picture himself as a Giovanni assailed and besieged by a host of "lovely and tender girls," all "very interesting," but obtruding themselves on any body in the shape of a man, whose only merit known to them at first sight, is his making a "tolerable bow." Frivolous stuff!

We want to be instructed, Mr. Editor—to be edified also; nay, we want to be amused and cheered sometimes, but we do not see that we ought to laugh at our own expense, when there is such an immense stock of ridicule to laugh

at in the old world, capable of satiating the stoutest appetite for buffoonery; but real co-operators are more inclined to grieve at its absurdity, than to turn it into joke and merriment.

What can "Reflector" be thinking about? If he be a friend, he has not reflected enough on the danger of such *badinage*, that can reflect no favourable colour on the festivals that he attends so regularly. I confess I am at a loss to find in his letter that benevolence I am wont to find in the writings of the fellow-labourers of the *Crisis*; but, on the contrary, I fear I see in it the stamp of that satirical rillery, in which the world delights and glorifies. I hope I am mistaken on the meaning of it; yet I must, through it, defer my intended visit to your place of recreation, as I intended to attend with my female friends, whom I teach that *love*, attended with virtue and morality, well understood, may be a hundredfold more holy and durable than the old matrimonial bond, the aim and end of which is to keep gold and power in some families, and wretchedness in the greatest number of others; being, in fact, nothing more than a disgusting contrivance to continue the present system of hereditary cupidity, which is only indissoluble for the poor.

The above may be used as a response to "Reflector's" letter. I tried to make the spirit of it as kind as possible, being consistent with sincerity. That you, Sir, or your Correspondent, may answer it, is the *true, earnest* wish of
A MORAL SENTINEL.

["Reflector" has unquestionably laid himself open to rebuke, for the mixture of his style, and the manner in which he mentions the fair sex; respecting whom, upon a liberal construction, he can mean nothing more than that, being a regular attendant at the festivals, he was accustomed to meet there some members of his family or particular acquaintance; on no other ground could he properly speak so freely of an institution, which is second to none in propriety of manners, and superior to most in chastened cordiality. If "Reflector" (of whom we cannot speak from personal knowledge) entertains a deep sentiment respecting the present, usually baneful, system of marriage laws, it depends somewhat upon his age and temperament in what manner he shall express himself. We are more of the "Moral Sentinel's" turn of mind in this respect; yet, upon the usual scope allowed by editors to correspondents, and putting always the best construction, we do not see that "Reflector's" letter was inadmissible. Levity is often mistaken for want of earnestness; but even laughter is frequently the excess of pain, and we should condemn Byron's, and other profound and valuable writings, if occasional levity, real or apparent, were to be the point of decision. At the same time, we beg to recommend to correspondents to be cautious on this head, and spare us the pain of rejecting their favours.—Ed.]

NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

WEEKLY REPORT—ENDING SEPT. 7.			
Exchanges	7,853h. 5s.	Deposits	8,830h. 4s.
Charges	£. 12 15s. 3d.	Commission	18s. 14s. 1d.
Rent	5 19 1	Profit on Pro-	
Wages	16 16 0	visions	24 17 6
		Rent Sub.	5 12 1
	35 8 4		49 4 6
			35 3 4
			14 1 2
		Profits	

R. ALGER, Auditor.

Charlotte-street, September 9, 1838.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Philanthropos and others are thanked for their Communications, which shall promptly appear.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPT. 14.

THE occurrences which come under the head of "Police," are now so voluminous as to require periodicals of their own; a fact to be esteemed of great importance in regard to the due consideration of this growing and truly momentous department of political economy. Matters of police are the under-current of the stream of social intercourse, that current whose clear or turbid stream decides the character of nations. The politician, usually so called, overlooks, or lightly regards these occurrences; his inflated mind mounts on the foamy billows of the ocean of competitive life, revels in their roar, and is excited only in proportion to their conflict—be it for impotency or devastation. A word will enrage or delight him, and while this is bandied about, no man can be bigger in false estimation; meanwhile the under-current bears him unconsciously onward, till at length the full swing of error conducts him against the rocks and breakers of utter destruction. It is thus that all former societies have come to nought, and that the present ones are hurrying on the course of annihilation.

The politician (so called) cares little for domestic affairs, and seldom considers that occurrences, however confined in their localities, may still admit of general reflection and national deductions. The leading papers take them merely as sources of amusement or personal blame; and the larger the sheet, the more may we expect to find sorrow turned into merriment, and wretchedness converted into ridicule.

We would now desire our contributors to assist us in doing justice to the unhappiness and degradation of our species. It is time to view these things with an enlarged, a liberal, and sympathetic philosophy; that which is really ludicrous will still appear so, however it may be treated; but that which comes of error, and admits of remedy, must be at once forcibly illustrated.

With this design we have begun, with our very limited time, to look watchfully at the Police Reports, in order to extract continually, and comment upon their leading features. The variety is great, the enormity appalling, and the number infinite; yet, probably, on these very circumstances may we look for the anomaly (through the progress of real knowledge) of society being the sooner impelled to search for the causes of human misery, the means of universal relief, and the wisdom firmly to establish the independence and happiness of mankind.

A summary of recent local events is deferred till next week, when, also, extra aid in conducting this important and all-engrossing publication will be afforded.

A.

TO A. B. OF BIRMINGHAM.

DEAR SIR,—I read your letter with much pleasure, not because you and I are entirely of one mind, but because you display a spirit of liberality. You say you are a decided friend of Mr. Owen's system, politically considered; but have been deterred from lending it your personal support on account of the infidelity which characterizes it. But infidelity is not an essential feature of the new system; and, although it were, it is only *theoretical* infidelity, whereas *practical* infidelity is the prominent feature of the old system, to which you must lend your support as long as you withhold it from the new. Whether, then, I ask you, as a friend of humanity, would you support a system theoretically infidel, yet diffusing universal happiness, by the extinction of poverty, or a system *professionally* Christian, yet *practically* infidel, anti-Christian, anti-social, where men make loud professions of faith in God, yet have no faith in *one another*; where men expatiate much upon their love to God, but have no love to their fellow-creatures? Which of these two systems would you prefer? I will help you to an answer from the Bible:—"He that saith he loveth God, and loveth not his brother, is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?" "How call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" "He that saith I know God, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar." "By their works ye shall know them."

This, however, is not doing justice to faith and Christianity, for it is presuming that they are opposed to the happiness of mankind—a most erroneous notion. It is by faith alone that the world can be saved; but it is necessary for us first to obtain faith in each other, before we can acquire faith in God, "for if we have no faith in man, whom we have seen, how can we have faith in God, whom we have not seen?" We have acted, in respect to faith, as we have in every other department of duty—we have begun at the wrong end; we have begun at the top, and descended. Thus men began with their duty to God, gods, kings, princes, magistrates, &c.; and now, at last, in these latter days, they begin to cultivate the duty of allegiance to the people. So, in like manner, they began with faith in God; then down and down, through kings, princes, and magistrates, till now they begin to see the necessity of keeping faith with each other. It has been a descent in every department of morality. It is the fall of man; it is the descent into hell; but now that we have got quite deep enough into the bottomless pit, it is our duty to cultivate faith in each other—love to each other—and then let us all rise in a body, as one man, and ascend upwards to God again, and see if we can find him. Charity begins at home, and so should faith. Your faith in God depends upon your faith in man, for it is built upon the testimony of man; but how can you believe the testimony of man, if you have no faith in man himself? your faith is false. The Scriptures represent the whole progress of man, until the end of the whole world, as a moral descent of this kind, so that Christ says, when the son of man cometh he shall *not find faith* on the earth. Then a restoration of society takes place, faith is restored, and the scattered tribes of men are united. It is the restoration of faith we seek, and not its annihilation. We would destroy exclusive, false, and

uncharitable faith—that faith which professes to begin with God and go downwards, becoming more and more unsocial as it falls; but we would build up *true faith*, which begins with man, and ascends upwards in search of the infinite and eternal, which it can never reach. "Who by searching can find out God—who can find out the Almighty to perfection?" Yet we can always know as much of him as we know of nature—for nature is God. "God is all in all"—that is nature. Nature descending may be called the devil, who is said to "fall from heaven." Nature ascending is God—"he hath ascended up on high, and led captivity captive." Hence, in the old system of society, which is the descending scale, the devil is called the god of this world; in the new system, which is the ascending scale, the devil is left behind in the pit, and God begins to reign—the kingdom of God is come. Thus Christ descends into hell before he ascends into heaven. It is the progress of education. We must learn wisdom by the experience of evil; then we rise with this experience to the enjoyment of greater good than we could have found without it. Nature teaches us the knowledge of evil and good, that we may become like herself. (Gen. iii. 22.) Man must fall before he rises; he must see the wonders of the great deep, the kingdom of darkness, the mystery of iniquity—hell—which exists in our own minds and in society; where, also, heaven shall be formed. All is right—nature never fails.

To represent these two extremes of nature, we have two grand divisions in the religious world, the believer and the infidel, both equal in merit, and both useful in their place. To these you very beautifully allude, in quoting the words of Christ—"Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also will I bring with me;" that is, at the second coming. These you "think and hope are the infidels." I think so too; and, if you are fond of types, I will show you how the types are set to support your opinion. I have many other ways of reasoning upon the subject, but, as you are a Christian, I have thought proper, after some consideration, to select this mode of argument, as it has the advantage of combining illustration along with it. Are not the Jews infidels? They have crucified God; and so have the infidels (commonly so called) put God to death—that is, denied him. Now to or in whom must Christ come at his second advent? To those who have rejected him; that is, to the Jews; that is, to the infidels; "for he is not a Jew who is one outwardly, but he is a Jew who is one inwardly." If, then, the Jews be a typical people, as Christians in general allow, who but the infidels can realize the anti-type, or substance? and among whom can the gathering of the people be at the end of the world, but amongst those who have denied the first, the descending God, and are looking out for a better—who have crucified him (the descending God) in substance, as the Jews did in a figure? [It is all for good at last, for without the shedding of his blood, there is no remission. But he will rise again. There is no fear of him; however he will rise as nature—all-perfect nature—and not in the likeness of sinful flesh.] Then, again, observe what is the peculiar character of the Jewish Church? It is the Church of works; they began with distributing land, &c., and were so far from alluding to any other state of existence than the present, that many divines question

whether they believed in a future state. Bishop Warburton thinks *not*. Moses never once alludes to it. This faith grew by degrees till Christ came, when he perfected it. Here then is the whole plan or model laid down for you, consisting of two parts, the works and the faith; the works without faith instituted by Jews or Infidels, and the faith gradually infusing itself into them by the progress of knowledge, for other foundation can no man lay than works or facts, and no faith nor opinion can be received which is not founded upon them. Thus you find it accords with the analogy of the Scriptural doctrine and types that the Millennium be introduced by Infidels, for they have the department of works committed to them by nature. Their deficiencies shall be supplied by the Christian world, who shall ultimately join them; and the meeting of the two parties shall be like the meeting of two chemical agents. They shall mutually affect each other; the Infidel will be reconciled to *Christianity reformed*, and the Christian to *Infidelity Christianized*. No other union can take place, for no other union is *natural*. It is absurd to suppose that one sect or party is all right, and the rest all wrong. Truth, like the Jews, is scattered over all. Hesitate not then to lend your aid in supporting the works, and leave the faith to the course of nature, it will grow as it pleases nature to gather it. The Infidels are the masons, who lay the foundation, and build the shell of the structure; the Christians are the carpenters, who finish it. In respect to merit they are essentially the same; but at present the Infidels are the most useful of the two parties, for *now* is their time of action.

You say you were very much pleased with some writings which you met with some years ago, which taught that "the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, is the Jehovah of the Jews, manifesting himself as the Messiah long foretold, and not the Son of God sent to appease the wrath of the father." The manner in which this is expressed leaves me at a loss to determine whether you allude to the Swedenburgian or Southcottian doctrine. It matters not which; but the latter is the more perfect of the two. It is the doctrine of the *twofold Messiah*—the Father and the Son; the spirit of God being the Holy Ghost (or Nature) that dwells in both, making in all the Trinity. Jesus Christ may be called the Father, Shiloh, or the founder of the new world, whoever he is, the Son, &c.; of these two the 72d Psalm is supposed to speak, where it says, "Give the *King* (the Father) thy judgments, O God, and thy righteousness to the *King's son*." This corresponds with what Christ says of himself, "for judgment am I come into this world." "I came not to send peace, but a sword; I came to send fire on the earth; to set the father against the son, and the son against the father," &c. Of the son it is said, "he shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and break in pieces the oppressor." The first is *nature descending*, or the old world; the second is *nature ascending*, or the new world.

You say you "cannot reconcile the idea of evil coming from God;" but the query is—is there such a thing as evil in existence; there is something which is evil to us finite beings, but in nature at large and in its effects, even upon ourselves, that something is good and indispensable; and of this evil the Scriptures inform us that it is *good*; "rejoice in tribulation, for tribulation worketh patience, and pa-

tience experience," &c.; that is, out of evil good arises. Evil is the root, it is wild nature from which the germ emerges into the light of day; and the knowledge of evil is accounted so necessary to the perfection of man, that we are told that by eating of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, man attains to the divine likeness. In other words, he must fall and rise again before he can see the mysteries of nature. By falling he launches into evil, or what is called the mystery of iniquity, which is of three sorts, physical, moral, and intellectual. Physical evil is poverty, disease, &c.; moral evil is subjection to the worst passions of our nature; intellectual evil is ignorance, delusion, mystery, &c. To know evil in the full sense of the word, man must know all these; therefore they must all be developed: they have been developed, and by their development man has learned wisdom, which he could not otherwise have acquired. But you would divest the Deity of the glory of having taught this wisdom to man. You cannot imagine how God could have created evil; then you cannot imagine how evil ultimately produces good, which the Bible maintains. If by God you mean nature ascending to good, then you are right; but if by God you mean nature descending, then you are wrong, for descent leads to evil. God is merely a term to express the good that is in nature; the Devil is a term to express the evil. Nature comprehends both, and is the source of both; she is the parent, they are the offspring; she is both God and Devil in one. Her spirit speaks to Isaiah in the following words:—"I form light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil; I the Lord do all these things." How often are we told in Scripture that God shuts the eyes, and stops the ears, and hardens the hearts, and makes men obstinate, and sends them delusion, &c. What is this but evil? But you may reply, that all this is contradicted at other times. True; and this is the beauty of the doctrine, it is a riddle for creating the evil of dissent. But the whole mystery may be solved in the twinkling of an eye. When it is said that God creates evil, then what may be called the evil principle of nature, or the one extreme of nature, is understood as the creator. When it is said that God does not create evil, then what may be called the good principle of nature, or the other extreme, is understood. When it is said that God creates both good and evil, then nature at large is understood as the creator, who comprehends the other two, uniting them both in one, and being herself the only living and true God. These three are one, the Christian trinity—one of the most philosophical doctrines ever propounded by man, but thrown into disgrace by a parcel of mystagogues, who could not pry into the secrets of nature, and solve the riddle of the Sphinx. Are you not told that the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him? Are you not told that the Lord sent a lying spirit to deceive the prophets of Ahab? and are you not told (Ezek. xiv. 9), that when a prophet is deceived, it is the Lord who deceives him? And are you not told that the Devil, who deceives the prophets, shall be cast alive into the lake of fire, and that God is that consuming fire? Hence the whole mystery is nothing more than this, that evil shall be destroyed by good, that a new system of society shall supersede the old; Nature change her countenance, and be transformed from Satan into an angel of light. What other arguments can you require to convince you

that Nature is the grand actor behind the curtain, showing herself in her twofold character of good and evil, or God and Devil. [Good and evil are not proper terms, for both extremes of nature are good, and both evil; the evil to us is produced by the want of equilibrium between the two extremes—thus, if heat preponderate over cold, it is evil; if cold preponderate over heat, it is evil. Yet both are good; inasmuch as a proper mixture of both produces an agreeable temperature.] If it be the perfection of Nature, that she contain within herself evil and good, why should it not be the perfection of God to have created evil and good. You call God the author of Nature, yet deny that he is the author of evil. Certainly, you must be guilty of some error in reasoning here, unless you maintain that there is no evil in existence; to which view of the subject I have no objections, for Nature must be good as a whole. It is only when partially considered, that she can be represented as evil; hence God is said to be greater than the Devil, because the good of Nature must prevail, or the equilibrium be restored at last. Hence, evil comes first, that it may be destroyed by its successor: the balance swings before it settles. "God hath made all things for himself, yea even the evil for the day of vengeance." It is the first step in the progress of human tuition.

The words evil and wicked are commonly applied to persons; and this is another feature of the old world, and the vulgar doctrine of eternal punishments is built thereon; but there is no moral evil in persons, the evil exists in principles only; and St. Paul informs us that within each of us there are two natures, the old man of the heart, which is corrupt, and the new man, which waits and pants for deliverance from the thralldom of the old. These two are Devil and God; the reprobate and the elect; the one is cast into hell, the other taken to heaven. The destruction of the one is the liberation of the other; and the dreadful curse, which has proved such a bugbear to men, women, and children, is really nothing more than a blessing, inasmuch as it is the destruction of those evil motives of action, which arise from the corruption of the old system of society. The eternal punishment of evil is nothing else than the eternal establishment of good. Nor does this interpretation at all destroy the hopes of a Christian, but confirm them. Nothing good in nature can be destroyed—evil only is doomed. Hope is good, but fear is evil; against fear then only would I fight, and suffer hope to kindle even into a glow of enthusiasm. Such a feeling as hope can never injure society; it is the gloomy dread of a fearful place of personal suffering alone, that has ravaged the world, and planted inquisitions in every political government—a dread which has no sanction even in the book itself, which is adduced as the chief support of such a monstrous article of faith. The book frequently declares, in most unequivocal language, that all men shall be saved: "As by one man's disobedience judgment came upon all men to condemnation, so by the obedience of one hath the free gift passed upon all men unto justification of life; for as in Adam all died, so in Christ shall all be made alive." Here is a fair balance, the descending and ascending process above alluded to. Numerous are the passages which speak of universal redemption; but you may reply that many others speak of eternal damnation to the wicked. True: but this, as I observed when speaking of the trinity, constitutes the beauty of

the riddle in which the philosophy of the book is clothed. They are all true, and the contradiction is easily reconciled. When it is said that all the wicked shall be destroyed, &c., it alludes to evil principles or motives, or as the apostle of the Gentiles calls them, the *old man of the heart*. When it speaks of universal redemption, it alludes to the individual who remains after this evil is destroyed; thus all men are *damned* and *all men saved*. And this also is according to Scripture, which denounces all then as wicked without an exception, and then sends all the wicked into hell. And why should we not all go down into hell and rise again as well as Christ our forerunner? Surely man can never have a complete, a liberal education, until he see the subterranean realms of the prince of darkness. Thus you see I can reconcile contradictions which divines and commentators have in vain attempted before me, because they have rejected the only possible mode of solution. The whole key is found in the book itself: "Mercy is my darling attribute, judgment (only) my strange work." "Mercy shall triumph over judgment." You say, that you are afraid that this doctrine will do mischief, because it removes the idea of moral responsibility. Remember, my friend, that it is nothing but the doctrine of justification without works, taught by St. Paul, and he was reproached in a similar way for teaching *dangerous doctrines*. "The law entered," says he, "that the offence might abound; but where sin abounded, grace did much more abound. Shall we then sin that grace may abound? God forbid." It is not easy, however, according to your view of the matter, to see the propriety of this "*God forbid*," since if grace abounds in proportion to the amount of sin committed, the more we sin, the more grace we enjoy. But the doctrine of the apostle is quite the same as our own, and its tendency the same. He carries it much further than this, when he says, "It is not I that sin, but sin that dwelleth in me;" thus acquitting himself of all blame, and charging the evil principle of nature with the guilt, as he honoured the good principle of nature with the merit of all his actions—thus making himself and all mankind conscious machines of Nature for performing whatsoever she has a mind to do—good or evil. Why fear that men will be tempted to do evil, because they believe that the source of good and evil is one? Is there any pleasure in doing evil? does it not always bring its punishment along with it? If a man is intemperate, does he not experience the fruits of intemperance in his constitution? Is he false? then he is not trusted by his fellow-men. Is he cruel, vindictive, violent, obstinate, or under the influence of any evil passion? he will always find some unhappy consequence resulting from its indulgence. It is true that virtue is often maltreated in the present system, because it is a vicious system; but whenever the system is changed, the case must be otherwise, and men will love virtue, and virtue only; for virtue only shall give any satisfaction. Are you ever tempted to eat poison, merely because God made it? Are you ever tempted to cast yourself into a furnace, merely because God is a consuming fire? But you reply that one man's pleasure is another man's sorrow; it unfortunately is so now, but it cannot be so in the system of society which we recommend, for there the interest of the whole must be the interest of each. But even in the present system, the doctrine of non-responsibility can be productive of no further mischief;

men can never be worse than priests have already made them, and I do not find that those who hold this doctrine are worse, but rather better than others. Are the high Calvinists worse characters than other religionists? Yet they hold the doctrine of *justification without good works*.

You ask me "if it is part of my system to implore the guidance of the all-wise, all-knowing God, or is mine self-derived intelligence?" and you cannot understand what is meant by Nature teaching all things." Perhaps all the difference between us lies in the use of words and the definition of terms. Nature is to me what God is to you. You call God the *author of Nature*; this I allow, but I also call Nature the *author of God*. Thus, suppose I call Nature the Father, evil becomes the Son, and good the Holy Ghost; and Nature is the author or father of both. As it is written, the Son is begotten of the Father, and the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son, or by the Son, for evil is the root of good; but as God is the first and the last, invert this order, and put Nature last, and you have Evil, Good, Nature, all ending in Nature at last; wherefore it is written, all manner of blasphemies shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemies against the *Holy Ghost* (Nature) shall never be forgiven. The two first are Satan, or a kingdom divided. By this transposition of the persons of the trinity the whole mystery is explained; in the one arrangement, the Son is evil—"He bears our sins," "in the likeness of sinful flesh," &c.; in the other he is good. So it is with the Father; for the two extremes of nature, are either evil or good, as *circumstances make them*; but in both cases Nature is good; she is the compound of both, all-perfect. Now, when you say you worship God, the author of part of nature, viz. good, you worship only one person in the trinity. I worship *all the three in one*. Your God is only a part of existence; for there is something in being besides himself; mine is the *whole of existence, all in all—Jehovah—I am*. Your God is distinct from yourself, mine is united to myself; so that I really am a part of his existence; as Christ says, "that they also may be one in us, as I in thee, and thou in me;" "in him we live, move, and have our being," &c. You pray to your God as if he were at a distance, or required arguments to persuade him to listen to your entreaties. I merely wish for all that I want, and employ the means to obtain it: as St. Paul says, "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you to will and to do of his own good pleasure." Such is the prayer that I employ, and the only prayer. There is an old system and a new system of prayer, as well as of every thing else. The *old system* consists of bending of knees, the utterance of words, &c.—a mere formality. The new system consists purely of a *desire of the heart*; the first must give place to the last, for "God is a spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth."—"All *old things* must pass away, and all things become *new*." Thus, Jesus Christ, who at his first coming gives countenance to the *old system*, although he covertly (in parables) teaches the doctrines of the new, says, "Now, I pray the Father for you; but the time cometh when I shall no more pray the Father for you, for the Father himself loveth you." Here you find the old and the new system, and the cessation of all formal prayer when men have cast off the slavish fear

of God, and clothed themselves with his love, "for perfect love casteth out fear." It is only because men imagine that God hates them that they pray formally. I have Christ's own authority for saying so. Do not the Scriptures tell you to "pray always"—"to pray without ceasing?" Do you follow this counsel? If you do not, I do; for I never cease to pray, except when asleep, and in my dreams I am always engaged in prayer. "Is my intelligence self-derived?" you ask—either yes or no will do for an answer; yes, inasmuch as God or Nature and I are one—no, inasmuch as I am a part, and she is the whole; and all the intelligence which I possess comes from the great fountain of all intelligence—Nature, the *triune God*. I am inspired, my knowledge comes by revelation. I am nothing of myself—less than nothing, and vanity. My mind is as a vapour which appeareth for a little while and then vanisheth away. Yet that mind cannot be lost, any more than the vapour—mind is for *evermore*.

You say you are pleased with the progress of the Bible Society in diffusing the Scriptures. So am I—I love all progress; I only hate stagnant water and the filthy vermin it breeds. The knowledge of Christianity is necessary to the emancipation of the world, even as a branch of education. It is so closely interwoven with the history of society, that it must be taught. Hence, every liberal-minded man will not only impart a knowledge of Christianity to his children, but put the Bible into their hands along with other historical records, and books of a similar character, such as the Koran, &c., and when properly expounded, it will contribute more than any other book to impart a knowledge of *general nature*. But under the present tuition of the church, it is really an embargo upon all the reasoning faculties; for it is set up in opposition to nature and philosophy. I will undertake to make it one of the most useful elementary books of education that human ingenuity could devise, for I will make it the instrument of *exercising the reasoning faculties*. But it is only when reconciled to nature and philosophy, as it can be to perfection, that it can be useful as a book of instruction. Then Nature and Revelation will go hand in hand, like bridegroom and bride, and "the marriage of the Lamb" shall be consummated.

I have answered all your letter, except what alludes to Mr. Owen. Mr. Owen is a disciple of Nature, and only opposes Revelation so far as he thinks it disagrees with Nature; but he is perfectly willing, nay, I believe, desirous to see the two reconciled, for the leading feature of his system is "unity." Did Mr. Owen not desire such a result, he would never have given encouragement to me. It is a principle of the social system to accomplish all our ends by love and not by violence; we want to destroy nothing but evil. If Nature and Revelation can be married together, it must be a most *social union*. Now they can and desire to be so united, and I now publish the banner—If any Christian or Infidel can show good cause why they should not be united, by proving the fallacy of a single syllogism which I have used in this letter, let him enter his protest, but let him do it like one who is willing to grapple with the subject, and not in that superficial, consequential sort of way which modern wits are so fond of, by which they merely evade discussion, as a coward evades fighting by pretending that he disdains to fight. Revelation is the bridegroom, and a stern, mystical old gentleman he is. Nature is the bride.

the free-woman; she shall restore all things, swallow up her husband, and cure his temper. This is the consummation.

I am, yours, &c.,

J. SMITH.

1 The philosophical reason of this may be illustrated by transposing the three persons of the trinity in the manner above alluded to—always placing evil before good. Thus, if Nature be placed first, the old system of society is meant; and there is a descent from nature downward through evil, landing in good and then returning to Nature: NATURE—EVIL, GOOD—NATURE. In the first trinity the son is evil, "he comes not to send peace but a sword," "in the likeness of sinful flesh," &c.; and here, paper is used because nature is producing evil. In the last trinity the son, or man, becomes good, he is returning to Nature; then prayer ceases, for nature is producing good—"the father loveth us,"—the son becomes both evil and good, he eats the fruit of the tree of knowledge—of good and evil. In evil he is all formality, all hypocrisy—Nature in disguise. In good, the formality is abandoned, and he appears in his true character—Nature undisguised; the first is mystery, the second is simple truth.

PUBLIC MEETING OF THE TRADES' DELEGATES.

THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 29, 1833.

Mr. Hoare in the chair.

First carpenters.—Mr. Horne gave in their weekly report, from which it appears that the weekly receipts are £l. 19s. 5d., and the expenditure 7l. 13s. 1d. Mr. Horne gave a very flattering account of the progress they were making, and urged most strongly those out of employ to come forward and join the society.

Second carpenters.—Mr. Jordan gave in a report of their proceedings for the last fortnight, showing the following results:—

Receipts	£19 2 5
Expenditure	15 9 4

Balance 3 13 1

First cabinet makers.—No report, in consequence of alteration and revision in their laws.

Tailors.—Mr. Tyrrel read the report from July 17 to August 28:—

Receipts	£143 0 1
Expenditure	133 8 8

Balance 9 11 5

He also begged to announce a section of this department is now forming in the city, for the accommodation of those living in that district. He gave in twelve hours old notes from Mr. Day, and forty hours from the conductor, to be cancelled.

The united boot and shoemakers gave in a most satisfactory report, and announced about twenty members partially employed by the society. Rent for the week, 4s 8d.

Ladies' shoemakers.—The delegate from this department gave in the following report, embracing the whole of their proceedings, from their first commencement, February 25, to August 25, which showed a rapid progress, with an addition of forty-three members during that period, their numbers at the commencement being thirteen, and at the present period fifty-six. Mr. Voak commented on the progress they had made, and offered some explanations as to the supposed high rate of valuation fixed by their society, by showing that the shoemakers were worse paid than almost every other class of operatives; he thought it but fair that they should have an equal rate of value to other trades. Messrs. Prior, Dixon, Tyrrel, and Swan, were appointed a deputation to wait on the second section of the tailors' department.

Industrious Females' Society.—Miss Green gave in the report of this most important branch of the Association, which it appears is daily increasing in members. The week's report was highly flattering, and shows an example of well well worthy of imitation. We cordially wish them success.

Mr. Wood brought up the weekly report of the business of the Association. (See page 11.)

Mr. Horne gave in forty hours, and Mr. Bragg one hour, old notes, to be cancelled.

Mr. Henderson reported the proceeds of the last festival.

Mr. Wood called the attention of the friends to the fund forming for the purpose of obtaining a good and constant supply of raw material; he eloquently showed its high importance to the success of our operations. We regret our limits will not allow us to give at length the arguments he adduced, but we shall take an early opportunity of enlarging on the merits of this fund, and shall content ourselves now, by merely urging all those who have the interest of the Association at heart, to contribute as far as they can, by depositing their cash in exchange for the new notes of the establishment.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1833.

Mr. Halliwell in the chair.

First Carpenters.—Mr. Horne gave in the report, showing the week's receipts at £9 10 0 Ditto Expenditure 8 7 11 Exchange Rent 0 4 11

Second society of carpenters gave in their report, which was equally flattering as those we have been in the habit of giving.

Female Society.—Miss Green gave in the report, and announced they were progressing most satisfactorily.

United boot and shoe makers.—The delegate gave in his report, and said that, in order to insure satisfaction to the public, they had resolved that every article deposited by them should be warranted. Every Member's work is to be distinguished by a number marked on the shoes deposited, by which means he is made responsible for any complaints that may be made.

Ladies' shoemakers.—The delegate reported their continued progress each week, adding to their numbers.

Mr. Wood brought up the Audit Report, which in future will commence with Monday, and finish with Saturday's business.

Mr. Wood, in reference to the subject of valuation, strongly advised its deep consideration by the different societies, for how could it be expected that the public would come and purchase our productions if they were higher than the outer market. He thought it unwise for individuals to be so venacious for high wages at present. When we shall have the command of the material market, especially the great material of all, the land, then, and not till then, shall we be in a condition to demand a high valuation for labour. He begged that he might not be considered applying these observations to any trade in particular. It must be fairly considered by all, for the success of the undertaking mainly depended on it.

Mr. Prior, in taking a similar view of the question, observed that it had been long said the producing classes were not capable of managing their own affairs; we are now about to prove the truth or falsehood of the assertion. It was then necessary to consider our present operations only as a means to an end; as one of these means the provision store was of great importance. The question then was, how could it best be kept up; not certainly by finding fault with each other, but by a disinterested and unobtrusive endeavour to stimulate the provision dealers to deposit in exchange for our productions. He would also observe that there was a fund now lying idle, especially intended to enable the Trade Societies to purchase material; that fund was open to any society that could use it to their advantage. He also recommended them to endeavour to increase their numbers, as in most cases double the amount of business might be transacted at the same expense they were now at.

Mr. Turner thought this question most important, and could state that people generally valued their articles they brought in by the value set on things already deposited in the Bazaar. He recommended that the shoemakers should have a room, on the premises, for taking orders from the public; the Association were losing from a want of atten-

tion to these subjects. He also noticed an inattention in the execution of orders; this must be provided against.

Mr. Henderson would recommend the societies to look to their valuations, and see that they did not neglect their duties. It was essential those duties should not be neglected, although they were acting gratuitously, or it would be better to have paid valuers.

Several other members addressed observations on these subjects, which seems to be considered by all of the most vital importance, and must be immediately put on a known and fixed basis. After some observations from Messrs. Norman, Jordan, and Henderson,

Mr. Owen, in conclusion, rose and addressed the meeting as follows:—

My friends, I perceive that a difference of opinion exists among you on the subject of valuation. Now, unless you judge on right principles, you will only perplex and confound the question. The question is, do you deposit with a view to each other, or the outer market? the cases are quite different. If you have numbers sufficient to supply each other with all the principal articles of consumption, it is then immaterial what scale of valuation you adopt. But parties holding the necessities of life will not deposit at your present valuation. You must endeavour to regulate the scale as to meet these individuals with as little injury to the working man as possible; this is to be effected by purchasing in large quantities. Arrangements should be immediately made to enable parties to go to market beneficially; next, to insure that nothing but of the best quality be produced, the best being at all times the cheapest. You must be prepared to encounter difficulties at first, but I hope the time is not far distant when you will be able to meet the outer market. Sixpence per hour ought to be the minimum of wages; the power is within yourselves to fix the amount of labour. The present prices are abundantly low; but you must look the subject fully in the face. However, I am delighted to see you going on so well as I find you. I never had any doubt on my mind as to the abilities of the working men to manage their own affairs.

The meeting then adjourned.

The following Circular has been received by the Secretary of the London Co-operative Society:—

Birmingham, August 30, 1833.

SIR,—I believe you are aware that in March last, Mr. William Thompson of Cork, author of several works on Co-operation, and an ardent friend to the working classes, died. By his will, dated July, 1830, he bequeathed the whole of his property, consisting principally of freehold estates in the county of Cork, and valued (free of incumbrances) at from 8000*l.* to 10,000*l.*, to thirteen trustees to apply to co-operative purposes. The principal is to be applied by way of loan, to assist in the establishment of co-operative communities, or to aid such other bodies of working men associated together for their mutual benefit, as shall seem to the trustees fit and desirable. The greater portion of the annual interest is to be applied to the purchase of shares in communities so formed, for those who are desirous of joining them, but who have not the means—to the reprinting and gratuitous distribution of such of Mr. Thompson's works as the trustees may think proper—to the aiding by advertisements and other modes of printing and publication the diffusion of co-operative principles, and of all useful knowledge amongst the whole of the people, particularly amongst the industrious classes, and those of them who are too poor to pay for knowledge.

Immediately upon Mr. Thompson's decease, one of the trustees and executors took possession of the property. The heirs at law, however, of the deceased have set up an invalid

claim, and have commenced a suit in the Irish Court of Chancery, more in the hope that the trustees will not or cannot defend it, than that they shall succeed, should the cause be tried; one proof of this is, that since proceedings were commenced, one of our opponents has indirectly offered to enter into a compromise. The acting trustees have taken the opinions of two eminent Irish barristers, both of which fully convince them that the property is legally vested in them. The cause will be tried in November next; but it is required, that at least one of the trustees resident in England should proceed immediately to Ireland, and assist in preparing the defence. I have been requested by my fellow-trustees to undertake this duty, and for a variety of reasons not necessary here to detail, I believe I can be made to be of considerable service.

My journey however, will, of course, be attended with expenses, and every one knows that not a step can be taken in a legal way without money. The acting trustees have already advanced more than some of us can well afford; and although I as an individual am perfectly willing to make any sacrifice necessary to bring this important affair to a successful issue, my circumstances in life are not of a nature to allow me to undertake the duty required of me at my own risk and expense.

Considering, in addition to these circumstances, that we are trustees for a great public purpose, and that we have not the slightest private interest in the matter, I have resolved thus to state our case fairly to the co-operative societies, for whose use and benefit this property has been bequeathed, and also to those benevolent individuals in private life who are friends to this great cause, and who are now ready to assist any effort made to improve the condition of the industrious classes.

Mr. Jagoe, the trustee and executor who now resides upon the estate, informs me that in all probability 100*l.* and upwards will be required to defend the suit of the heirs at law, but that there is every reason to believe that, if the trustees act with decision and promptitude, much time and expense will be saved.

I now, therefore, propose that the sum required should be advanced by societies and individuals by way of loan, to be repaid when the trustees get possession of the property, which we expect will be by Christmas next. So soon as 50*l.* is subscribed in this way, I will immediately proceed to Ireland, and see that every thing which is possible shall be done to insure the success of our cause. If you feel disposed to assist, you will be kind enough to forward to me any sum which may be convenient to you to advance upon these terms.

I remain, yours, &c.

WILLIAM PARE.

* * Loans for the above object will be received by Mr. Austin, 14, Charlotte-street.

PUBLIC MEETING OF THE TRADES AT THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

An immense assemblage of the operative classes was held at the above Institution, on Friday, the 6th instant, called by advertisement, to receive communications respecting the present position and objects of the Trades' Unions.

Mr. Austin was called to the chair.

Mr. Owen commenced the business of the evening with a speech of considerable length,

and the reading of many high-spirited and cheering letters from Birmingham and Manchester. His address was listened to throughout with the utmost attention and interest. Some of the documents read by him, being of great public importance, shall be inserted as soon as we get possession of them.

Resolutions were then spoken to by the managers of the Exchange and others, and were carried unanimously; after which the meeting separated in good order and contentment.

The following are the resolutions:

1. Resolved,—That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the Producing Classes ought now to adopt the most efficient measures in practice, to overcome in the shortest time the evils which they experience from the effects of competition among themselves.

2. That it appears to this meeting that the National Equitable Labour Exchange, if properly conducted, is essentially calculated to assist the productive classes in overcoming in the shortest time the injurious effects of individual and general competition.

3. That the thanks of this meeting are most especially due, and are now given, to Messrs. Hunsam and Welch; for their extraordinarily disinterested conduct in coming forward to take the lead in assisting the building branches to adopt decisive measures to put an end to the practice of competition among them, and to open the way for the full emancipation of the productive classes.

EXTRACT FROM A NINE MONTHS' RESIDENCE IN NEW ZEALAND.

BY AUGUSTUS EARLE.

I cannot give a favourable account of the missionaries, or of the success of their labours. It has been imagined that the residence of missionaries would have the effect of civilizing the natives, and adding to the safety of ships touching here; but experience fully proves the fallacy of such an expectation. These people (the missionaries), abstracted by their own gloomy reflections, look with contempt on all who are in the pursuit of worldly wealth, "and regard the arrival of a whaler as an enemy coming to interfere with the spiritual interests of 'their flock,' as they term the inhabitants; though I never saw one proselyte of their converting. They never visit a whaler except on a Sunday, and then it is to beg for the benefit of their society. It cannot, therefore, be expected that much sympathy can exist between parties, where the cold formality of one excites the contempt and disgust of the other."

On one occasion, when Mr. Earle was present, "The minister endeavoured to explain the sacred mysteries of our religion to a number of the chiefs who were present. They listened attentively to all he said, and expressed no doubt as to its truth, only remarking that, 'as all these wonderful circumstances happened only in the country of the white men, the Great Spirit expected only the white men to believe them!' The missionary then began to expatiate on the torments of hell, of which some of them seemed horrified; but others said, 'they were quite sure such a place could only be made for the white faces, for they had no men half wicked enough in New Zealand to be sent there;' but when the reverend gentleman added, with vehemence, that 'all men' would be condemned, the savages all burst into a loud laugh, declaring 'they would have nothing to do with a God who delighted in such cruelties;' and then (as a matter of right), hoped the missionary would give them each a blanket for having listened to him so patiently."

On Monday evening, the usual semi-lunar Social Festival was held. The company was considerably larger than at the Festival preceding. Universal happiness seemed to prevail; a kind and social spirit was displayed on the part of every individual, and a little past one o'clock they parted from each other with pleasant reluctance. In the absence of Mr. Owen, Mr. Smith addressed the company, whilst seated at the tea-table. He alluded, in particular, amongst other moral lessons which he inculcated, to the propriety of displaying as little of the spirit of the competitive system, in respect to dress, as was consistent with the respect they owed to themselves, as it had a tendency to preserve invidious distinctions. "The richest of all dresses," he observed, "is a smiling countenance; and if clothed in this generous garb, they might be said to be splendidly attired, even in plain clothing."

CO-OPERATIVE AND TRADES' UNION CONGRESS.—Pursuant to resolutions unanimously passed at the last Co-operative Congress, held at Huddersfield in April last, I am instructed to acquaint the whole of the Co-operative and Trades' Unions in the Kingdom, that the next Congress, to be called the Co-operative and Trades' Union Congress, will be held in London, at the National Equitable Labour Exchange, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, on Monday, the 7th of October next. The fullest attendance of Delegates from Societies in all parts of the Kingdom is particularly requested, as subjects of the very deepest interest to the whole of the Productive Classes will be brought forward.

W. R. WOOD.

W. R. W. would feel much obliged to the friends to forward him, as early as possible, the names of Secretaries and Meeting places of the various Societies in their knowledge, in order that they may receive official notice of the above. Address, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

This Day is published, No. 2, (and to be continued Weekly,) of

LECTURES ON CHARITY;

As delivered by ROBERT OWEN, at the Institution of New Lanark. These Lectures will be comprised in Six Penny Numbers.

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LECTURES, &c., NEXT WEEK.

Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

Sunday morning, at 11, by the Rev. J. E. Smith; and evening, at 7.

Sunday afternoon, at 3, the members of the Social Community.

Tuesday evening Mr. Slean, Professor of Mathematics, will lecture on general science; and will exhibit some interesting experiments in chemistry. The method of filling balloons will be explained, and a small one will be made to ascend.

Wednesday evening, at half-past 7, public discussion of the Social Community.

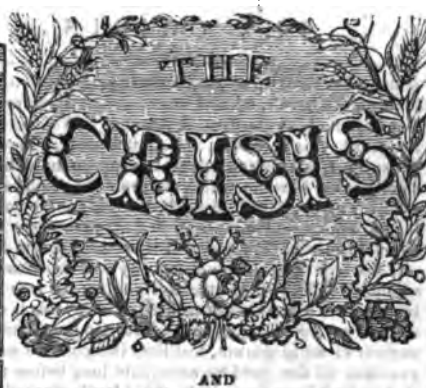
Thursday evening at half-past 7, the Trades' Delegates.

Friday evening, at 7, the Ladies' Association.

Mr. Detrosier will lecture on Tuesday week, and on every Tuesday till further notice.

The next General Meeting of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, Sept. 16th, at half-past 7 in the evening.

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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 15.

[Not having room for an abstract of both of Mr. Smith's lectures, we give the following from the lecture delivered in the evening.]

After some severe strictures on the manner of conducting the controversy between Infidels and Christians, Mr. Smith proceeded thus:—

Some of our ultra-infidels entertain the hope that the whole fabric of superstition shall gradually decay, by assailing it with out-and-out opposition, and that one after another will desert, and fill the ranks of liberalism. I am not disposed to think so. Religion has lately done more mischief to itself than its enemies have done; it has galled the minds of the people, by its intolerant, oppressive, and avacious spirit; and now the outcry is raised against it, more from the political mischief which lordly priests and their insatiable hirelings have created, than from any moral evil which the people discover in religion itself; and now that a great national change is expected in the ecclesiastical department, the religious world are full of hope that their cause shall prosper, and numbers daily flock to their standard. It is curious to observe the different hopes that animate the two extreme parties. The Infidels talk of their own growing strength, the rapid increase of their numbers within the few past years, and the prospect of additional success, as men's minds become enlightened, and government becomes tolerant. The Dissenters talk in the same style; * they also speak at times of their increase of number, and the prospect of a great additional increase when the proud hierarchy of England shall be humbled, and religion no more be degraded by such a wanton departure from the spirit of humility and simplicity which ought to characterize its teachers. Each party seems to be growing, and probably it is really so; for as men begin to think and to inquire, they naturally range themselves on one side or the other; whereas, in a state of indifference, they range themselves on neither. But if this really be the case, if the two parties be really growing as they both assert, it only shows the

greater necessity there is for some grand intellectual engagement, in which the merits of the question shall be discussed over the whole civilized world.

The Christian world despises Infidel opposition, because it is not sectarian. It seems to be attacking a shadow. An Infidel author may now and then appear of considerable notoriety and talent; he may publish some formidable works upon nature, miracles, and prophecy, and bring forth a very plausible array of objections against Christianity as it is; but he is a mere individual—he is not the organ of a sect, and therefore, he is merely answered as an individual by some idle pamphleteer, or more probably allowed to circulate amongst his friends undisturbed. The Christians say, "it is easy for them to attack us, for we have fixed opinions—we have a system—we have articles of faith published and subscribed, and we all to a man defend those articles and abide by our system. Not so with our opponents; they merely deny—they merely oppose, and if defeated on one point they merely fly to another; having no partiality to any particular doctrines, and no opposition to any, provided they are opposed to ours." Whether this be the case or not, I know that it is the common complaint of the Christians against the Infidels; and there is certainly some truth in it, for infidelity has no system. (The same may be said of Christianity.) And without a system, even although it should ultimately succeed in overwhelming the church and all its superstition, what benefit will accrue from its success? It has overturned an old fabric, but it has not a new system to set up; its ranks must then be set in hostile array against each other, and a scene as full of confusion must be the consequence, as if Christian fought with Christian, or the Infidel and Christian were enlisted against each other. Nothing can stand, or even prevail, which is not systematically arranged. When the French nation, at the revolution of July, overthrew their old monarchy, and gained possession of the political power and the means of erecting any system of government which they preferred, instead of proceeding to complete their victory by forming a new political establishment upon more rational and liberal principles, they stood stock-still, and wondered at the feat which they had accomplished; they

seemed more disposed to congratulate themselves upon their bravery in the past, than to project plans of improvement for the future. They were disorganized; they had neither a leader nor a system; and they fell an easy prey to the first aristocratic trickster, who proposed to lead them to the grand consummation of their victory. Experience has, perhaps, now taught them this wise maxim,—that we ought never to destroy our old dwelling until we have provided a new.

In forming a system of opposition to the present corrupt superstitions of the world, it is evident that it must possess more attractive features than those which it is intended to oppose. Its morals must be more beautiful, and its prospects equally encouraging. Nothing that is good ought to be destroyed; nothing that tends to make men more happy than they now are. Hence, charity and liberality unbounded ought to be taught and practised, and every virtue that Christians profess, but fail to exhibit in their outward conduct. Hope also, which is one of the best and kindest friends of man, is amongst the good things which deserve encouragement. Modern infidelity has annihilated the hope of immortality. This was a hope that cheered the good and the brave in all ages of the world; a hope that was indulged alike by the believer and the infidel, the Jew and the Christian, the Pagan, and the Mahometan; and a hope which human nature can never be made to relinquish. It very fortunately happens, however, that there is a variety of opinion upon the subject, for, without this difference of opinion, the subject could not be discussed with that ardour which is always necessary for the discovery of truth. Some minds are so constituted that they even look with pleasure upon annihilation, others revolt at the thought. There certainly cannot be a doubt that immortality, combined with happiness, is the most comfortable doctrine of the two; and seeing we can demonstrate by nature, by scripture, by every thing but dire fanaticism, that man is merely an agent of an unknown power, that he is not responsible for his actions, and that, if life be prolonged in another state of being, it must be a better state of being, progressive, like all the rest of nature, to greater and greater perfection; it only remains to show whether the doctrine of immor-

* Since last year, there is an addition of 65,000 members to the Methodist connexion.

ality be the most philosophical of the two; for it certainly cannot be doubted that, in the present state of things, it is the best calculated to promote the cause of benevolence. This is not the proper occasion to discuss this topic, therefore I shall merely observe that, since we cannot be certain that there is no hope for man except in this life, it is at least prudent and generous not to attempt the destruction of hope; but much can be said in favour of it, not only because another state of existence is necessary to vindicate the justice of nature to the individual as well as to the species, but because it is much more philosophical and consistent with the analogy of nature than the doctrine of annihilation. The mind or soul is a power of some kind, and the brain is charged with it. When the brain is disorganized, the mind is gone, it moves that organ no more: but is there any thing in nature lost? the matter which composed the brain goes to its parent earth, and the power which moved the brain mixes with the infinite power of nature. Thus, when an electric jar is charged with electricity, there is a portion of the electric fluid of the universe imprisoned in the jar; discharge the jar or break it, and the imprisoned fluid escapes; but it is not lost, it lives in another state, and travels through infinity and through eternity. Analogy teaches us to infer the same respecting mind, which is a portion of the great ocean of power or consciousness, or will, which pervades the universe, and which is indestructible. The doctrine of annihilation, either mental or physical, is quite unphilosophical. Withal, it is a gloomy doctrine, and will materially obstruct the progress of every benevolent scheme with which it is associated. What men believe, however, they must speak. And it is right that they should speak their sentiments, for as iron sharpeneth iron, so does the conflict of opinion render the mind acute, and lead to the discovery of truth. But brilliant prospects are always most alluring to the human mind, and the doctrine which points the prospects of a heaven, even though a hell should go arm in arm with it, will always be a match for the doctrine of annihilation. But a doctrine which preserves the hope and destroys the fear, is most likely to prevail over both. This latter doctrine is not only the most exhilarating, but the most philosophical, and therefore I consider it as an essential requisite in the new system.

Another point, which I consider of essential importance, is this, that throughout all nature there is a systematic arrangement of parts for the accomplishment of some wise end. Thus we see a beautiful arrangement of parts in the solar system, an organization so splendid, so wise, that the more we examine it the more we are convinced that its wisdom is infinite. Descending down and down to the lowest animalcule in existence, we continue to feel the same degree of astonishment; every thing is systematic and orderly, and every new discovery that philosophers make only adds more and more to the conviction that, if there at any time appears disorder and confusion in nature: it is only because we have not yet got sufficient information to discern the systematic arrangements. It is much more probable that man is mistaken, than that nature is out of order. Men in general are willing to admit that there is a systematic arrangement in all nature, except in human society. The progress of human society, they say, is all a work of chance, there is no system in it. Now, why should they make an exception? We see system in a tree, system in a flower, system in the human body. When the blossom comes upon the tree, we say, this blossom is for the purpose of preserving and nourishing the fruit; when the fruit begins to grow, the blossom falls off; and when the fruit ripens, it begins to wither; and then the seed comes forth, ready to give birth to a new plant: it is a regular process, and all nature is full of such processes. Now, is it not consistent with philosophy to suppose that religion and government are parts of a grand process of this kind; and that as the blossom falls off when the fruit appears, so one religion, or one political

system, is raised up to give birth or protection to the embryo of a better, which comes forth in the harvest-time of mind, as the fruit in autumn? Taking this beautiful, this innocent, and philosophical view of the subject, is it not reasonable to suppose that Christianity is the blossom which conceals the new system within itself; that the blossom lasts as long as the young fruit is tender and unable to support the storms that beset it, but that in process of time the blossom falls off, and the fruit is nourished by the sunshine of summer? Can you find the fruit, unless the tree first blooms? No; fruit is not created at once: this is contrary to nature. But some people are so unsystematic in their views of nature, that they imagine we might have had all the good, we anticipate long before this, if it had not been for priests, &c.; but it was not the priests who did the mischief, but the people who made the priests, and set them up in their temples; and it was not the people who did the mischief, but Nature who made the people to suit her purposes, as she made the blossom of the tree to preserve the fruit in its infancy.

Taking this philosophical view of nature, and regarding it as one grand unity, we shall find beauty and wisdom in all her arrangements; it is not a visionary idea, it is a reality, it is a new science, it is the science of analogy—a science which is as real as the science of botany, geology, or any other of the sciences—a science never discovered till now, and destined, in a very short time, to astonish the world by the splendour of its discoveries. It is a science which embraces all nature, and demonstrates, by lines, by numbers, and mathematical diagrams, that throughout all nature, both physical and intellectual, in politics, in religion, and in all the sciences, a uniform, systematic arrangement takes place; that there is meaning and utility in all that is past; and that all this complicated machinery of mystery, fanaticism, and tyranny, shall bring forth good fruit at last, and men shall forget all their petty feuds, settle all their paltry differences of opinion, beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, and study the art of war no more.

Such is the system, which I know, from mathematical demonstration, shall supersede all other systems. It is a system which destroys all evil and preserves all that is good. It is a system which acknowledges the utility of all that is past, and philosophizes upon it. It is a system which shrinks at no species of investigation, which analyses religions, and tears the veil of mystery from before their face, and proves them to be what they really are—*Nature in disguise*; a system which destroys nothing in nature, but purifies and reforms every thing (which is the same as *destroying evil*, that is, the *vicious arrangements of parts*), which regards all that is past as the raw material which nature has provided for man to exercise his ingenuity in manuring it. It is a system of intellectual chemistry, which follows the same laws in respect to mind as chemistry in respect to matter—a system which unmystifies every thing, and reveals Nature in all her beauty, and reconciles all sects and parties, without obtaining any victory over them. It is the doctrine of peace on earth and goodwill to men. Men shall soon begin to perceive it; but new truths are generally obstructed in their entrance into being. Like newborn infants, they generally cry at the first. It is in the nature of man to resist new discoveries, however splendid and beneficial; but they cannot be lost. Truth will bore its way through all opposition, and make error fly like a coward before it; you shall find this to be the case with the science of analogy, of which I have now spoken. It is impossible to destroy it.

One of the most important, and at the same time one of the most difficult, lessons that the philosopher has to learn, is, to observe nature with a mind unprejudiced with anticipations or fears as to what may be the result of his observations, or rather in the undoubting belief that whatever he discovers to be true must lead to beneficial consequences.—DR. WELSH.

EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

As the establishment of Labour Exchanges may be greatly facilitated or retarded according as those who attempt their formation shall have imbibed correct or incorrect views concerning them, it may perhaps be useful to notice some of the most important considerations connected with this interesting subject.

I regard the Labour Exchange merely as the means to an end. I consider that it has been clearly demonstrated that human beings can now produce much more than they can desire to consume, consequently that there is no longer any cause for poverty that can be justly considered a natural cause; it is entirely artificial, and it is perpetuated chiefly by the love or desire of distinction which has been implanted in human nature, and which is nurtured, fostered, and increased by every means that can be devised. This desire exhibits itself in each one grasping and appropriating to his own use all the wealth which comes within his reach, ignorant to a great degree, and regardless of the consequences that must necessarily result to others by any one possessing himself of, it may be, a thousand times as much wealth as any individual can possibly produce. By means of money men are kept in ignorance of the workings of this desire; and the poor have, therefore, for ages been led to look up for support to the rich, when, in truth, the rich have derived every thing which they possess from the poor. Jesus of Nazareth said, "the Princes of the Gentiles exercise authority over them, and they (that is, the mass of the people) account them their benefactors; but it shall not be so amongst you." Alas for us, however, even up to this hour, amongst those who call him Lord, we see this same spirit prevailing to an extent, perhaps, unknown amongst any other people. Money has been, and still is, made to perform that work amongst what are called free men, which is perpetrated by the whip, the scourge, and the manacle amongst slaves; and men are more completely subjugated by it than they ever have been by any more brutal kind of means that were ever employed to coerce them; witness the occupation of infant children in our manufactories, which I do not hesitate to denounce as the most iniquitous, mercenary, and heartless proceeding, and unequalled for its barbarity by any thing that has ever occurred in any country, in any age of the world. And this is practised, too, at a period when, by various chemical and mechanical discoveries, our productive power has been increased a thousandfold, and while on the other hand we are offering premiums to our able-bodied labourers to induce them to emigrate to distant countries!! Yes, such has been the desire for individual distinction and accumulation, that the love of our species has been almost obliterated by it; and men will go on to amass wealth, although by the process which they employ they degrade and demoralize their fellow-men, and sink them even far below the brute. Competition, however, has now very nearly arrived at its acme; the wealth has continued to accumulate in fewer and fewer hands, the business of the smaller manufacturers and wholesale dealers has been mostly absorbed by the modern Leviathans; and few, very few, of the retail shopkeepers can now realize their expectancy so that it has become evident almost to every body that some change must take place. Still but very few seem to perceive that a change of system is necessary; all are looking to expedients of some kind or other; such, for instance, as an alteration in the currency, reduction of taxation, repeal of the corn laws, emigration, &c. &c.; all which it is perceived might take place and yet leave untouched this fond desire of all hearts, this pining for distinction, which has been made to usurp the place of that sympathy which would otherwise inhabit every bosom. Expedients, however, will no longer avail; they will now scarcely afford the momentary relief, so that if all these were applied, they would only produce a very short delay. No.

"the axe must now be laid to the root of the tree, and a complete change of system must now be effected. To this end, the Labour Exchange, when it is well understood, will appear to be a most important means; I say when it is well understood; for as yet but little has been known respecting it. It is founded on the views first promulgated by our worthy friend Robert Owen, in his report to the County of Lanark, and it was brought forward by him, when the Gray's Inn Road Institution was first opened, as one of the objects to be effected by 'The Association of the Intelligent and Well-disposed of the Industrious Classes.' Very imperfect views were formed by many persons on the subject, and plans were devised by some who thought they perceived that great and immediate advantages might be obtained by acting upon them. Several establishments were therefore opened independent of Mr. Owen, and the very partial exhibitions of the system thus obtruded, appearing likely to bring the principles into disrepute, Mr. Owen was induced to commence the system in the Gray's-Inn Road Establishment, much before he considered that the materials were prepared for it, and consequently before it could be carried out in the way which he most desired. The early breaking up of that establishment and the subsequent disjointed way in which the system has been carried on, has afforded it but little chance of being properly understood by the industrious classes generally; and up to this hour, even by many of those most intimately concerned in it, very inadequate conceptions of its value and importance have been formed.

Mr. Owen has described it as a *bridge*, by which to pass from the old to the new state of society; it may, therefore, very naturally be supposed to partake of the nature of both states, and this I believe will be found to be true. The first and most prominent feature which it presents is, a new mode of distribution, by which the producers of wealth in old society, and with divided interests, may, through the medium of the labour note, be enabled to obtain the productions of each other without the intervention of money, and may thus be freed from dependence upon the capitalist or mere trader, who has hitherto, without producing any thing, derived immense profits from mere exchange; which profits must necessarily be deducted from the returns to be made to the producers; but by the Labour Exchange, after deducting unavoidable expenses, these profits will be shared by the producers. By some hasty, partial observers, this mode of distribution has been called a return to *barter*; but those who will take the trouble to examine it impartially, will not fail to discover that it possesses all the advantages of barter, while it excludes its disadvantages. By this mode of distribution, the producers will recover their natural position with regard to each other, and be led to perceive that, as producers, they have mutual interests; this, however, will take some little time to effect, in consequence of previous inveterate habits, which, we have seen, will get the better of individuals, and even bodies of men, in the desire to obtain exorbitant prices for their own goods, although perhaps the first to complain of the same attempt on the part of others. But the man of money being removed out of the way, and the parties producing the goods becoming known to each other, by degrees, they cannot avoid perceiving that they are mutually interested in producing articles of the best description, and depositing them on just and equitable terms. By this course a great moral change will be effected: all the fraud, deceit, chicanery, higgling, and overreaching, engendered and practised by the old system of buying cheap and selling dear, will gradually die away, and a gratification, hitherto scarcely known, will be experienced in striving to supply each other with as much as possible of the best of everything in return for what is received. This will be one great and important step towards that better state of things which is anticipated by those who hope for the establishment of a community of interests.

The Labour Exchange has introduced what, un-

der existing circumstances, is unquestionably a most desirable thing; that is, a just or proper medium of exchange; of which Mr. Owen, to whom we are indebted for it, says, "The past experience of men was too limited to discover it, or teach them how to apply it. In consequence, in the midst of wealth, and surrounded by the means of increasing it to an unlimited extent, they have, for want of this medium, suffered the evils, and acquired the vices, which poverty generates. The proper medium for the exchange of wealth contains three properties, and without the three are united, it cannot be a just or beneficial medium, or fit for the purpose. These properties are, the power of being increased precisely as real wealth is increased; of being diminished exactly as real wealth is diminished; and of being unchangeable in its value. Labour, being the only true standard of value, Labour Notes, expressing the hours of labour contained in each article of wealth, can alone possess these three properties. The intrinsic value of an article is the labour necessary to produce or obtain it; and in order to have that value correctly represented, a circulating medium should be employed for the exchange of these productions, which will represent accurately the labour required to produce them;—and such is the Labour Note.

Whatever disadvantages have been experienced for the want of a correct standard of value, a just and proper medium of exchange, or a sufficient currency, may, therefore, now cease; as a remedy is provided for them through the Labour Exchange and by means of the Labour Note. Another most important purpose which the Labour Exchange will effect as it progresses, is, that of enabling the productive classes to do without the large capitalist, or mere man of money, in production as well as in distribution. This will be exemplified first in the smaller manufactures, as indeed it has already been, by the tailors, shoemakers, batters, cabinet-makers, &c. &c.; who can produce their various articles without requiring very large means; but as the thing advances, and it begins to move, the attention of the smaller capitalists, who have been driven, it may be, out of the manufacturing interest by the larger ones, will be directed to the subject, and they will perceive, that, by making common cause with the workmen, and instead of being their masters, being satisfied and pleased to be their directors or superintendents, they will become joint manufacturers with them, and in comparatively a short time, by means of the new market which the Labour Exchange will open to them; and by all the producers being enabled to become consumers, to a much greater extent than heretofore; they will command a very large share of the home trade; and as to the foreign trade, they may be satisfied to leave that to the larger capitalists until they have made farther advances, as ultimately it must all be their own. Taking these views of it then, the Labour Exchange, instead of being as many suppose, a mere Bazaar, or an improved pawnbroking establishment, will be seen to present to the industrious classes the means by which they may make rapid strides on the road to improvement, and may well be described as the bridge by which all may pass from the present competitive and irrational, to the truly co-operative and rational state of society.

But the industrious classes generally are at present lamentably ignorant as to the grand design of this Institution; some of the most distressed among them have eagerly grasped at it as a means of immediate relief; the crafty and designing have pounced upon it in the hope of turning it to their own individual account; while the great mass are either altogether unacquainted with it, or have received such distorted and erroneous notions respecting it, as have led them rather to oppose and thwart, than even to desire to aid the designs of its benevolent founder.

It is of the utmost importance, then, that the attention of the intelligent and well-disposed of the industrious classes should be directed to the vast importance of these establishments; and I rejoice to hear that a very considerable impression has lately been produced in the north of England, by our

indefatigable friend, Robert Owen, amongst the members of the Builders' Union; and great hopes are entertained that they may be induced so to remodel their organization as to adopt the principles of the Equitable Labour Exchange; and thus, those whom it was thought would be the last to derive benefit from this Institution, will perhaps be the first to avail themselves of the advantages which it offers, in the most extensive degree; and if so, their example will, I hope, give a stimulus to other associations to resort to it, as the most effectual means of emancipating themselves from the degradation and servitude which has been entailed upon them by the present wretched and demoralizing system of society.

Such are the views which I have formed of labour exchange, and such, I feel confident, are the results which will flow from these institutions when and wherever they are well founded and directed.

The experience which I have had of their progress, if progress they can be said to have made, has served more completely to convince me that the principles on which they are founded are most just and true; and therefore that when they do not succeed, it must be either that those who formed and directed them have mistaken the principles, have not had sufficient means, or that the inveterate habits and prejudices of the people have been too strong for them, so that repeated attempts must be made before success is obtained. If we look at the various establishments which have been formed under the title of Labour Exchange, perhaps we shall find more or less of all these reasons to account for their failure, or want of a greater degree of success; but without entering at all into particulars, making invidious distinctions, or finding fault with any one who has been concerned in any of these institutions, I think it may be now useful to state that the result of all which I have witnessed has been to produce in me the strongest conviction that, to insure success, the following things are absolutely necessary, and that the degree of success will be proportioned to the extent in which they are possessed and combined:—

1. That public benefit, and not individual emolument, shall be the object of the founders, or those who furnish the capital; of the depositors; and of all concerned in the executive departments.

2. That money capital shall be procured, sufficient to supply the establishment with provisions and raw material, until public confidence in the Exchange is established, and these necessary articles are supplied in the same way as other goods.

3. That confidence, good faith, honesty, sincerity, and good feeling, shall be constantly exercised by the different branches of the establishment towards each other; in fact, that those who provide the capital; the depositors; or those who supply the productions, the various officers, and all who assist in the distribution, shall, by the mutual practise of these qualities, plainly evince that one interest and one object, and that the good of all, must be the governing and directing principle of the Institution.

These Exchanges cannot for some time be successfully carried on without money capital; when they have reached this point, that is, when money is no longer necessary, we shall have advanced a good way over the bridge. If, then, persons with capital will assist in their establishment for public benefit, the industrious classes will stand in their own light if they do not gladly accept of this assistance; for the importance of obtaining from the beginning a full supply of provisions and raw material is so great, that without them the progress of the Exchange is impeded to an almost incalculable extent; and without money these things cannot, at first, be obtained. The productive classes will also do well to invite and accept of the services of distributors, honest, clever men of business, rather, as I think, than that they themselves should cease to be producers and become distributors. It seems indeed a little curious that the producing classes should have acquired the notion that they will get more justice done to them by employing as distributors those who have previously been producers, than by continuing in that capacity those who have always been accustomed to distribution; but this is merely a prejudice of caste, and

ought not, therefore, to excite much surprise; still, as the great object now is to unite all for the good of all, we should strive to do all things without prejudice to any; and, surely, there are distributors enough already, without multiplying their number, and perhaps spoiling a good producer to make an indifferent distributor.

In the conduct of these Exchanges, it seems to me to be very important that a thorough man of business, one comprehensive, directing mind, should be at the head of each establishment, and that to obtain such an one expense should not be spared. Our Birmingham friends seem to have adopted this course, and I think they were quite right; and with respect to other officers, there is an economy that wastes, while it attempts to save; it is better to give much to one who would be very valuable, than little to another who perhaps will do more harm than good; still it does not follow that extravagant salaries should be given: in fact, if you can but find the men of the right stamp in spirit and principle, active, intelligent men of business, the salary should be a very secondary consideration. It will be well, however, for our friends of the productive classes to bear in mind, when they are called upon to consider a question of this kind, that an impartial, calm observer, will not fail to be struck with the inconsistency of the conduct of men, who, while they are most anxious that their own labour should not be valued at a less price than it will fetch out of doors, will yet grudge to give to one whose services they may deem highly useful to them, even one half the remuneration which that individual perhaps has been in the habit of obtaining in the world; yet each is probably the necessary result of legislating with but a very partial knowledge of men and things, and will no doubt gradually disappear before the light of experience. Our friends will bear with me also while I say that the great advantage to be anticipated from a democratical order of things is, that the interests and feelings of all will have equal consideration, and that but little will be gained by the mere name of democracy, if prejudice and intolerance are permitted to direct their decisions. But perceiving, as I have no doubt they will, the vast importance of distinguishing between words and things, they will, I trust, proceed right onward in their course, nor stop until they have effected the complete emancipation of the industrious classes of Great Britain and Ireland.

On the whole, I greatly rejoice in the progress which the great cause has made; and so far from considering that the money which has been expended has been thrown away, I verily believe that no equal amount of money ever produced so valuable a return; and in conclusion, I beg to congratulate those of our friends who have kindly contributed the funds for carrying forward these objects, that they have thus supplied the means of bringing before the world a system, which in its principle is most simple and yet most beautiful; and which, when it shall be fairly developed, and it is now rapidly unfolding, will display the safe and easy passage from the state of individual competition and divided interests, to that of mutual co-operation and unity of interests, and thus to the attainment of "our being's end and aim,"—the happiness of each and all. S. AUSTIN.

14, Charlotte-street, Sept., 1833.

THE NATIVES OF NEW ZEALAND AND THE COMPASS.—"The second day when we were at sea, I saw a group of savages lying round the binnacle, all intensely occupied in observing the phenomenon of the magnetic attraction; they seemed at once to comprehend the purpose to which it was applied, and I listened with eager curiosity to their remarks upon it. 'This,' said they, 'is the white man's God, who directs them safely to different countries, and then can guide them home again!' Out of compliment to us, and respect for its wonderful powers, they seemed much inclined to worship this silent little monitor."—*Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter of Philanthropos has been handed to the Managing Committee of the Labour Exchange, whose mature consideration it ought to receive previous to publication, in order that plans which have been or may be resolved on by them shall not be hastily counteracted in our pages.

Reflector has sent a long reply to Moral Sentinel, from which we infer (as before) that his motives are honourable, and that he is a zealous friend to the emancipation of women. We beg to submit to him the propriety of being rather more sedate in his style and choicer in his imagery, especially upon this most refined of all subjects.

Our poetical friends are thanked for their contributions: we endeavour to collect only such scraps or pieces of verse which show the undoubted inspirations of the Muse, with her elevated thought and pure diction.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPT. 21.

TO THE MANAGER OF THE NATIONAL
EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE,
CHARLOTTE STREET.

Manchester, Sept 18, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—You will, I know, desire to be informed of the progress of events since my departure. On Monday, about eight o'clock, I arrived at Worcester, where I was met at the coach-house by many of the friends who expected me. The first Worcester Festival had commenced, and we hastened to the Grand Stand, where it was held. The rooms were crowded, and the parties attending appeared very respectable. I entered as our excellent friend, Mr. Rabone, of Birmingham, who had come over for the occasion, was addressing them, and he gave some valuable advice. When he concluded, they commenced their festivities, which were, as a first essay, very well conducted, and the usual good feeling and conduct of the co-operators were, as in London and Birmingham, conspicuous throughout the evening, which terminated at twelve o'clock, to the great satisfaction of all the parties. A general wish was expressed that a similar meeting should be held monthly, and I have no doubt they will contribute to promote the cause of truth and happiness among the productive classes, to the permanent benefit of every class. The union of heart and purpose appears to be rapidly extending among them, and the best spirit pervades their proceedings. They are most anxious to forward all our ulterior views; to put an end to the evils of disunion and competition, and to enjoy all the advantages and pleasures of union of interest and of feeling. Mr. Rabone and myself visited several of the good friends to the cause in the morning, and we found them admirably disposed, and willing to make sacrifice to carry our measures into speedy execution.

About noon we set out for Birmingham, where we arrived about four o'clock. I visited the Exchange, and found the parties very busy, and going on very steadily. The exchanges had increased, and the deposits averaging nearly

the same per day as in the preceding week; but the officers of the Exchange are very cautious what they receive, both as to quality and price, and thus for the moment check the advance of deposit. The depositors exceed 1,400. In the evening there was a public meeting of the shareholders and depositors, and it was truly gratifying to see the unanimity and good feeling which prevailed, and above all the determination to carry the business through to its ultimate success. Previous to the meeting, I met our valuable friends, Messrs. Hansom and Welsh, who had communicated with the parties in Manchester and Liverpool, who were prepared to receive us immediately, and we left Birmingham the next morning at seven. I came here about five. We were in immediate communication with our friends, and a meeting of delegates was appointed at eight o'clock, when upwards of thirty were present. Our object was chiefly to appoint a general meeting of the members of all the trades, and to give some outline of our intentions as to present operations. The public meeting was fixed for this evening, and but one spirit pervaded it respecting the mode of pursuing the great and decisive plans which we contemplate; and you may rest assured that THE EMANCIPATION OF THE PRODUCTIVE CLASSES IS ESTABLISHED FOR EVER, and that the general improvement of society will now rapidly advance without future retrogression. We are preparing for our next meeting this evening.—Your friend,
ROBERT OWEN.

THE new system of society is the very reverse of the old. The two systems are the two extremes of nature coming in succession: the first is darkness, the second is light; the first is robbery, the second is justice. The robbery of the old system has long been endeavouring to disguise itself, but it is too deformed. The hump defies the ingenuity of all the legislative tailors. Now we have more robbery than ever, even were we to judge by the committals alone; but these are not the only criteria of the violence and injustice of the old world; they assume a thousand different forms. Our forefathers knew only one species of robbery, and they defended themselves by their own personal bravery; we, their children, have not always an opportunity of defending ourselves, for the enemy is invisible; it is the genius of evil residing in the system. It is difficult to estimate what is the real amount of property stolen by direct violence, but the amount is very great, notwithstanding the severity of the laws and the vigilance of the police; but the laws and the police, which deter the timid from stealing personally, do not prevent the public from being robbed; for the poor creatures who might otherwise have done the work of plunder themselves, are sent to the parish, and the robbery is committed for them in a legal way by act of parliament. Eight millions of money are stolen

or extorted from the public, to supply the destitute poor, whom a vicious system, severe laws, and a vigilant police, have driven to the last extremity.

This is called generosity on the part of the legislature, for it is making provision for the poor. Generosity, indeed! after robbing a man of a sovereign, to give him a halfpenny in compensation. After besetting the poor creatures on every side, and obstructing every entrance to opulence, or a fair proportion of the produce of labour (their own labour too), to send out a morsel of bread and a little water to keep their bodies from putrefaction. This is what is called generosity in the old world; and yet this generosity cannot be exercised without in the first place depriving the public per force of their property, to supply the means. It must be committed; robbery is an essential feature of the old system, and when it is suppressed in one quarter, it merely shows itself in another. If it is driven from the highways, it goes to the shops and warehouses of the city; if it is hunted from this scene of action, it flies to trade and commerce; and if every other quarter is guarded against it, it flies at last to the parish, and the legislature take the task upon themselves. It is all the same system, the hydra system; destroy one head, and another rises up in its place. It cannot be otherwise as long as rich monopolists abound, who accumulate the grain in their own barns, where it rots while the poor starve. Society is like a pair of scales: if too much is put into the one scale, the other flies up; but our legislators and moralists, who deplore the increase of crime, seem to be ignorant of this law of nature; and, therefore, instead of attempting to balance the scale by a just distribution, they make prohibitory laws to prevent the empty scale from rising when the other scale is full. There is wisdom for you! that is the true mode of weighing goods! put as much as you can in the one scale, and stamp and swear at the other one if it will not stand still; but, remember, you must put very little in the other, only a little bread and water. This is the justice of the old world—this is legislation—and the clergy say that the empty scale is a very bad-hearted scale—that it has none of the grace of God in it, (this is true;) and that it is full of original sin—that is, want, or bread and water at most. And they say that it is very wrong in the empty scale to rise up in that sort of insurrection against the full scale; and they try to preach it down, and to pray it down, but it will not move. Then they say it is all for our sins as a people that it is so; this is true again: look at the heavy scale quite full of sins—huge as the bundle of Bunyan's Pilgrim. Seeing there is such injustice in the whole, what can we expect from the parts? But there is more justice in the parts than in the whole; there is a sense of justice in every man; and you will receive more justice from individuals than from the system at large, for the individuals are corrupted by the system. Now can we be surprised to find so many unjust scales in private business, when

the scales of the system are so unjustly balanced? Yet our legislature, employ commissioners on purpose to examine the private scales of the public, and offenders against justice are severely punished. Did the legislature only look at its own scales, it would discover that there all the evil originates, and the little peccadilloes of the people are merely the reluctant effects of the greater offences and that infinite guilt of the system at large. It is impossible to repress crime by any other means than an entire change of system. Crime is rapidly progressing, and must progress; and progressing, too, with much more rapidity than the population. Commitments for crime in 1805 amounted to 4500; in 1832 to 20,829; persons convicted in 1804 amounted in number to 2260; in 1832 to 14,947. Has the population increased in the same proportion? No; but the paupers have increased from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000. Thus, neither laws nor executioners can prevent the empty scale from rising. It is a law of nature which raises it. Robbery must be committed. It is an attribute of the old world. O Nature, we have seen enough of thy injustice and deformity; show us now thy justice and thy beauty!

The sun is now entering Libra, the balance; day and night are equal; we wish we could say the same of rich and poor.

ON TRANSMUTATION.

By Mr. SMITH, one of the Authors of "Rejected Addresses."

(From the *New Monthly Magazine*.)

Spring is, undoubtedly, the most exhilarating of all the seasons, not only from its moral associations and promises of a flowery future, but from certain involuntary impulses arising from a quickened circulation and development of the senses, wherein we sympathise physically with the vegetable and animal kingdoms.

But there is nothing gloomy in any period or appearance of nature. To the superficial observer, indeed, who has seen the winds of April rocking, as it were, the cradle of the young flowers, and breathing the breath of life into birds and insects, it may appear melancholy to follow them to their graves in the great funeral procession of autumn; but in the beautiful provisions of our system there is in reality no such thing as death!

Nature's great business is reproduction; and as she works always upon the same materials, mind and matter, life and extinction, one organisation and another, are perpetually interchanging nature and substances, without any annihilation of either. With all due deference to Shakspeare, "Imperial Cæsar dead and turned to clay," might be converted to nobler purposes than those which Hamlet has assigned, for there is no element or product of nature with which he may not have become renewed and blended under the vivifying and mysterious mouldings of her power! If Pythagoras had applied his system of transmigration to the body, instead of the soul, he would have been near the truth; for he might have drawn from nature abundant analogy for his theory.

The rains that fall to reascend in sap are but so much future leaves and flowers; wine is simply bottled sunshine and showers; corruption puts

on incorruption; and even yonder dunghill, which has already passed through various stages of incarnation, is yet destined to others in the ceaseless round of reproduction; and changing into beauty, fragrance, and life, shall either be converted into tulips and roses, flutter in the air in the forms of butterflies and moths, or, reassuming a vegetable being, become again incorporated with men, beasts, or birds. By anticipating the silent elaborations of nature, and following up her processes, we may substantiate the dreams of the poets and oriental writers, who tell of roses, jonquils, and violets falling from the sky, for almost every one of the globules of rain may be a future flower. Absorbed by the thirsty roots, and converted into sap, it works its way into the flower-stalk, and may, in process of time, assume the form of petals, turning their fragrant lips towards the sky, whence they originally descended. Or, if we are disposed to contemplate a shower of rain with a more exalted anticipation, we have but to recollect that all flesh is grass, and the inevitable converse of the proposition, that grass is destined to become flesh, either animal or human, and straightway the rain becomes instinct with vitality, and we may, in imagination, follow each drop through its vegetable existence into the ribs of some future prize ox, or into the sparkling eye of its proprietor—some unborn Coke or Somerville, standing proudly by its side, or into the heart of a Milton, the blood of a Hampden, or the brain of a Verulam!

1 The ancients were, though less scientific, perhaps more correct and indefatigable observers than we are, and it ought to excite our admiration, that without our means they were able to make so great discoveries. But they considered life and soul as synonymous, and knew as little of the latter as the best of the moderns, that is to say, nothing! Hence their doctrine of transmigration was a mere allegory, and signified nothing but material evolution, illustrated by poetical imagery!

FOR THE CRISIS.

CURIOUS ILLUSTRATION OF THE MOTTO OF THE CRISIS.—The effect produced by Schiller's tragedy of the Robbers on the scholars at the school of Eribourg is well known. They were so struck and captivated with the grandeur and character of its hero—Moor, that they agreed to form a band like his in the forests of Bohemia; had elected a young nobleman for their chief, and had pitched on a beautiful young lady for his Amelia, whom they were to carry off from her parents. To the accomplishment of this design they had bound themselves by the most solemn and tremendous oaths. But the conspiracy was discovered by an accident, and its execution prevented. Schiller afterwards acknowledged with great candour, and reproached in the strongest terms, the pernicious tendency of his own production. The robberies committed daily in the streets during the representation of the Beggar's Opera, were beyond the example of former times. Several thieves afterwards confessed, in Newgate, that they raised their courage in the play-house by the songs of their hero, Macheath, before they sallied forth on their desperate nocturnal exploits. So notorious were the evil consequences of its frequent representation, become, that in the year 1773 the Middlesex Justices, united with Sir John Fielding in requesting Mr. Garrick to suspend it, as they were of opinion it was never performed without adding to the number of real thieves.—See an Essay on the German Theatre, by Mackenzie, and the Life of Gay, in the "Biographia Britannica."

TO THE REV. J. E. SMITH.

FRIEND SMITH,—I read in the *Crisis*, page 275, that, on the 25th evening of the eighth month of the 1833d year of our vulgar era, thou informedst thy audience in Charlotte-street, that J. Nayler, my countryman, “styled himself by the name of God and Jesus Christ.”

“Justice to the memory of the deceased is a debt survivors owe them.”

James Nayler was born about 1616, in the parish of Ardesley, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire; his father was of good repute, having a competent estate to live on, with industry. James was educated in good English, and wrote well. When the civil war broke out, in 1641, he served in the Parliament’s army eight years, under Lord Fairfax (so titled), and afterwards was quarter-master under Major-general Lambert. He was a member of the Independents’ sect, and in 1651 became a Quaker. He was a man of great natural parts, and did acquit himself well, both in word and writing, among his friends; many admired his great gift, and began to esteem him above his brethren, especially some inconsiderate women, who kneeled before him and kissed his feet, at Exeter. Whilst he passed through the suburbs of Bristol, one Thomas Woodcock went bare-headed before him; one of the women led his horse; Dorcas Erbury, Martha Simmons, and Hannah Stranger, spread their scarfs and handkerchiefs before him; and the company sung “Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hosts, Hosannah in the highest,” &c. They were examined by the magistrates, and committed to prison.

He was charged, without proof, of having twice committed adultery with the women. He declared that, “of both accusations I am clear before God, who kept me all that day, both in thought and deeds as to all women, as a little child; God is my record.”

He was conveyed to London, and examined by the Parliament, who sentenced him to be set in the pillory in the Palace-yard, Westminster, during the space of two hours, and to be whipped by the hangman, through the streets, from Westminster to the Old Exchange, London; and there likewise, to be set with his head in the pillory between the hours of eleven and one; in each place wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes; that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron; and that he be there also stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B (blasphemer); that he be sent to Bristol, and conveyed through the said city, with his face backward, on horseback, and publicly whipped the next market-day; thence committed to Bridewell, London, restrained from the society of all people, to labour hard till he shall be released by the Parliament (two years), debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and have no relief but what he earns by his daily labour.

Such was the perse-prosecution of the bigoted Dissenters when they were in power!

Now, supposing blasphemy to have been committed, yet his tongue seemed not properly guilty of it.

No blasphemous words were spoken by him; he did not call himself God, Christ, &c.; he suffered his followers to do it, for which he afterwards blamed himself. ’Tis to prevent the members of the rational state of society from being deceived by my friend Smith’s undesigned falsehood, that I have written this,

which, I hope, will be inserted in the *Crisis*. He was examined by five priests, Caryl, Manton, Nye, Griffith, and Reynolds.

Was he sorry for the blasphemies he was guilty of, and did he renounce and deny them?

What blasphemies, name them? (They could not instance one). Would you have me recant, and renounce you know not what?

Did he believe there was a Jesus Christ? Yes, and that Jesus had taken up his dwelling in his (Nayler’s) heart and spirit.

But I (one of the preachers) believe in a Jesus that never was in any man’s heart.

He (Nayler) denied such a Christ.

Why did he suffer the women to worship and adore him?

He denied it as to his person, but to the virtue of Christ in him (the rational principle). Have you thus long professed the Scriptures, and do you now stumble at what they hold forth?

Could he produce one instance of Scripture, in which such practice was held forth?

That of the Shunamite’s falling at the feet of Elisha, Abigail at David’s, and Nebuchadnezzar at Daniel’s. (Daniel ii. 46.)

They paused awhile, and rejoined, that was but a civil act or acknowledgment.

So you might interpret the act of those women also, if your eye were not evil, seeing the outward action is one and the same.

His punishment was inflicted with severity; he was stripped and whipped at a cart’s tail to the Old Exchange, received three hundred and ten stripes, the executioner wanted to give him one more (there being three hundred and eleven kennels), but his foot slipping, the stroke fell on his own hand, and hurt it much; Nayler bore it with such patience as astonished the beholders, and raised their commiseration. Many judged that present death would have been a milder sentence.

Oliver Cromwell and a party in parliament seemed inclined to release him; but there was a party in parliament, (undoubtedly tools of the parsons,) who, not being able to prevail so far as to have him sentenced to death, yet strove to the utmost of their power to make him sink under the weight of his punishment.

So much for his error in religion: I hope the followers of Robert Owen will find his morality and politics a little less objectionable. He published, in 1653, a book to exhort the different classes of society to repentance.

“A ruler that is of God sets up justice and judgment in the gates, that the poor may be delivered from him that is too mighty for him, and that the cause of the fatherless, widow, and stranger, may not fail, he hath an ear open to the cries of the poor and helpless, who have but little money and few friends; so that a poor man may not be afraid to appear, in a good cause, against the greatest oppressor in the nation.”

“And you, who say you are teachers of the nation, how long will it be ere you look to your own ways? Is not all manner of filthiness amongst you, which you should lead the people out of? Are not you hirelings, and teach for the fleece? Do not you contend for money with your own hearers, and sue them at law for it? yea, although they cannot satisfy your demands?”

“And you lawyers, ought you not to plead the cause of equity between man and man, for equity’s sake, without respect to yourselves, or others, but only to truth itself, that a just cause may be owned in whomsoever it concerns?”

But is not the justest cause sure to fall, if the party have not money to satisfy your demands, which are many times very unreasonable? you make small offences seem very great, by false glosses; you use the law (which should preserve in peace) to aggravate offences beyond truth, and so make differences greater; and do not you delight to fish in troubled waters? and the greater the dissension amongst the people, is not the more your gain? Are not your purses filled, and your estates raised, on the ruin of persons and families?

“The law, as it is now used, is scarcely serviceable for any other end, but for the envious man, who hath much money, to revenge himself of his poor neighbours, who, may be, never did him wrong. Is there any appearing for the poor against the rich, although his cause be just? but by deceit, delays, and expenses, the remedy is worse than the disease.”

“And you, people of the nation, do you not exceed all that ever went before you, in pride, covetousness, &c., deceit in all manner of merchandize, and trading, false weights, false measures, self-love, protesting one to another in your bargainings, to overreach your brethren and get dishonest gain, without blushing or being ashamed? and yet you profess yourselves to be members of Jesus Christ; and had Jesus Christ ever such a body as this? And you talk of a communion of saints;—had the saints ever such a communion as this, to defraud one another for money, &c.?”

THOMAS CRATHORNE, a Deist.

MR. SMITH’S ANSWER TO THE PRECEDING LETTER.

Mr. Crathorne accuses me of undesigned falsehood. I take no offence from the expression; I understand his meaning—but I am perfectly correct in my account of Nayler; and a few words will serve as a justification. The writer says, that Nayler did not assume the name of Christ, but merely affirmed that Christ was revealed in him. Jesus Christ did no more: he called himself only a man with God revealed in him; and we may all say the same of ourselves. Nature is revealed in us all. John Ward, now in Derby-gaol, calls himself the Messiah, &c.; but ask him for an explanation, and he will give the same reason as Jesus Christ and Nayler would have given; namely, that Christ, or the spirit of God, is revealed in him. “My Father,” says Christ, “is greater than I.” “I speak nothing of myself.” “Why call ye me good? there is none good but God;”—that is, I am an organ of divinity.

Examination of Nayler.—Q. Art thou the everlasting King of righteousness? A. I am; and the everlasting righteousness is wrought in me: if ye were acquainted with the Father, ye would also be acquainted with me.

Examination of Martha Simmons.—Q. Oughtest thou to worship James Nayler upon thy knees? A. Yea; I ought to do so.—Q. Why dost thou call him Lord? A. Because he is the Prince of peace, and the Lord of righteousness.—Q. What reason canst thou show for thy calling him King of Israel? A. He is so anointed.—Q. Who hath anointed him? A. A Prophet.

Dorcas Erbury.—Q. Dost thou own him for the son of God? A. He is the only-begotten son of God.—Q. Wherefore didst thou pull off his stockings, and lay the clothes beneath his feet? A. He is worthy of it, for he is the Holy Lord of Israel.—Q. Knowest thou no

other Jesus, the only begotten Son of God? A. I know no other Saviour.—Q. Christ raised those that had been dead; so did not he? A. He raised me.—Q. In what manner? A. He laid his hand on my head, after I had been dead two days, and said, "Dorcas arise; and I arose, and live as thou seest."

I might give numerous other quotations from the examination of Naylor and his followers, by the committee of Parliament, but these I hope are sufficient to justify me for simply classing James Naylor amongst the host of Messiahs. I do not call him an impostor; I have no right to do so. I literally agree with him in the most of his doctrine.

J. SMITH.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

The following letter was sent privately to the Bishop of London by Mr. Smith, and along with it a copy of last week's *Crisis*:—

MY LORD,—I am a licentiate of the church of Scotland, a preacher of the gospel of Christ, and feel very much mortified at the present state of the Christian Church. It appears to me that it has lost all pretensions to good works, and hence the suspicion arises that something must be wrong with its faith. To the shame of Christians, Infidels are now assuming a better moral exterior than Christians themselves; and Mr. Owen, an acknowledged Infidel, and his numerous followers are recommending a system of society, which certainly far exceeds any Christian scheme in the peace and good will which it not only teaches, but must actually force into practice. Christians are *preaching*, Infidels are *acting*; here are faith without works, and works without faith. If they must be separated, which is the more Christian of the two? There is Scripture for both.

But may not faith and works be united? Cannot Christianity be practised? Or is it in its very nature an enemy to the poor of the *Rock*? Can nature and revelation not be reconciled? Their union would unite the Christian and Infidel in one. If Christianity be the wisdom of God in a *mystery*, what can it be but *nature in disguise*? And is it not probable that infidelity is now spreading on purpose to force nature in upon revelation, that the veil may be lifted up? Thus faith, which arose in the south, is met by infidelity from the north, like the one great magnetic fluid approaching the other. Thus faith, which arose in the east, is met by infidelity in the west, like light and darkness. The union of these two extremes in the physical world is perfection; why not so in the intellectual world? In a letter to A. B., of Birmingham, in the *Crisis*, which I have inclosed, I have given some idea of the manner in which the two parties may be reconciled. A. B. is a Christian, and, like many others, at present seems to be hesitating between faith and works, and I have merely answered the doubts expressed in his letter to myself. Had I had any thoughts of addressing your lordship upon this occasion, I might have been more explicit and more systematic in the arrangement of my ideas; but such as the letter is I send it to you, and trust you will give it a careful perusal; and if you should think the reasoning fallacious, I do think it becoming your station as a dignitary of the church to reply to it, and point out the sophistry it contains. By doing so, you shall address several thousand Infidels and Christians; and by refusing to do

so, either personally or by proxy, you will certainly give much occasion to the adversary to blaspheme. As it is perhaps expecting too much from your lordship to engage your pen with mine, I may trust at least that you will find some one of your clergy who is willing to take up the cause. I do not call this a challenge. This is too combative a word for the spirit which I profess. I call it an invitation to search for truth and unity—a proposal from one who is falsely called a blasphemer, to meet you all in the love of God, of Nature, of Christ, and of man—to meet you in *revelation*, in *reason*, in *philosophy*, in brotherly kindness and charity; you shall meet with the most respectful treatment; not an abusive term shall be used, not a sarcasm indulged; and if reason and truth be on your side, you shall have an opportunity of doing good. I am, my Lord, &c.

Sept. 13, 1833.

J. SMITH.

SOCIAL COMMUNITY.

At a meeting of the Metropolitan Branch of the Social Community, held on Sunday afternoon, September 8, Mr. B. Warden in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting having been read, and the report of the funds passed, the Secretary reported to the assembly that 16 classes, composing upwards of 300 members, residing in various parts of the metropolis, were nearly organized, and that several class-superintendents were elected during this week, 4 new members admitted, and 16 proposed.

The report was next brought up of the progress made by the Trustees of our late benevolent friend, William Thompson of Cork, property left for co-operative purposes, and the various sums collected for defending the same, as under. It was

Resolved,—That the active means adopted by the Trustees to defend the property entrusted to their care for co-operative purposes deserves our warmest admiration and lasting gratitude.

Resolved,—That this community are determined to support the Trustees in their forthcoming legal struggle; and earnestly call upon their co-operative brethren in all parts of the kingdom immediately to collect pecuniary means, to enable the Trustees efficiently to defend our property in November next; and

That all sums collected for such purpose be immediately forwarded to Mr. V. Cooke, Cabinet-maker, Worcester; Mr. Smith, Oldfield-road, Salford; Mr. William Pare, 105, New-street, Birmingham; Mr. S. Austin, Exchange, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, London; B. Warden, 17, Little Chesterfield-street, Marylebone, London.

By direction of the Community,

T. V. GRETTON, Hon. Sec.

P.S. The various Social Communities now forming throughout the United Kingdom are respectfully requested to send an account of the numbers of their members, the address of the Secretary, and other particulars, to the Hon. Corresponding Secretary, B. Warden, No. 14, Charlotte-street, Exchange, Rathbone-place, London.

Subscriptions already received and forwarded to Mr. W. Pare—Mrs. Wheeler, *5l.*; Mr. P. Baume, *5l.*; Mr. J. M. Morgan, *5l.*; Mr. Cobham, *5l.*; Misses C. and A. Pearson, *5l.*; Mr. Friedlander, *1l.*; Mr. B. Warden, *1l.*; Mr. Braby, *1l.*; Mr. Stopford, *1l.*; Mr. W. D. Gull, *1l.*; Mr. R. Ord, *1l.*; Mr. C. McKenzie, *5s.*; Mrs. Peadrill, *10s.*; Members of

Missionary Society and Social Community, *3l.* 11s. 6d.; Sundries, 18s. 10d.; total, *36l.* 5s. 4d.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIAL COMMUNITY.

DEAR SIR,—The call I have made on behalf of the Trustees to the will of our late lamented friend, Wm. Thompson, is, I am happy to say, being nobly responded to by the Co-operative Societies, and by individual friends to our great cause.

Your admirable letter of the 9th, has just come to hand, informing me that you have sent from London the first subscription, by our revered friend, Robert Owen. Twelve hours ere your letter reached me, Mr. Owen paid into my hands the sum of *36l.* 5s. 4d., being the amount raised, in the course of a few days, in London, to assist in defending the vexatious suit commenced by Mr. Thompson's rich relatives. The same post which brought your letter also brought me one from our excellent friend, P. O. Skene, Esq., of Lewes, inclosing a *10l.* note for the same purpose. The Norwich Co-operative Society have contributed *5l.* Several pounds have already been subscribed in Birmingham, and more will be raised. There has not yet been sufficient time to hear from other societies at a distance; but I feel assured they will follow the example so nobly set them.

I will now perform my part of the contract, without a moment's unnecessary delay. I shall leave home for Ireland on Friday morning, taking a few English towns where there are thriving co-operative societies in my way. My best energies shall be used to bring this important affair to a speedy and successful issue, and you may rely on my writing to inform you how matters are proceeding, so soon as I obtain intelligence.

For your active and generous exertions in this business, receive the best thanks of your sincere friend and fellow-labourer,
105, New-street. WM. PARE.
Birmingham, Sept. 11, 1833.

SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY.—Mr. Rutter, of Lymington, already known as the author of a treatise on Gas Lighting, has obtained a patent for a new method of producing heat, which is certainly one of the most useful inventions of modern science. The principal ingredient employed for fuel in this process is *water*. The only material required beside is something in a liquid form, which contains a large portion of carbon; whale-oil, tar, and almost any thing of a similar kind, will answer the purpose. As these materials are introduced into the furnace simultaneously, and in combination with each other, the one yields its carbon while the other gives out hydrogen, and a small portion of atmospheric air is the only thing then required to keep them in a state of combustion. The flame thus produced is so completely under management that in one second it can be reduced or augmented as occasion may require. It is almost unnecessary to add, that it yields no smoke, and consequently the hideous funnel now used in steam-packets may be henceforth disused in cases where till now it was altogether impracticable. A vessel may be so constructed as to take on board, without inconvenience, a supply of fuel which would enable her to circumnavigate the globe.—*New Monthly Magazine*, Sept.

Poet's Corner.

NATURE.

O Nature! holy, meek, and mild,
Thou dweller on the mountain wild;
Thou haunter of the lonesome wood:
Thou wanderer by the secret flood:
Thou lover of the daisied sod,
Where Spring's white foot hath lately trod:
Finder of flowers, fresh-sprung and new,
Where sunshine comes to seek the dew:
Twinner of bowers for lovers meet:
Smoother of sods for poets' feet:
Thrice-sainted matron! in whose face
Who looks in love will light on grace:
Far-worshipp'd Goddess! one who gives
Her love to him who wisely lives:
Oh! take my hand, and place me on
The daisied footstool of thy throne;
And pass before my darkened sight
Thy hand, which lets in charmed light;
And touch my soul, and let me see
The ways of God, fair dame, in thee.

ALLAN CUNNINGHAM.

SONNET, BY HARTLEY COLERIDGE.

TO SHAKESPEARE.

The soul of man is larger than the sky,
Deeper than ocean, or the abyssal dark
Of the unfathom'd centre. Like that Ark,
Which in its sacred hold uplifted high
O'er the drown'd hills the human family,
And stock reserved of living kind.
So in the compass of a single mind
The seeds and pregnant forms in essence lie
That make all worlds.—Great Poet, 'twas thy art
To know thyself, and in thyself to be
Whate'er love, hate, ambition, destiny,
Or the firm, fatal purpose of the heart
Can make of man; yet thou wert still the same,
Serene of thought, unhurt by thy own flame.

PASCAL'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT IN FAVOUR OF CO-OPERATION.

"Such amongst those we call philosophers, as made the nearest approaches to happiness, well considered that it was necessary the universal good which all desire, and in which each man ought to be allowed his portion, should not consist in any private blessings, which can only be enjoyed by one, and which, if divided, do more afflict the possessor for want of the part which he has not, than they gratify him by the part which he has. They rightly apprehended, that the true good ought to be such as all may possess at once, without diminution and without envy, and such as no man can be deprived of against his will."

Now, this is plain enough, and it is evident very little was wanted to make Pascal a perfect co-operator; that little was a duster to sweep away the cob-webs (as Paine calls them) from his great mind; for, it seems, the greater the mind is the greater the webs are, when they are woven from our infancy.

When a little boy, nothing annoyed me so much as those sneering, taunting, little urchins, who often said to me—"I know a secret; but you shan't know it; I shall never tell you what it is." "Fool," said I instantly, "why do you mention it at all?" I thought little, stupid, unthinking boys alone could commit themselves in this absurd manner; but I now find men, reckoned very clever, who pretend to be in earnest when they tell me that God gave man mysteries to believe which are useless to him, since he is not able to understand them, and cannot be of any use to God, whose glory cannot be increased by our being puzzled and bewildered.

C. L.

Police.

MARLBOROUGH-STREET.—The following cruel case is reported in the *Times* of September 7:—A friendless and destitute boy, who had been apprenticed from one of the London workhouses to a tailor in the Quadrant, was complained against by his enlightened master for loitering when sent on errands. He had been sent home with some clothes to the vicinity of West Smithfield during the Bartholomew revels, and temptation, aided by the power of novelty and opportunity, proved too strong for the poor fellow, and he went to the fair, where his wandering senses rendered him unmindful of time; and he was, consequently, very long on his errand. The master, after reprimanding him, took him to the above office. The magistrate said he should send him to prison for a week, to teach other apprentices better manners. So that, for indulging a natural, and, when properly directed, a noble feeling, this uneducated, thoughtless boy is sent to associate for a week with thieves and profligates of the worst order; if they find him a ready and willing pupil, who is to blame? Such a case excites so much indignation, that it requires a full belief of the lofty principles advocated in the *Crisis* to abstain from some stinging damnatory epithet in allusion to the magistrate; but he is in fact the victim (as also his victim) of a miserably ignorant and vicious system of society; indignation is therefore lost in pity. One may add that, if he could sleep after such a sentence, he must be eased with indifference. But I suppose in him "Custom has made it a property of easiness."

LEGAL ANOMALIES.—At the Summer Assizes at Lincoln, a youth of seventeen was convicted of a rape on a young woman of eighteen. The jury strongly recommended him to mercy, on account of his youth, and the judge said he should not attend to any such recommendation. He was sentenced to death, and shortly after executed. A few days afterwards, on the Midland Circuit, a man, aged forty, was tried before another judge for a similar offence; he also was interceded for by the jury in the usual way; the judge said he certainly should attend to it, and sentenced the prisoner to transportation for life. From these facts it would appear that the actual penalty of death is not awarded by the law, but depends entirely on the temper or digestion of the judge. Strict justice is a misnomer and an abortion. The man of forty is spared, the youth of seventeen sacrificed.

"Before quitting the ship, it had been arranged among the passengers that we should dine together on the day of our arrival, as a proof of parting in kindness and good fellowship. Niblo's Tavern, New York, was the scene chosen for this amicable celebration. On my way an incident occurred, which shows how easily travellers like myself, on their first arrival in a country, may misconceive the character of the people. Finding it necessary to inquire my way, I entered a small grocer's shop: "Pray, Sir," I said, "can you direct me to Niblo's Tavern?" the person thus addressed was rather a gruff-looking man, in a scratch wig, and for at least half a minute kept eyeing me from tip to toe without uttering a syllable.—"Yes, Sir, I can," he at length replied, with a stare as broad as if he had taken me for the great Katterfeldt. Considering this treatment as the mere ebullition of republican insolence, I was about to leave the shop, when the man added, "and I shall have

great pleasure in showing it you." He then crossed the counter, and accompanying me to the middle of the street, pointed out the landmarks by which I was to steer, and gave the most minute directions for my guidance. I presume that his curiosity in the first instance was excited by something foreign in my appearance, and that having once satisfied himself that I was a stranger, he became on that account more than ordinarily anxious to oblige. This incident afforded me the first practical insight into the manners of the people, and was useful both as a precedent for future guidance, and as explaining the source of many of the errors of former travellers. Had my impulse to quit the shop been executed with greater rapidity, I should certainly have considered this man a barbarian, and perhaps have drawn an unfair inference with regard to the character and manners of the lower orders of society in the United States."—*Man and Manners in America, by the Author of Cyril Thornton, just published.*

NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

WEEKLY REPORT—ENDING SEPT. 14.	
Exchanges 8,728h. 4s.	Deposits 11,324h. 3s.
Charges £. 3 19s. 8d.	Commission 21l. 2s. 9d.
Rent 12 0 0	Profit on Pro-
Wages 17 15 0	visions 18 19 1
	Do. Festival 13 18 4
	Rent Sub. 3 14 6
	Received for lec-
	tures, bal. 10 13 10
	68 6 6
	33 14 8
	Profit for the Week 34 11 10

Excess of Deposits 2,595h. 3s.

R. ALGER, Auditor.

Charlotte-street, September 16, 1833.

Just published, price Three-pence.

THE CHILDREN OF GOD; or, the Religion of Jesus reconciled with Philosophy. By James de Laurence. This Work shows that our Saviour was a Republican, predestined to abolish Paternity and Marriage, and render the World a Paradise of Love. Also, a Lecture on Communism, by the Rev. J. E. Smith, price 3d.

John Brooks, 421, Oxford-street.

This Day is published No. 3, (and to be continued Weekly,) of

LECTURES ON CHARITY;

As delivered by ROBERT OWEN, at the Institution of New Lanark. These Lectures will be comprised in Six Penny Numbers.

Also published this Day, No. 3, (to be continued Weekly) price Three-halfpence, of

The Age of Reason;

By THOMAS PAINE. No 1. is embellished with a splendid Copperplate Portrait of the Author.

Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields; Carlile, 62, Fleet-street; Strapp, Paternoster-row; Purkins, Old Compton-street; and all Book-sellers.

LECTURES, &c., NEXT WEEK.

Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

Sunday morning, at 11, by the Rev. J. E. Smith, and evening, at 7.

Sunday afternoon, at 3, Dr. Stewart will lecture on the Cholera.

Ditto, the Members of the Social Community.

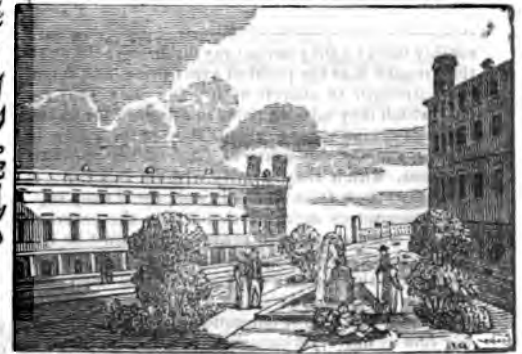
Monday evening, the Twenty-fourth Social Festival.

Mr. Detrosier will lecture on Tuesday evening, and on every Tuesday till further notice.

Wednesday evening, at half-past 7, public discussion of the Social Community.

Thursday evening, the Traders' Delegates.

Printed and published by B. D. COVINGS, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 22.

Mr. Smith lectured on "PUBLIC WORSHIP."

We extract the following passage upon Prayer:—

This grand argument, which I have taken from the Scriptures, to prove that the God of prayer and of all worship and adoration is the evil principle of Nature, is corroborated by the light of reason. Lucifer is generally represented as a proud and pompous fellow, fond of gaudy tinsel and magnificence; fond of high-sounding names and titles of dignity; proud and vain-glorious of humble and prostrate reverence and worship; such another personage as kings, and sultans, and popes, who require the most degrading homage on the part of their subjects, over whom they seat themselves in magisterial state, clothing their countenances with affected dignity, scorning familiarity, and repelling the advances of a free and independent spirit. When you appear before such divinities as these, you must bow to the very ground and lick the dust, or you must kiss the toe of the old crippled dotard who represents the God of prayer and worship; even this degradation is accounted a favour; for unless you have the blood of nobility in your veins, or something as good as nobility in your pockets, you cannot find admittance into the holy of holies, where the God is enshrined; this is Lucifer. The tyrant allows you to kneel, and when he has satiated his pride by your humiliation, he dismisses you with a refusal. The just and the merciful prince, the father of his people, if ever there was such a being, raises you instantly with the right hand of kindness and sympathy, anticipates your desires before you express them, nor suffers you to request a favour from him in any but an upright posture of equality and independence. None but a tyrant can delight to see a subject in a kneeling posture; that father must be cruel and ungenerous indeed who required of his children to approach him always on their bended knees, who checked them with fierce looks and reproachful words whenever they exhibited any symptoms of familiarity, or relaxed the expression of austere and wretched melancholy which his severity caused their countenances to assume.

This is the picture of an unfeeling father; yet a father less revolting to the sight of humanity than that finished specimen of inhumanity which Christians worship by the name of God. Well may it be said of him that his ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as ours; for we would search the history of the human race in vain for any thing like a parallel. The idea which nature teaches us to entertain of a kind and generous being has no manner of association with prayer or supplication of any kind; love never waits to be entreated; love disdains to be supplicated; none but a brute, and scarcely even a brute, would allow his mistress to kneel at his feet, and implore a favour from her lover. A generous mind shrinks from the sight of humiliation, even in an enemy; the true hero, after combating his rival in the open field, and taking possession of his person, is his enemy no longer; he seats him at his own table, he treats him as an equal and a companion, and, so far from injuring his person, he disdains even to aggravate his misfortunes by wounding his feelings. It is an insult to love, to address it by prayer, or use any persuasive language, to extort what it is able freely to bestow. But hatred and cruelty are the objects of entreaty; it is to the reluctant, the unkind, the ungenerous mind, that persuasion ought to be addressed; and it is only such a mind that can look upon the abject supplicant, and suffer the sound of adulation and entreaty to proceed.

Such is the doctrine which nature teaches respecting prayer and worship, and nothing can be more consistent and perfect; and this doctrine of nature is nothing else than the doctrine which Scripture teaches; that the evil principle of nature is the God of prayer, and the God whom the Christians ignorantly worship. The true God disdains to be supplicated; and when he comes according to promise, he puts an end to prayer and worship, as well as all other useless formalities and superstitious ceremonials. Jesus Christ alludes to this time of deliverance from these external observances when he says to his disciples, "Now I pray the Father for you; but the time cometh when I shall no more pray the Father for you, for the Father himself loveth you. Observe the peculiar force and emphasis of this saying of

Christ. It is considered to be quite a sufficient reason for the cessation of prayer that God loves us. To a God of love then, according to Christ, no prayer ought to be addressed; but that time was to come; it was not yet arrived; and why? Because the God of this world, the God of prayer, was destined to reign yet a little while, and prayer must be performed to him as long as he keeps his seat on the throne. If God had been always represented as love, prayer would never have been instituted, for prayer is the result of fear. Nor, if God had been represented as unchangeable and perfect in wisdom, would such a thing as a supplication ever have been made, for all prayer proceeds upon the supposition that God may be induced to change.

Many religious people, who are aware of the force of this argument, endeavour to parry the thrust that it gives them by saying, that although prayer be ineffectual in reversing the determinate counsel and plan of Divine Providence, it yet ought to be regularly practised on account of the reflex influence which it exercises upon the mind of the worshiper. This I believe is now the main argument which the religious world adduce in behalf of the continuation of public and private worship. They say that the idea of approaching before God, addressing him verbally, and expressing the desires of our heart, is sure to be attended with this consequence, though every other good should fail, that it solemnizes the mind, presents before it a standard of perfection as a model of life, represses the extravagant action of evil passions, and encourages the growth of all the better principles of the heart. This, however, is not a fact; and even, although it were a fact, the good which it is supposed to produce is effected at the expense of a great deal of mischief. In the first place, it is produced by encouraging a delusion; for if God does not alter his plans to answer our petitions, then it is folly for us to present them. In the second place, it encourages hypocrisy; for when men go to prayer with the professed intention of opening their hearts unto God, they go under a mask. Whilst their minds are wholly set upon making money, and establishing their independence; they entreat God that they may be enabled to trust to his providence for the supply of all their wants, and mind not

earthly things; they never pray for money, although they regard it as the pearl of great price, and spend their strength in search of it; but they pray for that which they take no pains to acquire; for knowledge of divine things, which they never strive to obtain, and for the grace of God to subdue their passions, which they gratify without control. It also gives them false ideas of God; for if they suppose themselves more particularly in the presence of God when engaged in prayer, they must be less so when otherwise employed; and it is, no doubt, owing to this practice of prayer that men frequently suppose God to be a local being, having eyes, ears, and a finite habitation; instead of regarding him as universal nature, to be found in our own minds, in our own imagination, as much as in St. Peter's or St. Paul's Cathedral, and equally present with us when singing a bacchanalian song as when mumbling upon our bare knees a long-winded pharisaical prayer. St. Paul says, Pray without ceasing; that is, rely upon God as long as we live, but have done with all mummeries and outward worship. God is a secret being: let our intercourse with him be equally secret.

SOCIAL REFORMERS.

The length of the following documents will be found, we trust, to be more than compensated by the good judgment and promise of their contents:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—At a meeting of the Society of Social Reformers, held on Sunday, September 15, it was resolved, "That the enclosed address 'to the Friends of the Social System, and to all Social Reformers,' should be inserted in the *Crisis*;" and as it has reference to a subject of the greatest interest to co-operators, you will be conferring a favour upon the body from which it emanates by giving it an early insertion in your publication, as their only object is to obtain the assistance and have the benefit of any suggestions favourable to their project from all parties whom it may interest.

Probably the existence of the above Society may not have been known to you and your readers, and I have consequently enclosed a copy of its Prospectus; and as it has been mainly called into existence by the parties who were originally connected with the various co-operative trading associations that some short time past stood so conspicuously before the public, by inserting the Prospectus you will be showing that, though these societies may have ceased to exist, the principles that were the cause of that existence have lost none of their vitality, but are stimulating to continued exertion their advocates; while the experience that has been gained from the past, and the present posture of affairs, lead them to hope and believe that the day of social regeneration cannot be far distant.

Trusting that you will insert the above two documents, I beg leave to subscribe myself,
Yours, truly, W. H. BOHM.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM, AND
TO ALL SOCIAL REFORMERS.

In reviewing the superior arrangements proposed to society by the adoption of the Social or Co-operative System, it is generally acknowledged that, although some time must elapse before a sufficient public opinion can be formed to insure the successful establishment of communities, many of the objects contemplated in detail may be immediately brought into operation; of these the education of the rising generation demands our most serious attention.

Whatever different views and opinions may be entertained by individuals of the time or manner of commencing communities, all will acquiesce in the necessity of removing our children from the greatest number possible of those injurious circumstances by which they are at present surrounded, and insulating them as it were from the baneful effects of bad example.

To those who have seriously considered "that the constitution of every infant, except in case of organic disease, is capable of being formed or matured either into a very inferior or a very superior being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth," a kind of moral responsibility must attach, if they do not use every exertion to surround their children with such external circumstances as shall induce the formation of the most superior character possible.

Actuated by these motives, the Society of Rational Reformers, meeting at 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden, are making arrangements for the establishment of a Boarding-school, with a few acres of ground, within about ten miles of London, in which the children may receive all the advantages of a careful cultivation of the head, the hand, and the heart, at such terms as may place the contemplated benefits within the reach of the greatest number possible of the industrious portion of society.

It has been estimated that the expense will be about 1*l.* per month for each child under eleven years of age, provided that at least fifty children can be obtained for the commencement; and that the expense for those above eleven years may be proportionally less, as their labour will be more productive: it is likewise confidently anticipated, that after the first twelve months, when the arrangements are completed and the land brought into successful cultivation, that the terms may be considerably reduced.

The necessary expense attending the commencement of the school, for house and school furniture, agricultural implements, seeds, &c., it is proposed to raise by voluntary subscriptions, there being not the least doubt of the success of the proposed establishment, provided the friends of the cause will unite in sufficient numbers.

It is suggested that the expense for each child should be paid monthly in advance; and that provisions, labour, manufactures, &c., required for the school be taken, when practicable, from the parents instead of money; also, that the whole arrangements should be under the control of a committee of twelve persons, and a treasurer; six to be chosen from the parents in rotation who may be willing to take the appointment, and six by a general meeting of subscribers of five shillings and upwards annually towards the support of the school.

To those who have the real welfare of mankind at heart, the Society feels confident that this address will not be made in vain. The increasing number of the friends of the social system and to the amelioration of the human species, requires that some practical measures should be speedily adopted; and it is presumed that none will be found of such paramount importance as the giving a superior character to the rising generation, founded on philosophical principles and upon the basis of truth.

The names of parents willing to send their children to the school, or to assist the object

by subscriptions or donations of money, books, models, philosophical apparatus, or any thing useful for the purposes of instruction or agricultural pursuits, will be received at 19, Greville-street, Hatton-garden, addressed to the Secretary.

Prospectus of a Society entitled "The Social Reformers."

Those who have been instrumental in organizing a society of the above title belong to that class of persons who, from their situation in life, have ample opportunities of witnessing, and in a great measure experiencing, the evils of the present state of society. On every side they see the grossest inconsistencies and perplexing absurdities. They perceive idleness rewarded with affluence, and industry bowed down with poverty; they see national wealth daily increasing, and individual wretchedness hourly accumulating; they hear the precepts of morality and charity inculcated by all, but practised by few indeed; and thus, instead of that feeling of brotherly love and kindness which ought to exist among men during the brief period of their existence, they perceive nothing but strife, contention, care, anxiety, poverty, and crime.

They have therefore been led to inquire respecting the cause of those anomalies, and as far as their means permitted them, have traced those evils to their source, as affording the best criterion of judging respecting the soundness of the various plans proposed, and the efficiency of those reforms public opinion seems so intent in effecting.

They have, however, arrived at far different conclusions respecting the causes and the remedies for those evils than the majority of Reformers, who, for the most part, conceive they have originated a political degeneration, and that political reformation, economy, and retrenchment, would soon make us again a happy and flourishing nation.

They believe, on the contrary, that the origin of those evils is to be attributed to the ignorance of those who have hitherto had a controlling power in the state respecting the *Production and Distribution of Wealth, the Education and Government of the People*; and therefore, while, as *Social Reformers*, they are desirous of promoting every reform calculated to lessen the amount of human misery, they are most anxious to acquire and disseminate correct information on those important subjects, as they aim at nothing less than a complete and entire reformation in the whole system and practice of society. For while they are willing to admit the great extent of our productive powers, and our capability to extend them, they will not be satisfied nor silent while thousands of their brethren are wanting the necessities of existence, or forced to seek them in other climes; and when, in their own country, thousands of acres of land capable of production, thousands of unemployed capital and unemployed labourers, are found to exist together.

Of the present distribution of wealth little need be said to make its gross injustice evident to every reflecting mind, when out of the sum of fifty pounds produced annually by each man, woman, and child, of the working-classes, they obtain a reality not more than ten pounds! and when those who in no way whatever contribute to the wealth or happiness of the state enjoy their hundreds of thousands annually.

That, with all the boast of Englishmen respecting the great advancement of knowledge and progress of science, the *Social Reformers* conceive the most important branches of Education altogether neglected—such as would cultivate the moral faculties of men, to produce the fruits of love and charity towards all mankind.

The *Social Reformers* do not contend for any new forms of government, but they strive to obtain such as would study to promote and seek to establish the happiness of every member of the state; a legislation arrogating no other power than such as all concede to them, and no other reward than that of having done duty their abilities qualified them to perform.

Those being the views of the *Social Reformers*, they are anxious to obtain the support and co-operation of those who think with them on those important

subjects, as well as of the intelligent and well-disposed among all classes, who are so far willing to enter into an examination with them respecting their correctness or incorrectness. But as they entertain an opinion that moral character and rectitude of conduct are essentials in all those who take upon themselves to reform others, none will be admitted but by ballot, and that after having been on probation one month. Both sexes are equally eligible, the *Social Reformers* recognizing the equality of women. The subscriptions are trifling, being within the power of every working man.

The *Social Reformers* meet weekly for the purpose of mutual instruction, and for acquiring correct political and social knowledge, and, above all, the cultivation of the moral feelings. They have also a library in progress for the use of the members. They further purpose holding monthly meetings, when the public will be admitted to witness their proceedings.

By this means they hope to unite the thinking and reflecting to assist in forming a correct public opinion, and thus form a moral union, prepared to take the advantages of time, change, or station, and be instrumental in effecting that which they have nearest their heart—the welfare of each combined with the happiness of all.

Further information may be obtained by applying to their Secretary, J. D. Styles, at Lovell's Coffee House, 19, Greville-street, Hutton-garden.

N.B.—All letters or parcels must be post-paid.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—With your permission, I will take the liberty to offer a few remarks on the practical operations of the Labour Exchange. It has been a prevailing assertion, and still continues on the tongue of many, that the working classes have been, and still are, incapable of managing their own affairs. But what will those monopolizers of intellect now say, with such a brilliant light before them, putting the negative upon all their assertions? Will they be enabled to close their eyes to the conviction that they have long been, either from ignorance or interest, the calumniators of by far the most useful portion of their fellow-men. The working-men have now taken the management of one of the most magnificent and useful machines ever put into action, and that at a time when that machine was very much out of order; when abilities, energies, and perseverance of the finest description have been called into operation, to the surmounting of the greatest obstacles in the most triumphant manner, even to surpass the expectation of their most sanguine friends.

Having merely hinted at what they have accomplished, allow me, as a well-wisher, to offer a few words of advice as to their future conduct. Let them not be intoxicated with their success, or be weary in well-doing; they must bear in mind that, although the machine is set a-going, it will require the greatest attention to cause it to work to the greatest possible advantage; every wheel must be narrowly and incessantly watched, and should one at any time become clogged, immediately to set about to ascertain the cause, and apply the remedy; remembering that, although in itself it may be of little importance, neglected, it eventually may destroy the whole machine; but experience teacheth knowledge, and as they progress many improvements will no doubt be made in its various departments. And allow me to say that two of the most essential wheels do not, I think, at present, work so well as they may be made to do. I mean the provision and raw material departments, which are the most difficult part of the whole, and therefore require the greatest pos-

sible attention: a plentiful supply of raw material to enable its members to manufacture according to their various trades, and a plentiful supply of provisions for their support whilst so employed. Now, the best way to accomplish this object (whilst all cash has to be paid for those articles) is to bring as much cash into the Exchange as possible; and this can be done, by affixing such a valuation upon articles deposited, as shall offer an advantage to the public at large, and induce them to become customers. This advantage can be offered without in any degree detracting from the (real) value of labour. If a capital be raised upon the principle of the trades' fund, the united trades, always having this capital at command, should take every opportunity of purchasing their materials in large quantities at first markets; which plan alone will, upon their present system (that of purchasing at the retail market and in small quantities), be a saving of from 10 to 20 per cent., an instance of which transpired only last week, when a loan from the trades' fund has enabled the tailors to take advantage of the sale of a bankrupt's stock; and although, for the want of sufficient capital, they could only make a comparatively small purchase, and that at second-hand, a saving of 20 per cent. upon their former plan has been realized, and (which only requires the trades' fund to be well supported, that a sufficient sum may be always ready for such purposes) if the fund would have allowed of their purchasing the whole stock at first hand, no doubt a saving of near 50 per cent. would have been made; this saving in laying out their money would enable them almost to command cash customers, whose object is the cheapest market for the best articles. This cash would enable them to have a plentiful supply of provisions and material always in the Exchange, which, according to their present means of getting it, they cannot possibly have,—the means of procuring cash being inadequate to that of the outlay. For example: for every fourpence paid by a depositor as commission-money, he is entitled to receive one shilling provision-note; which note, with one shilling cash, being expended at the store, may produce twopence more, making sixpence, thus leaving a deficiency in cash of one half of the note. Thus, allowing the business done to be one hundred pounds at the provision-store, there would be a deficiency in cash of twenty-five pounds, and so in proportion. Another great advantage might result from the various trades being conducted in a regular and union-like manner. Let each trade form one department, at the head of which should be a conductor or superintendent, whose business should be to receive orders for all goods required to be manufactured by his particular department, and all raw material deposited in the Exchange, available in his trade, to be manufactured by the members in want of cash employment, which, though it would prevent taking out material for individual orders, yet, as the object of the institution is the greatest good to the greatest number, no one could conscientiously object to the regulation, particularly as any one may, by becoming a member, receive his share of the manufacture of such material. Much more might be said, but having already exceeded any intended limits, I must conclude, for the present, by exhorting them to press forward, always remembering that their present exertions are but a means to an end, viz., the attainment of land; that when

the time arrives that shall see some of them located on their own land, producing for the general benefit, that moment will difficulties, which now appear almost insurmountable, begin to vanish before the glorious luminary of day; then will the oppressed, despised, and insulted artisan begin, in reality, to have an inheritance in the land of his fathers.

R. PRYER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

DEAR SIR,—Being an ardent admirer of Mr. Owen's principles, I have let no opportunity slip which I thought was calculated to further his laudable designs, and consequently am a warm advocate for labour exchange, and will take this opportunity to express my entire satisfaction at the miraculous progress it has made in so short a period, considering the means. But what are they going to do? I hear, to lower the scale of valuation. But stop! if any alteration be made (further than equitable adjustment between man and man), let it be for the higher. I speak as a practical man, having given it my best attention from the first. They talk of competing with the outer market; I say it is impossible, unless we work for nothing, for the following reasons:—First, the aristocracy imagine themselves well off, and consequently desire no alteration. Secondly, Mr. Owen has candidly told the lawyers, the parsons, the doctors, and the shopkeepers, that we, with proper arrangements, can do with one-hundredth part of them; and, consequently, they, with a few honourable exceptions, would think themselves mad to assist us. And lastly, the greatest obstacle of all is ourselves; yes, notwithstanding the foolish boast respecting our intellectual attainments, we, the useful classes, are woefully minus in *real knowledge*. What rational being would for a moment suppose that, after earning our money at the very mouth of hell, we should send it to the devils to make their fire the hotter, and thereby make our present situation the more unbearable? And yet this is our very position. But, it will be asked, what would I do? I say, seeing men are for a change throughout the United Kingdom, and have a desire to better their own condition, but know not how—take advantage of the present moment, and lead them at once to the desired point; show them that, instead of allowing prejudice to pair them off into little, isolated, contemptible bodies, and harbouring all the petty jealousies and distinctions that mark the inside of a ship-of-war, that they manfully unite in the cause of themselves, their children, and humanity; that they bring their resources to bear upon one given point, directed with knowledge. This, indeed, will be to help ourselves, and not lazily call upon others, whose interests are, in their own view, diametrically opposed to our own; and then our valuation may stand, rise, or fall, as you please; but should it fall at present, it would please nobody but Jews, brokers, and all other creatures of profit; therefore an equitable valuation will do more in bringing in mechanics to join us, than a low price will do in bringing in brokers and shopkeepers to take out our things.—Sir, the insertion of this will oblige, yours, &c.,

A WORKING BEE.

London, Sept. 13, 1833.

Music is the only talent that places happiness in itself; all the others require witnesses.—MARMONTEL.

NOTICES.

A letter from Mr. Owen, dated Manchester, has been received, from which we are glad to learn he will return this day; and in his lecture to-morrow evening will, no doubt, communicate very important proceedings now in progress throughout the country.

We have great pleasure in referring to the letter on Labour Exchange, signed R. Pryer.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPT. 28.

Nothing can be more dissimilar than the old and the new system of society. The one is full of all evil, the other of all good. The one is Hell, and the other is Heaven. In the former, all is strife and contention; devils fighting against devils, and interests clashing with interests, purses striving with purses, families with families, nations with nations. The eye of jealousy, envy, suspicion, pride, meets you wherever you go; you mix in the street with men of your own species, beings who are your brethren by nature, children of the same stock and members of the same great family; yet you cannot address them as brothers; you have no sympathy with them, nor they with you; their circumstances are unknown to you, and yours to them; they may be starving for want, and you know not of it; and you may be in the same miserable plight, and have not courage to risk an ungenerous refusal by making known your distress. If one dog meets another in the street, the two parties generally salute each other with kindness. When the inferior animals meet together, they lick each other's hides, and show many symptoms of affectionate concern in each other's welfare. It is only when private interest intervenes, that the spirit of antagonism appears, and love brings forth jealousy. Give one bone to two dogs, and they will fight. No wonder; the one dog has as good a right to the bone as the other; but give the two dogs a bone each, and they will lie down together, and crunch in good fellowship. Give nineteen bones to twenty dogs, and it is most probable you shall see a general engagement with the score. How then can men expect peace and goodwill in a system of unequal distribution? A state of inequality is a state of war. Nature has ordained it for strife; so that if ever a period come when men shall cease from contention, it can only be when equality is established and private property abolished. It is contrary to the analogy of nature that it should be otherwise. Nature is unchangeable; but she is good or bad according to circumstances. To expect a change of nature's mode of action in man, before a change of circumstance, as some people do, is so gross an absurdity that we could scarcely imagine that any rational being could be guilty of it. The present immorality of human nature does not arise from an evil principle in man, but from a principle which is equitable and just in its ultimate tendency;

for it is a principle which revolts at inequality, and which will keep society in agitation until that equality is produced, and no longer. But as it is impossible for one or a few individuals to change the system of society, and as society is so infinitely divided that it seems impossible to unite men in measures calculated to effect that change, until necessity compels them; so each individual, finding himself adrift on this wide ocean of selfishness, where, if each adventurer do not cautiously consult his own interest, it will be swallowed up by the all-devouring interests of others, he, in pure self-defence, is compelled to be selfish, and, like an excommunicated ant, to hoard up for himself, since society, as a whole, refuses to provide for the support of each. This selfishness is radically a virtue; inequality deforms it; equality would restore its original beauty.

There cannot be a more correct picture of the old system of society than that living picture which nature has painted in the sea, on purpose to teach man wisdom. There the individual system prevails in perfection. There each individual, and each species, wages eternal warfare with every other. There the large fishes swallow up the small, and monsters of frightful shape and fearful velocity roam about like tyrants, heroes, and capitalists, with their mouths wide open, seeking whom they may devour. There you see Alexanders, and Cæsars, and Napoleons, heroes of great renown, gorging their stomachs with the blood of their prostrate victims, and glorying, no doubt, like their earth-born brothers, in the number of the slain. Who is he that is called a hero? One who causes the widow to weep, and the fatherless children to cry for want; who has burned the dwellings of the poor, and destroyed the produce of their labour. Who is he that is called a rich and a respectable man? One who eats his fill, when his brother is starving—one who sleeps on a bed of down, while his brother has not a home for shelter, nor a bed for repose: he also is a hero; he devours the poor, he sucks their blood, he appropriates their labour to himself: he is a roaming shark, with a wide mouth and an insatiable stomach, and like the horse-leech, which sucks incessantly, he never says he has got enough. Are we not all living in the sea? yes, it is the great deep that we inhabit. How shall we get out of it? By becoming Christians; following the example of Christ and his Apostles, and having all things in common—returning to the god of unity, from whom we have departed by so long serving the god of division. There are no true Christians on the earth; they are hypocrites and impostors all.

It will have been seen, in most of the public papers, that Mr. Cousins, the publisher of the *Crisis*, has been acting a prominent part in resisting the Assessed Taxes, a conduct which he considers has been forced upon him, in common with all other tradesmen, who have so long petitioned in vain against oppressive, and, under the present system, ruinous taxa-

tion. We do not believe our friend Cousins would have taken this step, but from a strong conviction of its propriety. He knows, as a co-operator, that there are much more effectual ways of benefiting society, himself included, than the mere refusal of taxes, which, as great as they appear and vexatious as now felt, will shrink into comparative nothingness, whenever the productive classes shall have fully taken "their own affairs into their own hands," and with liberated industry, aided by the immense powers of machinery, shall proceed to fill the world with abundance for all, and obtain intelligence rightly to distribute it. Meanwhile, the pressure of the old system is so galling, that men who entertain nobler views of action feel themselves compelled, as in the instance alluded to, to resist measures which, under better circumstances, would be utterly contemptible. The resistance of Mr. Cousins, it should be said, was altogether passive, though from the temper of the multitude he had it in his power materially to annoy the parties putting a restraint upon his goods.

It must be observed also, that his management of this affair was conspicuous alike for energy and good temper, and has been crowned with complete success. A.

PROBABLY there is no death so awful as that by shipwreck. The ocean, as a dwelling-place, is naturally repugnant to man; he enters upon it with dread; the novelty sometimes gains upon him, but he laughs with unbounded joy when, after a long voyage, he perceives the friendly shore. Who can resist the ripple of waters sparkling in the sunshine? It is an invitation to pleasure; the light bark skims merrily along, and the heavy war-ship reposes with silent grandeur; but soon a change comes on, the winds gather up their strength, the waves lash, the foam arises, the sky blackens, the clouds pour out their torrents, the howl of contending elements threaten horrible catastrophes, and forlorn mariners, with shattered sails, seek recklessly the strand. The loss of one human being by shipwreck is truly appalling; then how exceedingly horrible must be the wreck of scores, and even of more than a hundred, as recently in one single vessel—the *Amphitrite*.

The full particulars of this loss have now come to hand; our business, however, is not to give news, but to seize upon prominent events, and, as far as we are able, gather knowledge from them. Facts are eternal, they are the same to-day as yesterday, and ever impart solid instruction. The convict ship, laden with women, is a subject which, under many points of view, might expand a volume and fix the most intense consideration. First, why was she thus laden with human forms, "fine and beautiful?" (so says the report.) Oh! the law condemned them. And who does not know the law to be a monster and a demon, originating in, and battering upon, property; which alone it seeks to pamper and exalt, regardless of human welfare, and destroying by sordid enactments all that is lovely in man or woman? Is

not law (such as we have it) a laughing-stock in our civil courts, and an engine of torture and of solemn mockery in our criminal courts?

Yet, in the name of this monster and this demon, this laughing-stock, and this engine of torture, do our fellow-men, grave in deportment, and "with the best intentions," inflated with learning, though destitute of practical knowledge, filled with sympathy for their class, but heedless of common humanity, send upon the stormy seas some of the finest of their species, who, if justice had been done them instead of law, would now be among the chief ornaments of the land, and if women had had their rights duly accorded, and a rational education given them, with independent circumstances, (which with little labour all have now a right to expect,) then, these poor injured women, who have been thus horribly put out of existence, would also have assisted to form along with intelligent men such a code of laws and regulations, which should carry mankind progressively to the highest state of perfection.

A.

"Ever since the time that these imperious masters have pretended to govern men against the will of nature, making a crime, an infamy of love when it appears to contradict their rules, and instead of the preventing what might corrupt it, they have introduced all the prejudices which could dishonour it—ever since that time it has become inconstant and lascivious, bold and dissolute.

"They have been desirous to suppress the mildest, the most peaceable, as well as the most powerful sensations of the soul—its very respiration and its life, under the false exterior of prudence, modesty, and shame. They have been willing to subject this passion, as well as every other, to the worship of interest, and to the prejudices of honours, ranks, and dignities, foreseeing that if ever they should leave it free, it would be impossible to make it acquiesce with those absurd chimeras; and thus by striving to enslave it, they have reduced it to an unlimited licentiousness. Draw love away but from the companionship of all these vices, and it shall cease to be inconstant, treacherous, or faithless.

"No longer should you blush, O amiable sex, formed but to blaze with the soft flames of love, and kindle them within our hearts! No longer should ye blush to own them, and give the full extent of power to all those charms wherewith kind nature has provided you. No longer should our sex, to whom ye give the title of deceivers, set you examples to deceive ourselves; nor show contempt for favours easily obtained, merely because we are indebted for them to nothing but a real tenderness: No longer should the lover, then, unjust to you and cruel to himself, strive to deserve your hearts by the long sufferance of repulses and disdain, or real or affected. He would no longer, then, require you to make him purchase that great blessing, by proofs of constancy and of sincerity on his side; and on your own by painful conflicts with an indignation in his favour, which he esteems not, which he believes not real, but in proportion as it cost himself as well as you, a world of sighs and pains. Where there no longer should subsist pretences, prejudices, or suspicions; where candour should have sway, there would

no more be need of scandalous distrust, or feigned concealments.

"Great prince; by these reflections I describe to you all the ridiculous contrarieties, all the capricious practices necessary to love in some cantons of our enchanted island, inhabited by such as we call tender and delicate lovers.

"Not far from this, there is another country, frequented by an idle set of people, whose sole amusement is to sing and to relate to others cold amorous dialogues, and adventures real or imaginary, occasioned by all the turns, by all the whimsical caprices, which transform the passion love to torments, and in the end to those debaucheries, which are in practice in our isle of Folly, and which are nearly such as they have been described to you.

"This one example may, my lord, suffice to let you see that 'tis the same with all our other pleasures, grown turbulent, excessive, and embittered, as in our miseries; depraved, as in our manner; subject to regret and to remorse, as in our crimes; and ridiculous, as in our opinions.

"Lastly, to heap up folly upon folly, there are, within this island of false pleasures, persons who represent to us the life, such of our actions as are wicked or ridiculous. They laugh at us, and we in our turn laugh with them at ourselves. Nor are the precepts given in a more rigid manner, more respected. The tutor and his pupil, at the conclusion of some lesson, wherein licentious pleasures have been all condemned, both run into this island, where they reside, the one in order to throw off the mask of hypocrisy, and the other with a continued determination never to put it on."—*Basilade*.

THE LOSS OF THE AMPHITRITE.

MR. EDITOR,—I cannot, in justice to human nature, let this catastrophe, in the old system, pass by without making a few remarks.

How harrowing it must be to every lover of his species, when he thinks that upwards of one hundred and twenty females have been consigned to a watery grave, not from negligence or error on the part of those persons who had the management of the vessel, but by the laws that ought to have been their safeguard and protection. Such are the laws that form part of the present system; such are the laws that cause such horrible sacrifice of human life; such are the laws of private property; such are the laws that have compelled them to commit crimes, for which they have so unjustly suffered; laws which tend to degrade and vitiate the moral character, rather than elevate and remodel. What must have been the feelings of the inhabitants of Boulogne, and especially the youth of that place, who are yet alive in some degree to the common sympathy of humanity, to find the beach strewn with the dead bodies of young women, who, under a correct system, might have been the blessings and comfort of all who knew them, whilst, under the present, they have been cut off in the bloom of life, leaving a lasting curse on the system they have left behind.

How long shall human nature suffer under erroneous institutions, goaded to desperation by vicious governments? I answer, no longer. "The grand truth" has gone forth like the dove from the Ark, never more to return.

Sept., 1833.

R. S.

"Whenever you banish reason, you can have no fast hold on the mind of man."—Rev. T. WATSON, 1811.

NEW LANARK.

The visitors to this beautiful little village, so interestingly situated on the banks of the Clyde, "mid nature's wildest grandeur," have this season been much more numerous than was the case last year. Scarcely a day passes, but parties in carriages and gigs, on their way to the far-famed Falls, are shown through the mills, schools, &c., the great attraction of which is allowed on all hands to be the excellent method of teaching singing and dancing practised by Mr. Budge. The cleanliness and well-ventilated state of the factories are also known and appreciated by every visitor; and indeed the blooming countenances of the girls, compared with those similarly employed in this quarter, speak volumes in favour of the New Lanark system of management. Of course, so much attention is not now paid to what may be called the ornamental parts of education, in the schools, as was encouraged under the regime of the philanthropic Robert Owen; but even yet we are not aware of the inhabitants having to complain of any falling off on the part of the company, in their regard to the education of the children, in every essential particular; and the polite attention paid to strangers under the direction of Mr. Walker, the active manager, cannot be too much commended. On a late visit, we were happy to perceive that the company had at length been induced to commence the erection of what was first called the "Jenny Mill," and which it will be recollected was burned down about 14 years ago. The present edifice, which has already reached its third story, will be considerably longer than any of the other mills. It will, we understand, be six stories high, besides the garrets—about 150 feet in length, and 49 in breadth within the walls. It is to be built on the most stable principles, to be fire-proof, and to be driven by one water-wheel, between thirty and forty feet in diameter—so that, when completed, now that the "new mill," which, long after its erection, stood without being filled with machinery, has been set a-going, New Lanark will be one of the most extensive, as it has long been one of the most healthy and beautiful manufacturing communities in Scotland. It is said the building now in course of erection is to be fitted up with power-looms; but of this we are not certain. Suffice it to say, that things there, at present, go on swimmingly; and, if not entirely happy, the population are apparently contented.—*Glasgow Free Press*.

I passed an hour or two very agreeably, at one of a series of meetings, which are called "Wealar Parties," from the name of the gentleman at whose house they were first held. Their effect and influence on society must be very salutary. These parties bring together men of different classes and pursuits, and promote the free intercourse of opinion, always useful for the correction of prejudices. Such intercourse, too, prevents the narrowness of thought, and exaggerated estimate of the value of our own peculiar acquirements; which devotion to one exclusive subject is apt to engender with those who do not mix freely with the world. Philosophers eat like other men, and the precaution of an excellent supper is by no means superfluous. It acts, too, as a gentle emollient on the acrimony of debate. No man can say a harsh thing with his mouth full of turkey, and disputants forget their differences in unity of enjoyment.—*Men and Manners*, &c.

Poet's Corner.

TO INEZ.

MINE own, my gentle child,
My fountain of all love,
With a spirit soft and mild,
And a firmness nought can move!

Entranced I gaze upon thee,
Thou chaser of my gloom!
When a lover's heart hath won thee,
I will welcome but the tomb.

How glorious is thy brow,
Thine eyes how beaming bright,
Thy voice of silvery flow,
And thine intellect of light!

While listening to thy speech
I mark thy judgment's power,
I hold thy love more rich,
Than the spoils of beauty's bower.

Thy kisses fall like balm
On mine eyelids and my heart,
Like a summer evening's calm.
May we never, never part!

Oh! calm me, gentle child,
With thine accents low and sweet,
Chase away each feeling wild,
Bid my pulses softly beat!

Place thy small hand on my cheek,
And thy sweet lips upon mine;
And my spirit shall grow meek,
While united unto thine.

Oh! so deeply do I love thee,
My beautiful, my bright!
Where thou art, day beams above thee;
Where thou art not, is but night.

Though thou art not of my blood,
Thou art kindred to my soul;
Thou hast chased the warring mood,
That no other might control.

We will talk of Art, and Nature,
We will kneel at Wisdom's feet;
Thou shalt have no other teacher,
Sweet child without deceit.

No hireling lip shall yield thee
A cold and coin-won lore;
But I, alone, will shield thee,
And tend thy mental power.

Thy glance upon me lightens
In love all mutely wild;
Hope once more round me brightens;
Oh! bless thee, my sweet child!

JUNIOR RADIIVUS.

PICTURE OF A MORAL MILLENNIUM.

We have only to imagine a reign of perfect virtue; and then, in spite of the physical ills which essentially and inevitably attach to our condition, we should feel as if we had approximated very nearly to a state of perfect enjoyment among men—or, in other words, that the bliss of Paradise would be almost fully realized upon earth, were but the moral graces and charities of Paradise firmly established there, and in full operation. Let there be honest and universal goodwill in every bosom, and this be responded to from all who are the objects of it by an honest gratitude back again; let kindness, in all its various effects and manifestations, pass and repass from one heart and countenance to another; let there be a universal courteousness in our streets, and let fidelity and affection, and all the domestic virtues, take up their secure and lasting abode in every family; let the succour and sympathy of a willing neighbourhood be ever in readiness to meet and to overpass all the want and wretchedness to which humanity is liable; let truth, and

honour, and inviolable friendship between man and man, banish all treachery and injustice from the world; in the walks of merchandize, let an unfading integrity on the one side, have the homage done to it of unbounded confidence on the other, inasmuch that each man reposing with conscious safety on the uprightness and attachment of his fellow, and withal rejoicing as much in the prosperity of an acquaintance as he should in his own, there would come to be no place for the harassments and the heart-burnings of mutual suspicion, or resentment or envy. Who does not see, in the state of a society thus constituted and thus harmonised, the palpable evidence of a nature so framed that the happiness of the world and the righteousness of the world kept pace the one with the other?—DR. CHALMERS'S *Bridgewater Treatise*.

The blood is the common material out of which all the fluids and solids of the body are formed; out of which all the tissues and all the organs are built up. The blood is alike necessary to the formation of the tender and delicate membrane, and to the hard and compact bone; it gives origin equally to the mildest and blandest fluid, as the saliva and the milk, and to the most active and irresistible, as the digestive or the gastric juice.—DR. SOUTHWOOD SMITH on the *Animal Economy*.

We have the pleasure of extracting the following from the *Pioneer*, a new penny paper from Birmingham:—

"The means of making men superior in knowledge and conduct, and of placing them above the fear of want, will be rendered as plain as any of the most simple problems of Euclid."

"The working classes over the civilized world must now obtain their freedom, full rights, and privileges, or become more degraded and greater slaves than they have ever yet been. We think the time for their full emancipation is at hand. We must at once close this useless strife between the men and the masters, who are in battle array against each other, squandering the most valuable means, which, wisely directed, would insure permanent prosperity to both, and to all the industrious classes throughout the kingdom. We must now lay the corner-stone of the most gigantic measures that ever yet occurred to the imaginations of the industrious classes, who are now beginning to have a distinct notion of what they have the means of accomplishing."

"The difference between the masters and the men in Manchester, has proved the means of opening their eyes to their true position in society."

"A union, founded on right and just principles, is all that is now required to put poverty and the fear of it for ever out of society. We must now consider how to unite the interests of the masters and the men advantageously together. They have never had but one interest, had they possessed sufficient knowledge to have known their interest; but from ignorance they have long opposed each other, and thereby both have become slaves to the aristocracy, who alone gain by their divisions. A new light will soon open upon them, and then we may expect to see them work together for the permanent prosperity of all classes."

"Both houses of parliament have been most actively engaged in doing whatever they could to bring down the old system of society, and they have succeeded so well, that none of the political parties can much longer support it."

Were the producing classes not prepared with effective conservative measures, Tories, Whigs, and Radicals would be soon in inextricable confusion. The productive classes must now come forward, and take a prominent lead amongst those who influence the public proceedings of this country. They can take their own affairs into their own hands; and by taking their own affairs, they cannot avoid at the same time taking the affairs of the non-producers also into their own hands, for the very existence of these will depend on the practical arrangements which the producers may determine to adopt. It is important that the producers should understand this matter clearly, that their minds may expand to the full extent of the great interests which they hold at their disposal, and that they may consider them calmly, and direct them beneficially—not for any small class, or sect, or party, but for the whole population.

"In forwarding this great object, we look to the men of Birmingham with considerable hope and confidence. Union and moral courage are necessary, and we do not know any population possessing these qualifications in so eminent a degree as that which we have so often beheld with admiration at Newhall-hill."

"If we are not mistaken in these men, and in the true spirit of improvement which is going on in Manchester and in London, and other parts of the kingdom, there are great things near at hand, and a moral revolution shall be effected in a short time, such as the world has never yet seen."

WEEKLY MEETING OF THE TRADES' DELEGATES.

8 SEPT. 10, 1833.

First carpenters.—Mr. Horne gave in the report, showing the week's receipts . . . £5 13 0
Ditto expenditure . . . 5 4 11

Labour performed for Society 139 hours.

Second section of carpenters' department. Mr. Jordan gave in his report, showing the receipts in notes and cash, at . . . £8 0 11½

Receipts in cash and notes . . . 7 1 9½

He said also, he would strongly recommend to the committee to get a horse and cart to take provisions and other articles home to the residences of the members.

Mr. Henderson gave in a report of the proceeds of the last Festival, showing a profit of about £10. He also approved of Mr. Jordan's suggestion relative to the horse and cart. He thought it very probable that some one would very shortly deposit one.

Mr. Jordan thought he knew a person who would deposit a horse; at least he had it to dispose of, and he thought he would perhaps deposit it, as a horse was a very unprofitable animal to keep in a state of idleness. He would very soon, as people say, "eat his own head off."

First section of the cabinet-makers' department completed their new arrangements last week. Will report next week. Total number of members, 39.

Second section of cabinet-makers. The delegate announced that their society had formed themselves into a Trade Union: the Labour Exchange principles were very little known at their end of the town, and that this step was taken for the purpose of propagating them as widely as possible. Their collection was about 8½ 7s.

First section of tailors' department. The delegate gave in the weekly report, showing the following results: Amount of subscriptions, 4½ 18s. Dues of wages paid to men, 337 hours. The amount of business done, 20½ 10s. Amount of rent subscribed for the present week, 8s 4d. Subscriptions of the second section, 12s.

A delegate from the second tailors' said, they were commencing operations; but they wanted more

energy, and a better knowledge of the principles. He wished a deputation to be appointed to meet four societies in the City on Tuesday night; they held their meeting at the Dyer's Arms, Cannon-street.—Messrs. Gray, Jordan, Jameson, Brindell, and Brown, were appointed a deputation for the above purpose.

First shoe-makers gave in a highly satisfactory report.

Second boot and shoe makers report from 27th August to the 10th of September.

Labour performed 309h.	Contributions £9 11 0
Expended on material . £3 3 1	Received for goods 868h.
Paid in committee 0 9 4	By cash . 0 11 0

Number of members, 65.

Section of Industrious Females.—Miss Green gave in the report from August 30th to September 6th.

Recd. in cash, £0 17 0	Exp. in cash, £0 16 0
Do. in notes, 69h. 2s.	Do. in notes, 61h. 3s.
	Commission, 2s. 8d.

Mr. Poulter announced the formation of a musical department of the Association. He said their plans had been laid before the committee, and had received their approval. It was their wish to have an orchestra and choir that should vie with any other in town. He knew we possessed among ourselves all the requisite numbers and talent, which only wanted calling into action and a proper direction.

Mr. Gray said, recollect, my friends, this building is now our own. Let us, then, not only make it available for our business, but also for our pleasures. He highly approved of this musical department.

Mr. Wood read a letter from Birmingham.

Mr. Halliwell announced that, on the monthly meeting, which would be held on Monday evening in this place, the members for the Committee of Management for the ensuing three months would be nominated; and pointed out the importance of the duties that devolved on the Committee of Management.

Mr. Pryer wished to say a few words on this subject. It was a subject of the utmost moment to the success of the Institution. He would advise the members to choose men of known abilities, energy, and discretion. He would recommend every one to get a copy of the laws and constitution, and study them. The time is coming when, from our success, we must expect a strong opposition. It therefore behoves us, as reasonable men, to prepare for it, to concentrate our measures, and to show to those who would destroy us a steady front. We must establish a solid union, for it is only by union we can succeed in our endeavours.

Mr. Turner, in reference to the Co-operative Congress about to be held on these premises, said he anticipated the most important results to the cause from that Congress. He trusted it would be a Congress of business. He wished to see all the different societies in the country sending goods into the Exchange. In relation to the new Committee, he hoped that those chosen would have the confidence of the Association, as he held it perfectly impossible for any committee to act beneficially for the general interests of the members, if they were subject to the ungenerous suspicions and insidious whisperings of individuals.

Mr. Gray said it was well to be free from too much suspicion, but it was equally bad to have too much credulity.

Mr. Ludlow sent, by Miss Green, three hours to be cancelled, which was done forthwith.

The meeting adjourned.

We beg to announce the receipt of old notes, to the amount of sixty-nine hours, from Mr. Geo. Wale, of Twickenham, to be cancelled.

"Observe the peasant and the man of education; the difference is striking. And yet God hath bestowed equal talents on each. The only cause of this difference is, they have been thrown into different scenes of life; and have had intercourse with persons of different stations."—GILPIN.

Police.

THAMES POLICE.—An Irish coal-whipper was re-examined on a charge of cruelly beating and injuring an Englishman, named Bannister, in the same employ. It appeared from the evidence, that the complainant was so severely injured, that had he not possessed a most robust constitution, and received prompt and skilful surgical assistance, death would have been inevitable. The quarrel arose from the circumstance of Bannister being employed by a publican, of the name of Birkett, of Shadwell, who is endeavouring to destroy the Irish monopoly of unloading the ships, which they have so long enjoyed. Jealousy on this point, and constant intoxication, are the frequent sources of the most deadly feuds amongst this class. The magistrate was equally grave and eloquent, and said "he should certainly commit him for the capital charge, as the system of terror must be put down." The magistrate does not perceive that it is the system that generates the evil, and will inevitably co-exist with the system itself. Here is an instance of a man really desirous to perform what he considers his duty, but has no notion of what that duty consists. To risk the unfortunate Irishman to the chance of hanging will neither teach him better nor intimidate others, for crimes are found to increase in proportion to capital punishments. He ought long ago to have memorialized Lord Melbourne, pointing out the evils of the system in a manner not to be resisted. How long and mischievous has been the reign of short-sightedness! To punish, not to prevent, to palliate, not to cure, has ever been the policy of governments, and it seems, as far as governments are concerned, destined to perpetuity. In fact there is no great or leading moral principle ever recognized in legislation, nor a single evil of society understood, either in its cause or consequence.

[Note.—It is not generally known that many of the publicans by the water side are either owners of, or agents for, a number of colliers, and in fact have the whole concern under their immediate management. They hire and pay the men, and as I am credibly informed they are hired on the express condition of drinking a certain quantity of beer and spirits at the houses of their employers. But without insisting on this, it really amounts to the same thing, for it is evident that, whilst employment is given by a publican, the best customer will be preferred. Thus men, naturally ignorant and brutal, are stimulated to madness by strong drink, and vent their fury in injuring their fellow-men. Such a system ought not to continue another hour; it is an insult to the light of day, and should be destroyed without inquiry and without appeal.—W.]

QUEEN-SQUARE.—Two boys, aged ten and fifteen, and a girl, aged fourteen, of the same family, were brought before the magistrate, charged with stealing a small quantity of wood, the property of his Majesty. They were observed in company in St. James's Park, and the girl was seen passing the wood through the palings to the younger boy.—A clerk in the Ordnance-office appeared as prosecutor. He stated, that the wood was of very trifling value, and seemed reluctant to state its value at any thing; but on the magistrate pressing him, and observing "that it surely must be worth something," the clerk fixed it at fourpence. The magistrate, after many inquiries of the

prisoners as to their situation, from which it appeared they were poor and friendless orphans, having only a mother, a washerwoman, and a pensioner on the parish—said he should commit them for trial. After some further conversation, however, either from some latent feeling of humanity, or the fear of ridicule, he altered his mind, and said he would remand them for a week, and requested the clerk to ascertain whether the Board of Ordnance would prosecute.—So that the fair inference is, that this important judicial inquiry was suspended, in order to ascertain whether the Board of Ordnance would prosecute three wretched children for fourpence. This case, simple as it appears, suggests several important reflections. First, What a frivolous and ridiculous affair to engage the attention of a well-paid public functionary! How much better would he have been employed in devising some scheme for the mitigation of juvenile delinquency, or the prevention of crime in general! Secondly, How cruelly unjust to punish with a week's imprisonment ignorant children, who, under the goading influence of poverty, purloin a little wood for fuel! Thirdly, What right has any government to punish an individual for the violation of any law which he has not been specially instructed to respect, to whom the principle on which it is founded has not been clearly demonstrated, and who has not been made to perceive mentally and feel physically its importance and necessity? Unless punishment in every case be preceded by the fullest instruction and the strictest prevention, it is the essence of cruelty. I am the least sanguine of human beings, but I fully expect a time when the decrees of law and the dictates of justice will be identical; and when men will regard as fabulous the present monstrosities of legislation, and reject as utterly false the fact of three children, of the tender and susceptible ages of 10, 14, and 15, being immured in a common prison for stealing fourpennyworth of wood. There ought to be a government institution for the education of such unfortunate characters; and when mankind awoken from their dream of ignorant selfishness, a philosophical education will supersede the necessity of policeman and prisons; I mean an education founded on the nature, hopes, duties, and destinies of man—based on reason, supported by truth, cemented by the combination of circumstances, and applauded by a regenerated world. W.

TURN-OUTS.—This week, the cut-up hose and glove branch have made a stand for an advance of price. The reasons assigned for this step are, that last year, in consequence of a falling market and slack demand, they submitted to an abatement. Now orders are brisk, and markets rising, they claim an advance, but not equal to the abatement alluded to. As the hosiers have refused to comply, the journey-men have resolved upon this measure. Messrs. Santons' and Messrs. Burtons' hands are still appealing to the trade to enable them to resist what they call encroachments on their earnings.—*Nottingham Review*.

FRENCH CARPENTERS.—It is not only the carpenters employed in the great public buildings that have struck, but every man in the trade has ceased working. They insist on having their daily wages raised from three and a half to four francs.—*French Paper*.

Clubs form a main feature of the social system of the richer classes of the metropolis. Formerly they were merely the resort of gamblers, politicians, or *bons vivans*—now they have assumed a more intellectual character; every calling has its peculiar club—from the soldier's to the scholar's. The effect which this multiplicity of clubs has produced is salutary in the extreme; it has begun already to counteract the solitary disposition of the natives; it opens a ready intercourse with our foreign guests, who are usually admitted as honorary members; prejudices are rubbed off, and by an easy and unexpensive process, the most domestic or the most professional learn the views of the citizen of the world. At these resorts the affairs of the public make the common and natural topic of conversation, and nothing furthers the growth of public principle like the discussion of public matters. It is said that clubs render men less domestic. No, they only render them less social; they form a cheap and intellectual relaxation, and (since in most of the recent clubs the custom turns to neither gambling nor inebriety) they unbend the mind even while improving it. But these are the least advantages of clubs; they contain the germ of a mighty improvement in the condition of the humbler classes. I foresee that those classes will, sooner or later, adopt institutions so peculiarly favourable to the poor. By this species of co-operation, the man of £200. a-year can, at present, command the nobler luxuries of a man of £600.; airy and capacious apartments, the decent comforts of the table, lights, fires, books, and intellectual society. The same principle on the humbler scale would procure the same advantages for the shopkeeper or the artisan, and the man of 50*l.* a-year might obtain the same comforts as the man 600*l.* If the experiment were made by the middle and lower classes, it could not fail of success; and, among its advantages would be the growth of that sense of moral dignity which is ever produced by a perception of the higher comforts of life.

Bukner's England and the English.

At the Asylum, for instance, the dinner, which at an hotel would cost 7*s.* or 8*s.*, costs about 3*s.*; viz., a joint, vegetables, bread, butter, cheese, &c., and half a pint of wine. I believe in some clubs the price is even less.

THE INVITATION.

The adoration of God with the heart and lips, and the conscientious discharge of our duties to each other, would make all mankind brethren, and the universe a temple. Dogmas are the inventions of fanatics and knaves. Morality is an emanation of God. The doctrine of Purgatory has cost a hundred thousand lives; but this simple profession of faith,—I love God, and ought to do good to my fellow-creature,—has never produced a single quarrel from the foundation of the world.

Come then, my rational Socinian, my dear Quaker, my good Anabaptist, my gloomy Presbyterian, my careless Episcopalian, come ye Methodists and Pietists, come even ye Papists, and let us all prostrate ourselves before the Supreme Being, and thank him for having given us poultry, and venison, and bread for our nourishment, reason to know him, and a heart to adore him; and after having thus said grace, let us sup together in the cheerful benevolence of good-fellowship.—VOLTARE.

The more we embody ourselves and our happiness with the interest of others—the interests of the whole—the more in reality we consult our own happiness. In the pursuit of any merely solitary schemes we shall reap only disappointment; if we attempt to detach ourselves from the general mass, to individualize ourselves from the community of our species, we shall be imprisoned and pent in when the barriers of selfishness are broken down, and the current of benevolence is suffered to flow generally abroad, and circulate far and near around, then we are in a capacity of the greatest and best enjoyments.—B. HALL.

We cannot believe without evidence; and we cannot love whom we please, or hate whom we please.—REV. THOMAS WATSON, 1811.

After many fruitless researches and lengthy discussions, said the Englishman, I have concluded that to pursue truth is madness; for when it is found we know not to whom we shall tell it, without making ourselves many enemies. Tell me honestly, do you not think as I do? Though I am but ignorant, replied the Paria, still as you permit me to give my opinion, I think that every man is bound to seek truth for his own happiness, otherwise he will be avaricious, ambitious, superstitious, and evil, according to the prejudices and interest of those who may have instructed him.—BARNARDIN DE ST. PIERRE.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

WEEKLY REPORT—ENDING SEPT. 21.	
Exchanges 7,917 <i>h.</i> 3 <i>s.</i>	Deposits, excl.
Charges £. 1 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	of Provis. 11,413 <i>h.</i> 0 <i>s.</i>
Rent . 15 0 0	Commission £. 21 13 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Wages . 18 11 0	Profit on Pro-
	visions . 24 1 8
35 4 4	Rent Sub. . 3 11 3
	Received for lec-
	tures, bal. 10 13 5
	60 0 0
	35 4 4
Profit for the Week	24 15 8

Excess of Deposits . 3,495*h.* 3*s.*

R. ALGER, Auditor.

Charlotte-street, September 23, 1833.

LECTURES, &c., NEXT WEEK.

Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.
Sunday morning, at 11, by the Rev. J. E. Smith, and evening, at 7, by Mr. Owen.

Sunday afternoon, at 3, the members of the Social Community.

Mr. Destrozier will lecture on Tuesday evening, and on every Tuesday till further notice.

Wednesday evening, at half-past 7, public discussion of the Social Community.

Thursday evening, the Trades' Delegates.

Friday evening, at 7, the Ladies' Association.

LOVETT'S COFFEE HOUSE, 19, Greville-street, Hutton garden.—W. Lovett begs to inform his Friends and the Public, that he has opened, as Coffee and Reading Rooms, the above Premises, lately occupied by the First London Co-operative Society.

In addition to the papers and periodicals of the day, they will have access to a Library containing most of the Works of Godwin, Owen, Bentham, Paine, Cobbett, Carpenter, Thompson, Ensor, Say, Voltaire, A. Smith, and a variety of other popular writers.

Refreshments to be had at the usual prices.

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INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 29.

Mr. Smith lectured on the subject of "PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY." He proved, from the Scriptures, from quotations from the Christian Fathers, from the Sibylline Oracles, which were adduced by the early Christians in their controversies with their heathen adversaries, from the rites and ceremonies of the Christian church, that the only true and original Christianity is a system of community of goods.

We shall extract the quotation from the Sibylline Oracles, as it is curious, as well as some of the quotations from the Fathers. We are obliged to omit our extracts from Mr. Smith's morning lecture on Noah and the flood.

The following are the words of the Sibyl:—

"They who give themselves to the study of just and good works, and to piety and holy thoughts, shall be carried by the angels through the flaming river into a place of light, and into a life without care, where the immortal path of the great God is, and where three fountains of wine, milk, and honey flow. And the earth shall be equal to all, not divided by walls nor partitions, but shall bear much fruit spontaneously; and all shall live in common, and their wealth shall be undivided; neither poor nor rich shall be there, nor tyrant nor servant, nor one greater or less than the other; no king nor leader; all shall enjoy all things in common, and none shall say the night is come, nor to-morrow, or yesterday is past; and no care shall be for many days. There shall be no spring nor summer, no winter nor autumn; nor marriage nor death; nor buying nor selling; nor setting or rising of the sun, for there shall be a long day."

This is a highly-figurative description of heaven upon earth, in the usual hyperbolic style of prophecy; but, it is evident, when stripped in part of its mystical character, that it describes such another state of things as we propose to establish by the adoption of the new system of society. This is the heathen millennium, as predicted by the Sibyls, or the Gentile prophetesses; and, to convince you of the reality and authenticity of these Oracles of the Sibyls, I may mention that the celebrated poet, Virgil, who lived before the time of Jesus

Christ, has embodied their predictions of a millennium in a beautiful Latin ode, addressed to Pollio, in which, in the most divine and inimitable language, he portrays a happier state of things, under the auspices of a prince to be born, by whose benign influence and incorruptible justice the golden age shall be restored to the world.

It is evident, from the writings of the Fathers, that they persisted in their attempt to keep up this, the true and only peaceful character of Christianity, for more than a hundred years after Christ's death. Justin Martyr, who lived in the second century, in his Apology for the Christians, makes this declaration to the heathen public, which he could not have presumed to do had it not been consistent with fact: "We," says he, "who loved nothing like our possessions (before conversion), now produce all we have in common, and spread our whole stock before our indigent brethren." Tertullian, who lived shortly after, uses language of a similar import, and brings additional testimony to the truth of our assertion, that original Christianity was a system of community, instituted by the immediate followers of Christ, upon the supposition that no other system could establish peace on earth and goodwill amongst men. The words of Tertullian are as follow:—"We Christians look upon ourselves as one body, informed, as it were, by one soul; and being thus incorporated by love, we never dispute what we are to bestow upon our own members. Accordingly, amongst us all things are in common, excepting our wives; in this alone we reject communion." And even this exception, in respect to matrimony, was not admitted by many.

Irenaeus, another father of the church, belonging to the same century, gives a similar testimony to the same doctrine of community. He says:—"That whereas the Jews consecrated only a tenth, they who live under the gospel give all to the Lord's use." And in another place, where he explains how Christ did not destroy the law, but fulfill it, he says; "that instead of tithes, Christ commanded that men should divide all they have amongst the poor."

Soon after the days of these worthy fathers, however, Christianity began to degenerate; the Christians departed from their first love. So that Cyprian, who was Tertullian's scholar,

a few years after, complaining of the corruptions which had crept into the church, draws the following comparison between the early Christians and the degenerate apostate Christians of his own day:—"The early Christians," he says, "sold their houses and lands; and in order to lay up treasures in heaven, offered the price to the apostles, to be distributed amongst the poor; but we now scarce give the tenth of our estates. And whereas our Lord has commanded us to sell, we rather buy and increase." This degeneracy continued rapidly to progress, so that in the following century we find Saint Jerome soothing his own conscience and the consciences of his fellow-Christians by a compromise of matters, making a bargain with God like Ananias and his wife, giving him a part, and keeping the remainder for private use. Hear the words of St. Jerome, a father of the fourth century. It is very evident that he is just beginning to turn bishop, if he has not been installed in a good fat benefice already. "What we have said of tithes and first-fruits," says this disciple of apostate Christianity, "which in ancient times were given by the people to the priests and Levites, must be understood of the Christian people, who are not only required to give tithes and first-fruits, but to sell all they have and give to the poor. If we are not willing to do this," continues this tithe proctor, "at least let us imitate the Jewish elements, by giving to the poor a part of the whole, and paying due honour to the priests and Levites."

To know what that new Christianity is which is brought to light by nature, when the new system of society makes its appearance, we have only to look into the New Testament. The morals of Jesus Christ are such as can only be kept in a community; the doctrines are such that they can only be resolvable by the supposition of a community. We are told, for instance, that there shall be one fold and one shepherd at the last; that is, that all mankind shall finally be collected into one great family, all linked together in the fellowship of the Spirit, and the communion of the Holy Ghost. To keep the Christian church in remembrance of this great and happy consummation, Jesus Christ ordained that his followers in all ages, until the millennium should come, should celebrate a feast, which is sometimes called the

Lord's Supper, and at other times the Holy Communion, or the Holy Community. This sacrament is not only instituted in remembrance of Christ's death, but is ordained as a type or figure of a happier state of things, which is to succeed when the millennium takes place; therefore, the Lord's Supper only continues to be celebrated until the millennium; for then, or during the millennium, the substance is realized, of which the Lord's Supper is merely a figure. At this Lord's Supper, rich and poor sit down at the same table, and partake of the same elements of bread and wine; and this act of eating and drinking from the same store is made use of by St. Paul to prove that the Christian church are all one body—possessed of one spirit: "For we being many," he says, "are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread." Such, then, is the character of the Holy Communion, or Lord's Supper, and such is its meaning; it is instituted as a type or figure of a real communion, which shall be established when Christianity is established anew in the new system. Jesus Christ knew, for he foretold, that it would not succeed in the first attempt; therefore he instituted this feast of the Holy Communion, to preserve in the church throughout all ages a model of what it would become when it was glorified; and in all ages this sacrament has been kept by the blind disciples of the first Messiah, who are entirely ignorant of its meaning.

In the Apostles' Creed, which is repeated so frequently in our churches, and which is committed to memory by all our Christian population, old and young, repeated millions of times every day by different individuals throughout Christendom, there is one article at least which will put them all to the test—whether they be true Christians or merely the disciples of Antichrist, and therefore impostors and infidels. "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic church, the communion of saints," &c. What is this communion or community of saints, which the Christians all profess to believe in, Greek, Roman, and Protestant, with all the subdivisions of Antichrist innumerable? The communion of saints is nothing more nor less than a community of goods. This Apostles' Creed is generally believed to have been composed by the apostles; but whoever composed it, it is certainly a very ancient piece of composition, and can be traced back to the earliest ages of the church. Now I have already demonstrated to you, by quotations from the fathers, that a community of goods was practised by the early Christians during the first and second centuries of Christianity, at which period this creed was in use, and therefore that this article of the Apostles' Creed can have no other meaning than a community of goods. It is needless for the clergy to evade this blow at their sincerity and their orthodoxy, by pretending that it refers to an inward communion of grace; this is merely throwing snuff in the people's eyes; the article refers particularly to a social communion, both externally and internally—both in respect to food and clothing, affection and opinion. But, even granting their own interpretation, they are still equally far from the truth. Where can we find such a thing as communion amongst Christians, either outwardly or inwardly? Nowhere; and the reason is obvious: the external and internal go hand-in-hand, and the only way to produce internal communion is to establish it upon the foundation of external community of property. Hence every Christian who repeats this creed, repeats it with a lie in his mouth; and this falsehood is in a more especial manner chargeable upon the priests, for they have the word entrusted to their care; they are the anointed interpreters of religion; they are paid for discovering the meaning of the Bible, and teaching the true doctrine of Christianity. They take the pay, and they greedily gape for more than they get, but instead of teaching the true Christianity to the people, they teach the false Christianity—the Christianity of Antichrist, of division. And whilst they hypocritically profess to believe in the doc-

trine of a community, they bitterly oppose its establishment, and blaspheme those who attempt to undeceive the people and carry them back to the original standard of Jesus Christ, and the creed of the apostles, "the communion of the saints."

Yet the Scriptures not only predict the corruptions which have already taken place in the religious world, but they also predict the general diffusion of the truth over all the earth, the spreading of the gospel among all nations, and the restoration of the golden age of paradise. The Oracles of the Sibyls predict the same; the oracles foretell that a time shall come when the earth shall be equal to all, not divided by walls and partitions; and when all men shall live in common, and their wealth shall be undivided. The clergy and the Christian world, building their faith upon those ancient oracles, indulge the hope that their doctrines shall be diffused over all the earth, and for that reason they are now sending Bibles and missionaries to every quarter of the world. But where can they find the promise that their doctrine shall be disseminated amongst all nations? they cannot find it in the Scriptures, for the only doctrine which is to spread is the gospel, and what is the gospel? it is glad tidings to the poor—it is the doctrine of the community of the saints—it is the doctrine of an equal distribution of property; but this is not the doctrine of the clergy; this is true Christianity, which is as much opposed to the doctrine of the Christian churches, as love is opposed to hatred, or unity to division.

Millions of money have been spent within these few years past by our Bible and Missionary Societies, to convert the heathen nations; but all their pecuniary efforts have proved unavailing. Their false gospel won't spread; they cannot keep it in growth at home, and it will not take root abroad. What other proof can we require that it is a false gospel? The true meaning of gospel is, "glad tidings," and these glad tidings were sent to the poor. Well, then, go and ask any poor man you meet in the street if he has heard any glad tidings of late, and where he has heard them; if he heard them in the church from the parson, or if the gospel of the clergy has proved of any advantage to him in alleviating his poverty. You will find no testimonial in favour of the clerical gospel from the poor, but you will hear incessant murmurs from all parts of Christendom, the voice of the poor man assailing heaven with everlasting complaints that the pretended ministers of Jesus Christ, the meek and the lowly Jesus, are now the most rapacious of tax-gatherers, are now in combination with kings, with lords, and with rich commons, to rob the poor man of the fruits of his industry, all under the hypocritical pretence of serving God and his dear Son, and supporting the cause of morality. How, then, can the clergy expect the gospel to spread? do they think that the heathen nations are such fools as to receive a snake into their bosoms? what would the poor savages gain by receiving the gospel? they would gain whole ship-loads of priests, who would establish an inquisition over their consciences, impose a tax upon their purses, and give them nothing in return but prayers, and sham community feasts—holy communions. Such a gospel as theirs can never spread; it is only the sword and gunpowder that can spread it; it has already done its utmost, and now it is fast on the decline. But the true gospel will spread, and spread like lightning: and this is the way in which it shall make its converts; it shall make them by myriads at a time: First, let true, original Christianity be established in England, let a community of saints be instituted, let an equal distribution of the produce of the earth be made, and this one kingdom of England be organized anew after the model of primitive Christianity. Then the whole world would be electrified immediately with the grandeur, the beauty, the benevolence, the happiness, of this new state of things, this second coming of the Messias. France would copy the model immediately, Germany would follow next, then Italy, Portugal; even the Russian Autocrat would tumble from his throne, and despotism would give up the ghost. America would catch the same disease; the Turk would abandon his bigotry and his exclusive creed; China would embrace the

new faith, and the whole world would speedily be christianized. This is the genuine model for a Bible and Missionary Society. If you want to spread the gospel, this is the plan; it is very simple and very easy, and will fulfil the words of Scripture respecting the second coming of Christ, which is compared to lightning: it will operate like a sudden flash of light to open the eyes of the whole world to the truth. It is also a very good plan for saving money, for it may be done without money and without price—which is one very good proof of its superior excellence.

I have now demonstrated to you, from the Scriptures, from the Christian Fathers, and from the Oracles of the Sibyls, that the millennium consists of a community of goods. I have demonstrated to you that Christianity was destined, according to the predictions of its founder and his apostles, to consist of two grand divisions, an evil and a good; that the evil was to last until the good is established at the millennium, that the first, or the evil, is called Antichrist, or false Christianity, and consists of a state of division, in which the pretended followers of Christ, with many professions of faith, exhibit an outward show of a religion which they call Christianity, but which bears no more resemblance to true Christianity than hatred to love, or disunion to union; and that a time is coming when this old imposture of the church is to be utterly destroyed, and a new system established upon the primitive principles of the Christian system. What is the inference from all this? the inference is, that the present teaching of the priests is a presumptuous falsehood—it is a daring imposture—it is the teaching of Antichrist, an insult to the name and character of Jesus Christ, and blasphemy against the Holy Ghost and the communion of the saints. It is in direct opposition to the creed which they profess, and which they teach their children at Sunday Schools; it is in direct opposition to the very blessing which the priest pronounces upon the people; it is in opposition to the spirit and meaning of the Holy Communion, or Lord's Supper. In fine, it is in opposition to the Bible, which the priests do not understand, and which I now challenge them and the whole Christian world to wield against me in any position which I have taken. The Bible is mine, I claim it as my own book; it supports me as the Lord supported Samson, through thick and thin. I understand it all from beginning to end; to me there is no mystery in it; it is full of splendid truth, most cheering, most ennobling; but it conveys no hope whatever to priests, and tithe-gatherers, and tyrants. Their days are all over; and the Bible being written for two worlds, now sets up the part which refers to the old, and opens the pages which are consecrated to the new, which pages were never read before. It will yet disclose new wonders to man, and fill books, pamphlets, and newspapers; kindle anew the fire of religious enthusiasm, stir up a new species of war, whose only weapons shall be the tongue and the printing-press; and engage all men in the great battle of Armageddon, the war of opinion, the battle of the Lord, which shall end in the establishment of the new world.

The Lecture being ended, Mr. Jago, from Ireland, executor and trustee of the late Mr. Thompson's property, came forward to state the condition of that estate with respect to the law-suit put in progress by the relatives of this late zealous and philanthropic co-operator. Mr. Jago said, the call of the trustees had been well responded to by the friends of the New System, and, in consequence, the proceedings were being carried on with the utmost vigour, and with every prospect of speedy success. He had every reason to think that, by November next, the trustees would remain in firm possession of property amounting to 15 or 16,000*l.*; an important sum, which had been intended by its late talented possessor, and which the trustees desired efficiently to carry out, to form arrangements for communities,—a plan which had been proved to be solid in its basis, scientific in superstructure, and which appeared every way calculated to regenerate the present wretched state of society.

Mr. Warden bore testimony to the zeal and ability of Mr. Jago in the present proceedings, in which he had even risked his life, while defending the property against an outrageous attack of the opposing party.

SWEET NONSENSE.

We now proceed to a kind of nonsense much more pleasant than either the costly or solemn, viz.—sweet nonsense, which is to be found in those works of fiction with which we are sorry to say the country abounds—by which our literature has been deluged—our taste violated—our imagination over-fed—and our intellect impoverished. As fictions are matters which never had an existence, upon them nothing can be built—from them nothing can be deduced—by them nothing can be forwarded—and through them nothing can be learnt. The only conceivable use of fiction, is the subordinate service of the illustration of truth, by which illustration truth is more firmly fixed in the mind. But still it is upon a knowledge of truth only that we can build—from a knowledge of truth only can we make deductions—by a knowledge of truth only can human happiness be forwarded—and through a knowledge of truth only that we can add to our information. To a thinking, practical, and inquiring mind, works of fiction are, therefore, nonsense; sweet nonsense, it is true, to hundreds of thousands of their devoted readers, but still nonsense; and, whatever admiration such works may excite by their beauty—or whatever sympathy they may awaken by their pathos—or whatever reverence they may impress by their sublimity—or whatever delight they may administer by their magnificence, or whatever respect they may create by their morals, as they are fictions of the fancy, and never were facts, they must by impartial and imperial reason, whatever dislike, clamour, abuse, or indignation may be excited amongst their numerous readers and infatuated admirers, be pronounced NONSENSE. It may seem singular and rude, amidst the great treat which a perusal of these clever works affords a reading public, to censure and condemn them; but, when the mischievous operation of such literary productions is clearly proved, it will then, we think, abundantly warrant the most complete exposure, and perfectly justify the most unequivocal condemnation. We are not speaking against the legitimate use of fiction, which is the illustration and service of truth; into which service it has been pressed in parables, fables, and allegories, through all ages with the greatest felicity, utility, and success; but we are speaking against works of fiction, whose object is not the establishment, discovery, or elucidation of truth, or the communication of instruction—works such as Sir Walter Scott's, which, though they are a mixture of truth and fiction; yet, as the fiction is the sphere for the talents of the author—and, as it is the fiction which invests them with their attractions to the reader, as their superior sale to works of history abundantly proves, they are properly called **WORKS OF FICTION**—and, from truth and fiction being mixed together in their composition, they being neither one thing nor another, become more complete nonsense altogether: they are works whose sole object is to gratify the reader, with the least trouble on his part—trouble being cordially bated by all readers who are seeking after gratification. Such productions we have pronounced to be sweet nonsense, and which symbolize themselves with the little book which St. John, in the extravagant imagery of Eastern poetry, is said, in the book of Revelations, to have eaten; and which was sweet in his mouth, but bitter in his interior; so this fascinating, beautiful, and embellished nonsense is sweet to the taste, but mischievous to the interests of men. What is their effect upon the intellect, which is not exercised at all in their perusal? As with the members of the body, so it is with the faculties of the mind, that if not exercised, they become diseased, weak, and wardish; so the intellect of all novel readers will be found stunted, dwarfish, debilitated, and indolent. Such persons cannot take the pains to

think, and are consequently disqualified from forming any sound or stable opinion upon any important public matters, which require public opinion for their adjustment. Science to such people as are devourers of "Waverley," "Rob Roy," the "Antiquary," "Ivanhoe," "Peveril of the Peak," the "Heart of Mid Lothian," the "Bride of Lammermoor," and others of the kind—Science, to whom humanity is under eternal obligation, is to them as dry as sea-biscuits; calculations are too laborious for their mental delicacy—and the causes of public evils, and consequently their cure, are buried too deep for their penetration. Like swallows they skim over the surface of every thing, and are always found to be profoundly superficial. Their soft intellect is easily cast in every mould which is presented; and they have not strength to resist in their own mind the popular opinion, run it in whatever course it may. Such persons have rarely any opinions of their own, and generally think by proxy; and while the intellect is thus so weak and so delicate, that fine faculty, the imagination, has become so stimulated with high-seasoned food, that the sober realities of every-day life, in which alone we can ordinarily act a useful part, are tame, insipid, and uninteresting. The readers of fiction generally reside in a world of their own: they suck honey from flowers of their own growing—feed on food of their own production—and groan under burdens of their own imposing. Such persons are excellent dupes for a dazzling aristocracy, and a designing priesthood. The imaginations of readers of works of fiction kindles at the artificial and unnatural grandeur of Kings and Queens, and Lords and Ladies, and does it delightful and undissembled homage; while superstitious, dark, mysterious, and imaginative, seizes on their ignorance and imbecility as her stronghold, makes her throne firm, binds them captives in her galling chains, and scourges them with her cruel rod. A republic to such persons is a vulgar level and flat thing; there would be no rank then in society up the steps of which their fancy could climb, and no pinnacle of monarchy upon which it could perch. A form of government without a throne or a crown, and a country without an aristocracy with titles, and stars and garters, and orders, could not regale their imagination, and would not therefore secure their support. Sir Walter Scott, the greatest writer of works of fiction which the world has seen, was a rank Tory. Though Tories generally both speak and write nonsense, few, if any, of that elevated, enlightened, and liberal fraternity, could pen such delicious and mischievous nonsense as the Mighty Magician of the North; the reading of whose very clever and beautiful works, places a man who wants food for the mind much in the situation of the soldiers of Napoleon, in the early part of the retreat from Moscow, when they had the richest silks, pelisses, and shawls, the most splendidly gilt china, and the most costly plate and paintings, but were destitute of provisions. There is no food for the mind in them; they are a species of literary man-millinery; in horticulture, they are a garden all flowers; and the once masculine character of our national literature has been very seriously injured by this effeminate species of writing, which can only proceed from the pens of she-men;* and, which if the public mind was in a high energetic and healthy tone, would have none but she-men and children for its readers. But it is lamentable to be obliged to acknowledge that it can boast its thousands, and tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands of male readers; and hence we have so many pigmies in understanding and giants in imagination; so many capitalists in ignorance, and paupers in knowledge—persons who know more about the fictitious exploits, sufferings, and enjoyments of Wa-

verley, than they do of the properties of the air in which they live, and move, and have their being—persons who know more of the imaginary Bride of Lammermoor, than they do of the properties of the fire by which they are constantly warmed, and without which they would freeze into rigid and cold statues. Readers of works of fiction cannot understand "the question of the present Currency," when it is agitated in Parliament; but, a few old, rusty coins of Julius Cæsar will excite great interest, and secure much attention amongst them. A new church, built in its interior so as to aid the sound of the minister's voice, and for the greatest convenience to the congregation, will not charm them half so much as an old, tottering church, covered with ivy and moss, supported in the inside with huge heavy pillars, which obstruct the sound, and containing the ashes of the dead, which, by making the place damp, cause the living frequently to catch cold. The farther off things are, the more they are affected by them; and black slaves abroad interest them more than white ones at home. The dead have generally more interest for them than the living—old things than new; and great actions rather than good ones; although good actions may be done every day, while the opportunities for great ones must of necessity be of rare occurrence.

Another mischievous result of this delicious nonsense is, that it nourishes a sickly sensibility, which repels the mind from real distress that requires substantial relief, to the fictitious which admits of meretricious embellishment, and diverts it from the suffering which has its seat in the appetites, to that which is identified with the passions. The imaginary sorrows of Werter, who is dead, (if ever he lived,) affect them more than the sufferings of the forty thousand operatives now living in Yorkshire and Lancashire, who had but 2½d. per day to live upon. Lank and lean poverty in crowded alleys and courts, abounding in scenes of living, crawling filth, meets with but very little attention and relief from novel readers. They must have something *interesting* in the objects of their benevolence; there must be a neat cottage—and a purling stream—and a woodbine round the door, or else their pity will not be moved, or their hand stretched forth; and God help all ill-favoured, uninteresting objects of compassion, if they are left to the sympathy of the readers of works of fiction! Sterne, who could feel very sensitively for asses, both living and dead, which we do not ridicule, let his own mother expire in the greatest poverty, when he had abundance of means to assist her.

But are not these writers of fiction very clever? Oh, yes, they are very clever, and so is the devil; and it is owing to their cleverness that so much mischief has been done. The fact of this mischief has been overlooked amidst the fascinations of fiction; and the poison of the serpent forgotten in the beauty of his scales. The only cure for this evil is by a system of education in childhood, which shall make knowledge, that *facts* only can supply, the great and only object of pursuit. Truth will then be placed upon the throne, and fiction at her footstool—judgment will be strong, and fancy weak—ignorance will be disreputable, and knowledge respectable, and our minds will be in as good a state of cultivation as our fields and gardens, which is lamentably not the case at present.

WISDOM.

Richmond-hill, August 18, 1833.

Those who are best acquainted with the human mind, know well that you cannot command it to believe even what you wish.

O God! exclaims the Persian poet Sadi, have pity on the wicked! for thou hast done every thing for the good, in having made them good.

* The writer, we hope, intends by this expression merely the vulgar acception, and not as derogatory to the fair sex.—ED.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Various communications are unavoidably left over for next week.

Correspondents are respectfully desired to condense their observations as much as possible, and keep to one subject at a time.

The Rationalists shall receive our best consideration and reply by next number.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPT. 28.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

Manchester, Sept. 26, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—Until within the last hour I intended to leave Manchester this evening, to arrive in the morning in Birmingham, to have spent to-morrow there, and on Saturday to have been again among you; but at this moment delegates are met from the lodges of almost if not all of the building branches, from all parts of the kingdom; they will continue their meeting to-morrow and the next day; and as measures of the very greatest importance to the welfare and well-doing of the productive classes will be involved in their proceedings; and as Messrs. Hansom, Welch, and myself have an influence with many of them, we deem it the highest duty we can perform to the country to remain to the conclusion of the business, to prevent, if we can, any erroneous steps being taken by this well-meaning, but hitherto much-oppressed class. We are extremely anxious that all the members of the Trades' Union should acquire higher principles, and a superior mode of conduct, previously to taking their own affairs into their own hands. Many of them yet have much to learn; and they have several deep-rooted prejudices to overcome; and they require much assistance to enable them to effect this change.

To bring matters to this point, incessant exertions have been required, and we have held private and public meetings of great interest in Manchester, Liverpool, and Preston; and it is delightful to perceive the growing correct knowledge which is rapidly spreading through these populous districts. To give you some idea of what is in progress in this way, I subjoin an extract of a letter which I received yesterday for the *Crisis*.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

Staffordshire, Potteries, Sept. 24, 1833.

SIR,—A grand point has been gained in this district by union. The people have at last discovered the great secret, that they are the real producers of wealth; most of the masters have had the good sense to meet the working classes half way, and there is little doubt but that the two parties will adjust amicably their differences. A deputation from the masters and one from the men are now meeting daily. The points decided, so far, are as follow:—

1st. Hours of working not before six in the morning, and not after six in the evening.

2d. No one to receive less than 5s. a day for his labour.

The Union are now (which shows the men have more regard for the masters than the latter have for the men) making a tariff of prices; they also

prohibit the sending any of the manufactures abroad on speculation—the produce must be limited to actual orders. The masters were at first highly indignant at this dictation from the mob—the rascally mob—who pay no taxes—who live at home at ease, and are never called on to fight the battles of the country, by sea or land! Ungrateful cubs! But, notwithstanding, for the sake of peace, the heaven-born doctrine of the wealthy, they submit.

There is no section of the country where the march of intellect is making more rapid strides than this, and I beg you will make public this first proof of the disposition and ability of the people to look after their own interests.

Yours, very truly, B. G.

In addition to this statement, I may add that Mr. Pare has just returned from a short tour in Yorkshire, and there the population is equally ripe for all the changes which are in contemplation for the emancipation of the productive classes. I hope you proceed satisfactorily in all your measures, and especially that harmony is maintained in your committee.

Your friend, R. OWEN.

In another page we have given an abstract of a Lecture of our liberal and enlightened friend, Mr. Saull. Mr. Saull is an enthusiastic student of the new science of geology—a science which of late years has been making rapid advancement towards a degree of demonstration equally satisfactory with that of the mathematical sciences themselves. Nothing, certainly, can present such a rude, misshapen, and apparently unsystematic mass, as the crust of the earth; and a few ages past it would have been deemed a hopeless and a visionary task so to dispose the rubbish of rock, sand, and vegetable soil, which constitute the elements of its composition, as to exhibit the appearance of regular organization, and form the basis of a science whose conclusions are demonstrative. Yet this result has been, in a great measure, obtained; and the celerity of movement, which is one of the happy peculiarities of the new science, encourages the hope that many more important discoveries may be made. Mr. Saull has employed his geological learning to the noblest endeavours—the improvement of the soil, the amelioration of the political condition of his species, and the eradication of error and superstition from the mind. In this Lecture, however, he chiefly confines himself to an analogical view of the progressive advancement of Nature—from the lowest grade of vegetable existence, to man, the last and best of Nature's productions. The process is clearly discernible, in the successive layers or strata, which contain, as they rise in the scale of deposition, more and more perfect species of organization. Hence, by analogy, he progresses onward to the doctrine of human perfectibility, and the splendid prospects which are now opening to posterity; delightful prospects, indeed! only very tantalizing if we do not ourselves enjoy them. The analogy of Nature we consider as a science, for it is based upon the supposition that harmony, unity, and uniformity prevail throughout the universe. Without

these, Nature would be a heap of confusion; with these, analogy *must* be a science; and therefore it is our duty to search for its elementary principles. In doing so, however, we beg leave rather to differ from Mr. Saull in one or two of his analogical inferences, although in respect to the general conclusions—viz. the comparative perfectibility of man, and the gradual development of Nature's organizing power, we perfectly agree with him. Our friend has an unconquerable tendency—whether from philanthropy or misanthropy, gravity or jocularity, it is hard to tell—to trace the genealogy of his own species up to the monkey tribe; and he calls in the aid of analogy to assist him in his genealogical investigations. To us it certainly matters not now whether we were originally baboons, or savages of human shape divine; and we have no objection to concede to the simian tribes the cheering prospects of one day rising to the enjoyment of intellectual and scientific powers, provided we ourselves have retired from the stage; but we think it meet that all conjectural and analogical opinions should rest upon a good, solid foundation of facts. Now it happens that there are no facts to be found in support of Mr. Saull's simian hypothesis. All animals, all vegetables, preserve their distinctive character for ever. There is no evidence to prove that one ever merges into another; that the bramble ever becomes a thorn, or the thorn an ash, or the ash an oak-tree; each plant and each animal seems to be an original. The species are, no doubt, infinitely diversified; but, amid all their modification, they preserve their specific character; if not, comparative anatomy, to which geology is so much indebted, would be of no use; it could not class the different fossil remains, and determine to which class they belong; there would be such a gradual merging of one species into another, that no line of distinction could be drawn. Man, it is allowed, is of recent origin; and it is also evident that he has come suddenly into existence; and this suddenness of his appearance is rather a formidable argument against the supposition that Nature gradually converts one genus of animals into another—an oyster into a lobster; a lobster into a seal; a seal into a dog; and a dog into a monkey, &c. In fine, there is nothing more evident than this, that each animal is an original formation of Nature, and that man is the last. Certainly, as Mr. Saull very justly observes, this originated in circumstances over which they had no control; but these circumstances have been uncommonly wise and intelligent circumstances; they have bestowed their greatest perfection of body where they have bestowed the greatest perfection of mind. The beauty of the human frame is not more pre-eminent than the versatility of its corporeal faculties—the hands, the feet, the organs of speech, the erect position, are all in perfect harmony with the intellectual supremacy of man. Circumstances have never yet bestowed an intellectual brain on an animal with hoofs like a horse, or trotters like a sheep. But why should they not have done so? We are,

willing to learn, and should like to hear such queries answered; but at present it is our firm persuasion that the simian hypothesis is contrary to analogy, and therefore we are sorry that Mr. Saull should so far depart from the principles of the science which he professes as even to give a hint of it. Still, however, the hint is useful—it calls forth discussion; and we hope our friend will not take offence at the exercise of our editorial privilege, in making this analogical critique upon his scientific opinions, seeing we do it out of due respect to his talents, his information, and his philanthropy.

LECTURE OF MR. W. D. SAULL IN BRISTOL.

FRIENDS.—All of you must be aware of the peculiar difficulty in which I feel myself involved, in consequence of not being previously acquainted with the aggregate amount of information of mind which exists in the present assembly, that is, with reference to the evidence which scientific inquiry imparts; nevertheless, as I conclude that all present are decided reformers, as well as myself, I trust that none will find any difficulty in agreeing in the general and leading principles on which I shall found my arguments, and the reasoning deduced therefrom.

As a reformer, then, I shall advocate and elucidate the most enlarged views which scientific inquiries enable us to advance, and apply the reason founded thereon to the present situation of all our brethren of the human family, with a view to annihilate from amongst men the present extreme amount of ignorance, poverty, and consequent crime and misery, now prevalent in all countries, and in none more than in Great Britain and its dependencies, and more particularly in that portion of it called Ireland. (Cheers.)

I shall prove that mankind, since their existence on this planet, which has been but a short time comparatively, have hitherto been grossly misled by their blind guides or teachers, and that we are only just now beginning to shake off our infantine leading strings, and that, when we have fairly thrown off their trammels, our natures and teachers will be completely discarded, thrown off also, as being worse than useless—absolutely mischievous. And why? Because, from the long experience of the progress of mankind, not one of their systems is found adequate to produce sound morality, social happiness, or political elevation; on the contrary, they have all invariably tended to uphold the powers of the ruling few, at the expense of the welfare and happiness of the oppressed and deeply-injured many. But these results must follow consecutively, when men are taught and impressed with systems of religion, which are nothing but phantasies of the fever-excited brains of the various religious enthusiasts, and promulgated by them in periods of profound ignorance, and perpetuated by others from the same series of causes, tending to the same end. What, then, is the course we should pursue, to counteract these direful effects? Examine the facts only that the extended universe presents to our view: to these evidences, as immutable truths, we must refer; and, the moment we begin to inquire or examine, we find that no one system of belief hitherto taught by man is in unison with these great truths; but is directly opposed to and entirely at variance with them. My plan, then, will be to induce you to study the operations of nature, and then particularly the nature and progression of the mind of man, which you will find progresses in perfect analogy and keeping with all other gradual operations in nature around him. With a view to induce you to reflect attentively upon these subjects in the retirement of your own homes, I shall place before you the facts we have discovered from the examination of our planet,

the earth. I say the retirement of your own homes, because I wish you to weigh and thoroughly examine the principles on which I arrive at such conclusions; and I now stand before you merely to demonstrate, and, according to the weight of the evidence, so you will receive or reject my conclusions. Philosophic reasoners never dogmatise or enforce opinion or belief. They leave that mode of procedure to those not so well grounded as themselves, and of whom many make too lucrative a trade of it ever to relinquish the practice. We, the advocates of truth only, are in that respect disinterested.

In examining the various strata or layers of the earth, from the original crust of it to the granitic or lowest formation, we discover a series of deposits, at immense distances of time between them, even before we come to a stratum in which any thing having life appears; after which, first budding as it were, we find a regular advancement in the production of animal and vegetable life; and when we arrive at the great coal-fields of this country, a close examination of our coal discloses it to be entirely formed of vegetables and trees, which could only flourish in the very hottest climates; and again through several formations, until we come to a stratum very abundant in this neighbourhood, called the lias, and in which we first discern the fossil remains of a very large species of crocodile, some of which would reach to the enormous length of eighty feet; also the nautilus, which is now found living in the Pacific Ocean and the Southern Seas. Then we pass on to what we term the Oolite, abounding in corals of the ocean. Yes, my friends, we are fully convinced, that in this country the corals grew and flourished equally as prolific as they do now in the tropical parts of our globe, and consequently the same circumstances must have operated here as there to produce them, namely, shallow salt water and a very hot climate combined. Perhaps I should only weary you if I were to enumerate the various depositions in the ascending series; but I cannot avoid noticing that in some of the more modern strata we have, in this country, and also in what is called the Paris Basin, a regular alternation of marine and fresh-water deposits, identified clearly by the shells, &c., peculiar to each. During all this time we discover no hot-blooded animals; but afterwards we find abundance in this country, and others much farther north. The bones and tusks of the fossil elephant, which, by the teeth or grinders, and bones, we know was at least twice the size of the largest elephant of the present day; also bones of immense rhinoceroses, buffaloes, hyenas, bears, deer, hippopotami, &c. These have all passed away; and subsequent to this era, and never identical with them, that most singular of animals, "man," appears, emerging or advancing, perhaps, from some of the simian, the ape or monkey tribe, educed by circumstances over which neither they nor he could have the least control. However, whether or not this description be correct, I think we are warranted by analogy in drawing such conclusions; and the fact that our species are the last animals that came on our planet, is decidedly the opinion of the most profound geologists. What a fine enlarged field to reason upon do these facts expand to our view! In the order of progression, view our ancestors, naked savages, rather more crafty than the brute beasts that surrounded them, and snatching occasionally their prey to satisfy their own hunger; often conquering them in the struggle, but occasionally conquered by them, until, by the use of clubs, or other rude weapons, they would be enabled to maintain an ascendancy over them.

As this subject has been treated by the late Sir Humphrey Davy in language superior to mine, I hope to be excused if I here substitute his sentiments rather than my own. After describing the original crystalline rocks, of which the ribs, as it were, of our planet, are composed, and the pro-

cess of disintegration, &c., to which I have previously alluded, he refers to the small and minute organizations, which gradually advance in regular series, till at last, within a few thousand years, man appears! Then suppose a country covered with forests, abounding in marshes, wild animals grazing in large savannahs, and carnivorous beasts, such as lions and tigers, occasionally disturbing and destroying them. Man appeared as a naked savage, feeding upon wild fruits, or devouring shell-fish, or fighting with clubs for the remains of a whale which had been thrown upon the shore. After satisfying the cravings of nature, he retired for shelter in a cave of the earth, or climbed up to rest in some tall tree. In the next epoch, imagine a country, partly wild and partly cultivated, when men were covered with the skins of animals, and secured their cattle in enclosed pastures. Some were employed in tilling and reaping corn, and others were making it into bread. Huts and cottages were erected for shelter, and some were furnished with the more rude and humble conveniences of life. We now observe them escaped from a state of infancy; but they owed their career of improvement to the influence of a few superior minds amongst them: one taught them to build cottages, another to domesticate cattle, and another to collect and sow corn and seeds of fruits. He thus proceeds, step by step as it were, describing inventions and improvements, until he comes to the modern period, when the steam-engine, and its various applications to the use of man, with many other inventions, are beautifully and eloquently expatiated upon, and the future happiness of our species from these data clearly pointed out. The whole of this description is exceedingly interesting, but our time will not permit of my quoting more. We will now, with your leave, draw some conclusions from these statements.

From the gradual progress in nature towards perfection, which in my geological remarks I consider to be fully established, it follows that our species, as a part and parcel of that nature, should advance also; and so they would if the nature and constitution of the mind of man had been understood by our teachers; but instead of their endeavours being directed to study and investigate first principles, they seem to be anxious more to lead the minds of the people astray from the examination of the truth of their premises; so that taking as a groundwork some of the innumerable imaginings of barbarous, untrained men, they successfully force them into the mind of youth, in the very first days of infancy. Hence that ignorance, hence that prostitution, which renders their poor deluded victims the mere tools and supporters of any system of belief which these crafty men choose to impress upon them.

While these practices continue, and while we pay those the most money who continue to propagate them, we may look in vain for any great advance in moral or social improvement. We must turn teachers ourselves of our children, even at the very earliest period that their minds are susceptible of impressions, and see that no impressions are made but in accordance with known facts, correcting any little aberration that may manifest itself in consequence of a peculiar or original conformation, and soon shall we discover the important truth, that it is just as easy to form the good, benevolent, and best character, as it is by neglect to allow the formation of the wicked, vicious, or abandoned character.

I hope these hints and explanations may not be lost, but be attentively considered by the mothers of families; for to the other sex I most particularly address these remarks, and I observe with great pleasure that some of them are present. I could also have wished that some of the numerous clergy of this large city had been present this evening to have heard my statements, and to have refuted them if it had been in their power.

As I strongly feel the vast importance of this

subject, that of early training, I again refer to it, by stating that there is no difficulty whatever in the advance of mind when once set right. Accustom ourselves to reason at all our intervals of leisure—and every man, and every woman too, has some portion of time which they can devote to it—and when we fully exercise our reason upon all we see and hear, then that enlarged picture of the general happiness of the whole human family, on which I delight to dwell, will be realised to the fullest extent which the most ardent lover of his species can desire to contemplate. With this consciousness of what man is capable of, I am fully and entirely convinced that this period in human affairs must come; and you will, I am sure, cordially join me in my most earnest wish—it may come quickly!

Perhaps some of you may consider that my warmth of feeling has led me over the bounds of sober description. I do admit that I feel keenly, and express myself with rather more animation than present circumstances would appear to warrant; for now, citizens of Bristol, to you I speak. The aggregate mass of your brethren here are so ill-informed, that they know not how to enjoy freedom and liberty, and the proof of it is as clear as the sun at noon-day; for had the minds of the people been prepared a short time since, when only a few of the trammels were removed, you would not have had the afflicting prospect you now behold, namely, that of seeing part of your beautiful city in ashes! But let us not despair or be cast down, my friends, at this lamentable ebullition of popular feeling; take courage, and fulfil the course now before you; *nil desperandum*—“never despair,” is my motto; and we may rest assured, that when people know how to respect themselves, they cannot fail but to respect the persons and also the property of others.

This brings me to another portion of my subject, namely, the increase and preservation of property. In this respect I am at least a Conservative. I would say, carefully preserve and liberally diffuse its manifold advantages. I beg I may not be misunderstood. I mean, that all those who, from circumstances, have become possessed of the largest share of property, should be the most active and energetic in disseminating sound information, and in forming plans for the solid comfort and advantage of all those who may require it within the sphere of their influence, so that the best food, comfortable clothing, and habitations, may at least be enjoyed by every human being that is brought into existence; and I do assert, that it reflects indelible disgrace upon those who are now at the head of our governments, that at this very time, when our productive powers as a nation are immense, indeed beyond the facilities of consumption, that, notwithstanding these astounding facts, yet taken in the aggregate, poverty, destitution, distress, and crime continue to exist in these countries in a degree hitherto unparalleled. And yet not one of these unfavourable circumstances would remain, if these restrictions on the free interchange of productions between one country and another were entirely removed; (and most disgraceful it is, to what is miscalled civilised society, that they do exist;) for we know well that on a very large portion of our planet, so favourable is the climate, that the luxuries and necessities of life are produced in such abundance, with the least possible exertion, that let our species multiply as fast as they may, there never could be a period when subsistence was wanting for them. I admit that, with reference to a given locality or country, such might be the case; but never in the aggregate, or when the general productive powers of each division of country are taken into consideration. Now apply this reasoning to our own times, and you will require no arguments of mine to convince you that this very country ought to be the storehouse of the productions of the whole globe. Smiling plenty should be in every artisan's house, and in every agriculturist's cottage, as the just and proper reward of their attention and

great exertions; and such it unquestionably will be, when the nature of the productive powers of the earth, which I have endeavoured to elucidate, are clearly understood by our population.

We now all admit that things cannot and ought not to remain as they are; how, then, are these beneficial changes to be brought about? By parliament, of course, some will say: yes, when you have a parliament with a much higher degree of information, than at present exists amongst them: for, as I am acquainted with several of the most influential men in that assembly, and some of them every reformer must respect for the consistency of their principles, and the manner in which they have fulfilled their duties, yet I am compelled to admit that, whilst one has sectarian notions, another selfish feelings to gratify, others of them are afraid to speak boldly their sentiments or opinions. Such being the case, I, for one, do not expect in that assembly, as at present constituted, that such enlarged and comprehensive measures as would lay the foundation, as it were, for universal happiness to be realised and enjoyed by all our brethren who are competent to appreciate it, could be adopted or carried into effect, when I know that their minds are not capable of grasping a subject fraught with such important results. Why do I so conclude? Because, as I have before stated, both they and ourselves are brought up with individual or selfish notions, which too much, in our progress through life, hang about us, and oppress us like an incubus, and which nothing can remove but the knowledge of those natural principles, and their results, which I have now endeavoured to lay before you.

Who, then, should be your legislators or governors? The answer is plain: the best-informed amongst us; the men with cultivated and expanded minds; those who, in their every-day practice and intercourse with their brethren, combine the exalted character of the true philanthropist with the benignity of philosophy. Men possessing these high qualifications should be diligently sought for, and when found, no matter in what station of society they may have moved, should be sent to the national assembly to legislate for the general good; and if their circumstances in life preclude them from devoting their time exclusively to the public welfare, why, pay them, as is the practice in America, and used to be the custom in this country; and if this practice were again revived, you would have honest, responsible legislators. But really what practice can excite greater disgust than our present wretched system, under which a candidate is expected to spend his money profusely, and encourage drinking, noise, and nonsense, to brutalise the senseless, gaping crowd by whom he is surrounded? Have they any right to expect honest and conscientious representatives, when the conduct of the elective body has been so cruelly unjust to them? Assuredly not; and my wonder is, that we find so many good men amongst them. No, my friends, the man to whom you should confide the advocacy of your rights, ought not to be allowed to expend one penny of his own property, neither ought he to be required to go through the degrading practice of canvassing, which I will contend degrades equally those who solicit and those who are solicited. I would, you perceive, have the whole system changed; also the term. It should be henceforth *bond fide* selection, in lieu of election.

Such also should be the case with regard to our magistrates, who being a body of men charged with the exercise of the most important functions, in particular, ought to be selected in consequence of their high intellectual attainments and approved qualifications. This, indeed, is a “consummation devoutly to be wished;” and I am misinformed, if you do not all here acutely feel the necessity of this great and beneficial change.

You see, my friends, that I strongly advocate the spirit of republican institutions, or governors and magistrates chosen by the people themselves, under which, I firmly believe, the progress of things to that state which I have so long dwelt upon would gradually but rapidly advance. (Cheers.) All this you will be pleased to observe is in perfect accordance with natural principles—

all our scientific knowledge is in unison with them. Whether we reason on one abstractedly, or all the sciences in combination, we find they universally harmonize with their general principles, and mark distinctly the progress of mind and intelligence.

I am sure you will exult with me (because it is a first step in advance from the old practice) at the independent manner in which juries have done their duty on some recent occasions; and we may be assured that, if we so proceed, that state of things which we are contemplating as at a considerable distance, is even near to be realized; nay, it is almost within our grasp. To accomplish this, all we have to do is steadily to fulfil our various duties, and set the example to our countrymen to proceed in the same course.

There is an old adage, so pertinent to the subject, that I cannot with propriety omit quoting it here: it is “*vox populi, vox Dei*,” that is, the voice of a people is as powerful as that of a God, and we have no reason to doubt but the time is fast approaching when it will be equally powerful. I call upon you all, therefore, to fearlessly do your duty.

I fear I have wearied your patience with my very long address (No, no), and I shall now close my remarks by merely referring in detail to the facts I have, I think, satisfactorily proved, namely,

That the facts ascertained in the contemplation of the material universe show a combination of order, harmony, and beauty, increasing in a constantly accelerated ratio.

That our species, as a part of that material universe, would advance in perfect analogy with all nature, and more particularly as man is endowed with faculties superior to any other animal, and which only require a proper direction to be given at first to produce the most glorious results—is fine, the universal happiness of the great human family.

In conclusion, I have to state, should any of yourselves or your friends visit the metropolis, I shall be most happy to show and explain the contents of my museum of geology to you or to them; in other words, to open the great book of nature to your view. I thank you all for the attention which you have given to my discourse, and I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you next year on my usual visits to these parts. My explanations and views are now before you, and I am convinced that you will deem them of sufficient interest to reflect deeply and seriously upon them; and I hope, when next we meet, it will be with more cheering prospects before us than those we have in our view at the present time. Farewell.

After the lecture, which occupied two hours in the delivery, Mr. Saull stated that, as he visited Bristol periodically, he should, from the interest that was then felt, and the attention which had been paid him on this occasion, feel it to be his duty to repeat his addresses on those occasions.

In token of the respect for the zeal and talent displayed by Mr. Saull, as also for his steady and uncompromising conduct, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

Moved by Mr. Smith, and seconded by Mr. Holbrook:—Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting are pre-eminently due, and are hereby given, to W. D. Saull, Esq., for his valuable services in the cause of reason, truth, and virtue; as also for the honest and efficient manner in which he has exposed error, falsehood, and vice; and this meeting beg also respectfully to tender that gentleman their best thanks for the valuable boon conferred upon society by his throwing open his valuable and extensive museum for the inspection of the public, thereby powerfully contributing to destroy those foolish and silly conjectures which men too often entertain without an inquiry or investigation; as also their best acknowledgments for his kindness on this occasion; assuring him that it is their ardent hope he may still live not only to fulfil his promise of coming again amongst them, but of

seeing his efforts crowned with success in the destruction of error, ignorance, and every other cause tending to degrade, enslave, or impoverish their fellow-men.

LABOUR EXCHANGE AND CO-OPERATIVE TOUR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

Wakefield, Yorkshire, Sept. 21, 1833.

SIR,—Having a few hours to spare here, I know not how a portion of them can be better spent than in communicating, through your medium, intelligence which cannot fail to be interesting to all those who, like myself, are engaged in forwarding the great work of Equitable Labour Exchange, as the means of realizing the still more splendid visions, if you will, of Robert Owen.

My circular letter to the Co-operative Societies and others, (respecting the late W. Thompson's will,) bearing date the 30th of August, and a copy of which was inserted in the *Crisis* of the 14th inst., having been answered with a promptitude and in a manner which far exceeded my expectations, I immediately determined to perform my promise, viz., to proceed immediately to Ireland, and see that every thing which is possible be done to insure the success of our cause. Having communicated my intention to the Managers and Council of the Birmingham Branch Exchange, and suggested to them the probability of being able to make my journey productive to the interests of that establishment, and of extending its principles more widely, they gladly availed themselves of my offer, and it was mutually agreed that, on my route, I should make a sort of flying visit to as many of the manufacturing Co-operative Societies and Trades' Unions in Yorkshire and Lancashire as time would permit; to ascertain how far they were able and willing to second the exertions now making by London and Birmingham to bring the Labour Exchange into full and complete operation.

I had at first intended to go through Foleshill, Leicester, Loughborough, Nottingham, and Derby, on my road to Sheffield, and to deliver lectures in each of those places; but some unavoidable delays in getting together pattern cards, &c., of the commodities which we can now supply, in exchange for those of other towns, obliged me to leave those places until my return from Ireland, when, I trust, I shall be enabled to give them much additional and valuable information.

I left Birmingham on Tuesday morning last, for Sheffield, in which place I arrived the same evening. At the inn where I was stopping (the Tontine), I happened to meet with the Master Cutler of Sheffield, whom, from his conversation, I took to be a kind and humane man towards the humbler classes of society; but who, like most men who have not studied the science of circumstances, was loud in his complaints of the working people, for their want of care and improvidence. I also fell in with the Secretary of the Council of the Board of Trade, who is now on a tour through the manufacturing districts, at the instance of Government, to inquire into the state of trade, the condition of the working men, &c., &c. What a pity (to use the mildest term) it is, that when Government institutes important inquiries of this nature, they do not give instructions to examine all parties, where more than one are concerned. By not doing this in the present instance, I am fearful that any thing but the real truth will be arrived at. I asked this gentleman from the Board of Trade what was the result of his inquiries in Sheffield? to which he replied, that he found trade was in a flourishing condition, and that, in fact, there was nothing to be complained of, but the vexatious annoyance and opposition which the manufacturers met with from the Trades' Unions. I remarked, that the men were not probably receiving adequate wages. He assured me, however, that such was not the case, for there

were great numbers of them who, with the assistance of a boy, could earn their 4l. per week. I said no more, but determined to inquire for myself. Before I parted with the Secretary, however, who treated me in the most courteous manner, I took the liberty of presenting him with the second number of *The Pioneer*, and *Trades' Union Magazine*, in which I informed him he would find a little useful information as regarded the views and objects of some portion of the Trades' Unions, which, in my opinion, were highly commendable. I trust that, after attentively perusing this little pamphlet himself, he will lay it before the Secretary of State, by way of a set-off to the deceptions memorial recently presented to his lordship from the master-manufacturers of Yorkshire. The result of my inquiries as to the wages of the workmen in Sheffield, which I made separately of a manufacturer, a merchant, and an operative, was, that although it was true that some among one portion of the men (grinders) could earn their four or five pounds per week, it was by no means general, and that the average earnings of the whole of this best-paid class of operatives would not amount to more than 28s. or 30s. per week! But, Sir, even supposing they all obtained so much as 4l. each per week, it must be remembered that a grinder is obliged to possess a very expensive assortment of tools, and that the occupation is of that unhealthy nature, that the average duration of life among them does not exceed 35 years! When these two things are taken into consideration, it cannot be said that the grinders are at all better paid than the general mass of the workmen. An attentive observer need only walk through the back streets, courts, and alleys of Sheffield, and wend his way through the mazes of what is called the Park, to assure himself of the poverty and misery in which the ingenious artisans of this place are doomed to exist. True it is, as was observed by the Master Cutler to the Secretary of the Board of Trade in my hearing, they are addicted to many vicious habits, and are in many cases exceedingly improvident; but then, whose fault is this? The Master Cutler said it was their own fault. I say, it is the fault of the Government, or society, whose duty and highest interest it is to form arrangements for well-educating the people.

BARNESLEY.—I left Sheffield for Barnesley on Wednesday evening, where I arrived about eight o'clock, and was not long before I found a good co-operator, in the person of Mr. George Brown, agent to the First Society. He accompanied me to the West End Society, and we soon collected together about a dozen of the leading men among the Co-operatives and Trades' Unions, with whom I had some most interesting conversation. We did not part till midnight, when it was arranged that a public meeting should be held in the Theatre on the following evening, to hear a lecture from me on the subject of Trades' Unions and Labour Exchanges. Although the announcement was only made a few hours previous to the time of meeting, there was a very crowded, though exceedingly attentive auditory. The intelligence I was enabled to give them was received with the most enthusiastic applause. At the conclusion of the lecture, the leaders of the various Trades' Lodges and Co-operative Societies flocked round me, eager to enter into the details of the system of labour exchange, the broad principles and operations of which I had already laid before them. Unwilling that so favourable an opportunity should be lost, I retired with about thirty of them to a room at the inn, where I was replying to numerous important and interesting interrogations on the subject for nearly two hours. Before I left them, they stated to me their entire satisfaction with all I had advanced, and their full determination to set about in right earnest to establish a Branch Exchange in Barnesley, upon a secure basis. Arrangements were entered into that same night to call together delegates from the

various Lodges on the following Monday, to enter into formal resolutions upon the subject, and to commence subscriptions for shares, and, from what I learned before I left the place, I am warranted in stating that in the course of a few months several hundreds of pounds will be advanced for the purpose of establishing an Exchange, and carrying on the manufacture of linens, &c., by the operatives.

ARDESLEY.—On Friday evening I lectured in the Sunday School-room of the village of Ardesley, about three miles from Barnesley, on the Doncaster road. There is a very thriving co-operative society here, whose store is superintended by a family of very intelligent and well-disposed individuals, of the name of Abbott, with whom I spent several very happy hours. My lecture was listened to with great attention by the villagers, and I was exceedingly pleased to find that a great portion of my auditors were agricultural labourers, with whom I had afterwards some familiar conversation, and was surprised and gratified to find that the subject matter of my lecture was understood by them to a degree I had little anticipated from men in their unfavourable circumstances. The time is drawing near—nay even now is, when it will be necessary for us to go among this neglected portion of our population, and preach to them the words of truth. We must set about forming "Agricultural Unions" among the small tenantry and labourers; and then the difficulties in the way of obtaining provisions for our "Labour Exchanges" will be at an end. I trust that this subject will attract the attention of some of your intelligent correspondents, who will devise some plan to carry the scheme into immediate execution.—I am, &c.,

WILLIAM PARE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I beg leave through your columns to call the attention of the friends to the Labour Exchange, and the co-operative world generally, to one of its most interesting and important departments, which, in my opinion, has not received that support which its intrinsic excellence so deservedly entitles it to. I allude to the department of the Industrious Females. Sir, to me it appears that, among the great benefits to be obtained by the successfully carrying out of this vast engine, the means that it offers to females to elevate themselves in the scale of society stands forth pre-eminent. The operatives of the needle, it must be admitted, are of the greatest importance. And every generous mind must be pained to reflect on the hard lot of those females, who are doomed to waste the spring-time of their days in those pandemoniums—the fashionable millinery establishments of London. The heartless exactions on the time, health, and, in many cases, future happiness of these victims to our aristocracy of fashion, need not be enumerated by me; they are too well known, and assist to make up the great catalogue of injuries that the industrious population of this country endure at the hands of the non-producers. Now, Sir, I think that means should be taken to make our fair country-women acquainted with the facilities offered by the Exchange for the beneficial employment of their labour. I am sure, if the arrangements of our co-operative females were properly disseminated, hundreds and thousands would come forward and join in the "holy warfare." I will, Sir, with your permission, renew the subject on some future occasion, and endeavour to devise some plan for awakening the dormant feelings of parents to the evils of the present means of employing those whose health and happiness must ever be of importance to the human race. I regret our Missionary Society have suspended their operations; here would be a subject well worthy all their energies and talent.

John Street, Sept. 25.

W. PEELE

Poet's Corner.

Long have I loved what I behold,
The night that calms, the day that cheers:
The common growth of mother earth
Suffices me—her tears, her mirth,
Her humblest mirth and tears.
The dragon's wing, the magic ring,
I shall not covet for my dower,
If I along that lowly way
With sympathetic heart may stray,
And with a soul of power.
These given, what more need I desire
To stir—to soothe—or elevate?
What nobler marvels than the mind
May in life's daily prospect find,
May find or there create?

Wordsworth.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

MR. EDITOR,—Allow me to insert a few words, in answer to a complaint which has been made by a reader of the *Crisis*—viz. that I have accused infidelity of want of system. He refers me to Mirabeau's "System of Nature," which he calls perfect. But Mirabeau has scarcely handled the subject of revelation at all. By system, I mean a *positive attack upon what is called revelation, to prove that it is inconsistent with nature*. Paine has attempted this, and he calls this attempt "The Age of Reason." The Age of Absurdity would have been as suitable a title; for he goes upon the supposition that God is a distinct being from Nature, and not the author of good and evil. This error in the premises throws all his reasoning into chaotic confusion. Mirabeau is a much sounder philosopher—a very good natural philosopher; but his system might be called "Mirabeau's System of Dead Nature," for he deprives nature of intelligence as a whole; consequently can perceive no system in the progressive tuition of her human family. With him it is chance; he has made Nature as God is represented to have first made man, perfect outwardly—all the material organization complete; but the breath of life, or intelligence, is wanting. I am perfectly willing to take Mirabeau's dead Nature for a foundation; but I will breathe into her nostrils the breath of life, and make a living soul of her; and this I do by analyzing religions, and demonstrating that they are a grand revelation of nature in a mystery; and by thus systematizing religion, which the French philosopher could not do, I bring to life and conscious intelligence the dead god of the atheists. I do not call Mirabeau's system a system of infidelity; it is only a defective system of nature, which wants a little breath to give it life. There are very few positive systems of infidelity in existence. There are many negative; but a negative system, that is, a mere denial, is no system at all.

J. E. SMITH.

BIRMINGHAM BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Our last report was on the 28th of August, and to the readers of the *Crisis* we refer them to the one dated 31st August. Have the goodness to insert this statement, for the purpose of information to the co-operative world, by which they will see that we are going on very steadily, and surely, and all this operation under very disadvantageous circumstances, inasmuch as we are not at present

in a condition to open a provision and raw material store, to enable the poor industrious classes of this town to increase their deposits in the ratio that could be wished. But they are uniting their exertions for their individual and mutual benefit; by raising a cash-fund of £600, and upwards; and we doubt not but that capital will be realized in a few weeks, when we shall be placed in such a position as to insure success in that department.

We intend to send up, on or before October 7, Birmingham warrants to a considerable amount, to be ready for the Congress at the National Equitable Labour Exchange, and we hope we shall be able to exchange all our goods for the productions of other manufacturers, which will be collected in that grand mart.

Mr. Part, of Birmingham, the warm advocate and friend of this new and glorious system, is on a journey to effect exchanges; and we calculate much from his known experience, energies, and talent; and we have good reason to believe, that the results of the Equitable Labour Exchange will be permanent and satisfactory to all parties.

I am, dear Sir, for the Birmingham Branch of the National Equitable Labour Exchange,
CHARLES WEST, Secretary.
Birmingham, September 23, 1833.

STATEMENT

From the 26th August to the 21st Sept.	
Exch.—goods	Dep.—goods
Delivd. 36,185h. 2s.	Recevd. 45,084h. 6s.
EXPENDITURE.	
Petty Cash 7 6 8	Cash for Com. 85 7 4
Salaries 45 10 0	Dep. Tickets 14 9 0
Rent 2 16 0	
Aug. 12 to Sep. 21: Add. fixtures and other improvements made in the Exchange 30 14 6	
86 7 2	

Profits on provisions exchanged for all Labour Notes, 242 hours; in value, 23/ 11s.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

WEEKLY REPORT—ENDING SEPT. 28.	
Exchanges 8,179h. 1s.	Deposits, excl.
Charges 2 12 4s. 8d.	of Provis. 11,664h. 4s.
Rent 15 0 0	Commission £30 16s. 11d.
Wages 21 5 0	Profit on Provisions 21 0 7
48 7 9	Rent Sub. 4 1 11
	Do. of Tenement 2 10 0
	Received for lectures 9 12 9
	Do. Festival 13 3 4
	71 5 6
	48 9 8
	Profit for the Week 22 15 10

Excess of Deposits 3,485h. 3s.
E. ALGER, Auditor.
Charlotte-street, September 30, 1833.

CO-OPERATIVE AND TRADES' UNION CONGRESS.—Pursuant to resolutions unanimously passed at the last Co-operative Congress, held at Huddersfield in April last, I am instructed to acquaint the whole of the Co-operative and Trades' Unions in the Kingdom, that the next Congress, to be called the Co-operative and Trades' Union Congress, will be held in London, at the National Equitable Labour Exchange, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, on Monday, the 7th of October next.

W. R. WOOD.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH SOCIAL, and 2nd GRAND CONGRESS, FESTIVAL of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, No. 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, on Monday, October 7th. The Delegates to Congress, from the Co-operative Societies and Labour Exchanges of all parts of the Country, will be present. Mr. Owen, who has been for a considerable time in the Provinces, will address the Assembly. The extended Musical Department will be under the very efficient direction of Messrs. Collins and Stevens, and the Dancing under that of Mr. Coleman, of the King's Theatre. In the course of the Evening the whole Company will take Tea and Coffee together.

Tickets, including Tea, &c., 1s. Cash and 1 hour Labour Note each Person, to be had of the Committee and at the Institution.

24 Pages for Twopence!!!

This Day is published, No. 9 of
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VOLNEY'S RUINS OF EMPIRES and the LAW OF NATURE, in Weekly Numbers, price Twopence. The work to comprise two Copper plate Engravings, and to be completed in 14 Numbers.

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THE ADDRESS OF ROBERT OWEN, delivered at the Great Public Meeting, held at the National Equitable Labour Exchange, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, on May 1, 1833, denouncing the Old System of the World, and announcing the commencement of the New.—Price Twopence.

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This Day is published, No. 4; (and to be continued Weekly,) of

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LECTURES, &c., NEXT WEEK.

Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

Sunday morning, at 11, by the Rev. J. E. Smith, and evening, at 7, by Mr. Owen.

Sunday afternoon, at 3, the members of the Social Community will take tea together.

Mr. Detrosier will lecture on Tuesday evening and on every Tuesday till further notice.

Wednesday evening, at half-past 7, public discussion of the Social Community.

Thursday evening, the Trades' Delegates.

Friday afternoon, at 4, the Ladies' Association.

TO OUR LONDON READERS AND THE TRADE.

The PIONEER may in future be had at the Crisis Office. Nos. 1 to 4 are now ready.

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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—OWEN.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 6.

Mr. Smith lectured on the subject of "REVELATION." After some prefatory observations, he proceeded as follows:—

But now I shall proceed to inquire whether or not there is such a thing as revelation, and what use ought to be made of it. I have already told you that I know that there is such a thing, but I cannot convey that species of knowledge to you; I can only argue with you from certain known and established facts, as well as from the analogy of nature. Revelation is not unnatural, nor out of the ordinary course of nature. It is a thing of everyday occurrence; but there are times and seasons when it acts with greater effect than at other times. It is a very common thing to define revelation as a supernatural communication made to man, by the eye or the ear, or by inward impulse; but this is an absurd definition, and only followed by the vulgar crowd of believers, or those who think as superficially as the vulgar. A better definition of revelation is contained in the following words—viz., an extraordinary and involuntary communication of knowledge, ideas, and impressions, by an unknown and inconceivable power. Of this, there is an infinite variety of kinds: there are religious visions and communications; there are the visions of men and women, who are mentally diseased; and there are the visions of those who are labouring under severe bodily ailment. But the common opinion, that fear is the productive cause of most of these visionary appearances, is a very erroneous notion, as I seldom read of, or met with any of those individuals who experienced any sort of alarm when they were under the influence of these impressions. Superstition has made such an abusive handle of many of those curious natural phenomena, that now a person is apt to be treated with ridicule if he merely assert the reality of the effects produced. This ridicule, however, arises from a total ignorance of facts and of human nature. There is nothing which depends upon human testimony more clearly ascertained than this, that the human eye is sometimes deceived by spectral illusions, which present so vividly the appearance of realities that they can only be dis-

tinguished from realities by the suddenness of their appearance and departure. Many thousands of these are upon record, and though there possibly is a great deal of exaggeration and imposition in this department of science, as well as in every other, so that it is impossible for us on all occasions to separate the true from the false, yet there can be no doubt as to the general fact. Nor are these phenomena less frequent now than formerly. This very year, the celebrated Dr. Brewster, editor of "Brewster's Encyclopædia," has published, in his work on "Natural Magic," an account of several very remarkable spectral illusions, witnessed by a friend of his, who was entirely free from superstitious fears, and attributed them entirely to a diseased state of the digestive organs. Dr. Abercrombie, in his "Inquiry respecting the Intellectual Powers," mentions the case of a patient of his who was liable to uneasy sensations in his head. One day, sitting alone in his dining-room, he saw distinctly a female figure enter, wrapped in a mantle, with the face concealed by a large black bonnet. She seemed to advance a few steps towards him, and then stop. He had a full conviction at the time that the figure was an illusion of vision, and he amused himself for some time by watching it, at the same time observing that he could see through the figure, so as to perceive the lock of the door. This, however, and the instance recorded by Dr. Brewster, are merely ocular illusions, or what are generally called amongst religious people, open visions, and the sphere of their operations is confined entirely to the eye; we shall, therefore, now go a little further, by giving an authenticated case of a more complicated nature, in which both the eye and the ear were affected. This is the case of Nicolai, a celebrated continental philosopher, which is recorded by Nicolai himself, and quoted by Dr. Hibbert in his learned work on the Philosophy of Apparitions. Nicolai was bodily indisposed during the time when he was annoyed with these visionary appearances; he had a complaint in his digestive organs; and by bleeding and other medical remedies he removed the spectres, along with the disease. These spectres he describes at great length; they appeared during the day and during the night, when at home and when abroad; but less frequently when from home, or in the house of a friend.

When he attempted to remove them by shutting his eyes, he sometimes succeeded, and sometimes not; this satisfied him that the image was upon the retina of the eye, or in the mind, of which indeed he did not require any proof; these spectres were very numerous; they appeared moving to and fro as if in a market-place; they very seldom looked to him, but they did sometimes, and several of them conversed with him, some in short, some in long consolatory addresses, and their addresses were very instrumental in alleviating the severity of his illness. These spectres consisted of friends who were alive, of strangers, and acquaintances who were long ago dead; and as they disappeared by the virtue of medical treatment, they sometimes became white and vanished gradually, at other times they broke into fragments and disappeared piecemeal.

I have quoted the above cases merely because they have been acknowledged by medical men and men of science to be well-authenticated instances, not that they appear to me to be more credible than a hundred others which I might have adduced. But the general fact itself is now never disputed by scientific men, only they are yet so full of bigotry that they reject, as false and pretended, all those which are not experienced by the rich and the learned, or by humble medical patients, who willingly submit to be bled, blistered, or purged, according to the prescriptions of the druggists. If an obstinate fanatic happen to witness any of these spectral illusions, and hear the conversations of these aerial phantoms, he must either submit to the medical treatment, and receive credit for all that he has seen when the drugs have dispersed the ghosts and put an end to their speechifying, or he is reviled as an impostor, a liar, and every thing that is base and discreditable, and no account is taken of all his mental experience. The reason of this is obvious; as soon as men begin to inquire patiently into the case of the individual, as a physician into the symptoms of a disease, they find it to be a reality; but, without inquiry, they merely follow the suggestions of an uncharitable mind; and as imposture is the easiest way of accounting for the whole matter, it is adopted immediately, and the whole matter is settled. Dr. Hibbert gives an ingenious explanation of these spectral illu-

sions, although it by no means satisfies as to the cause. He says that, as both the real images of visible objects and the imaginations in the mind are painted on the retina of the eye, it follows that, in certain cases of bodily indisposition, when the images of real objects are weakened, the images of imaginary objects become more distinct, and assume the appearance of realities. This theory is ingenious, but very imperfect; besides, it is contrary to fact; for, according to this, all persons of weak vision would be subject to these ocular illusions, and during the night they would be common to all; but this is not the case; and the learned faculty must also consider that, although they are in the habit of describing and believing the cases of those who submit to be bled and blistered, and treated as patients, there are innumerable others, who are subject to these visitations, who scorn their drugs, their leeches, and their leeches, whose eyes are as clear as a hawk's, whose appetites are keen, and whose stomachs are powerful of digestion.

Having now brought forward these facts, which are merely specimens of well-known phenomena of frequent occurrence, we now proceed to make an application of them to the subject in hand. We have seen that the eye is frequently deceived by spectral illusions, and that the ear is visited in a similar manner; that these spectral illusions are distinct, well-formed, coloured delineations of Nature; and that the sounds consist of regularly-connected ideas, expressed in intelligible language, as in the case of Nicolai. It is curious that many individuals, who admit the truth of these impressions upon the eye, give no credit to those upon the ear; but common sense may teach any man, that what Nature does with one of the senses, she can and will do with all the rest. It is, therefore, a departure from principle, to admit the fact in respect to one sense, and deny it of any of the five. What, then, follows from these premises? It follows that the visions and revelations of prophets and prophetesses are quite in accordance with the common operations of Nature, and are facts of daily occurrence; that it is a departure from all the sound principles of philosophy, and matter of fact, and charity, and good feeling, to ascribe to any other cause than actual experience the visions and revelations of the prophets.

We extract the following analysis of religions:

Religions divide themselves into two sorts, just as Nature itself is divided—namely, matter and mind. The Jews worshipped a God invisible and spiritual; the Gentile nations worshipped material gods. This teaches us this general fact, that both matter and mind are God. The Jews have always preserved their spiritual faith—the Gentiles always their idolatrous faith; for, no sooner did the Gentiles receive Christianity from the Jews, than they worshipped the man God, Jesus Christ, the idol or image of God, as well as hosts of saints and martyrs. But it is curious enough to observe that the Jewish church, with its spiritual God, was the most material of all churches; its doctrines had no spirituality in them, and its laws related entirely to houses and lands, killing of sheep and oxen, candlesticks, suuffers, and all such trumpery; the Christian or Gentile church, on the contrary, with its material God, is the very contrary of the Jewish in materiality of doctrine; it goes to the very opposite extreme, and buries its head in the clouds of mysticism and spirituality. From this general fact we may learn that matter and mind are inseparable; that matter cannot do without mind, nor mind without matter. These two churches represent the two sexes; the Jewish church is the male, because it impregnates the other; and the Gentile church is the female, because it receives the seed of the word from the other, and brings forth Nature's two sons, evil and good. Hence the bridegroom is said to come from the Jewish church, and the bride from the Gentile. These two churches represent Nature,

mind and matter, father and mother. The one is the church of Abraham, the father church; the other is the mother church. Hence some of the early fathers represent the Holy Ghost as female—the father representing the male nature, the Holy Ghost the female nature: the son is the offspring of both. From these two churches, according to the analogy of Nature, two sons ought to come forth, to represent Nature's two offsprings, evil and good. The first is evil, and must be a wild man, and live by the sword. This is Mahomet and his church; but his church must be a son and not a daughter, hence it follows the footsteps of its father, the Jewish church, and becomes entirely spiritual in its creed; it revived the doctrine of God's unity and spirituality, and preserves it sacred to this day. Besides, it revived the practice of circumcision, and many outward observances; besides, it took possession of its father's land, which it holds to this day, and will hold till the millennium begins. This church of Mahometanism is the first-born church; this is Ishmael: but there is another to come, and that is the new world, the son of the promise; and the distinctive character of this church must be that it is both spiritual and material; that it regards all nature as God; not merely spirit, like the Jews and Mahometans; not merely a part of matter, like the Christians; but the whole of matter and mind: it embraces all things. It is neither the man without the woman, nor the woman without the man, but the man and the woman united—it is male and female. Thus you see that the analogy of nature discovers to you the reason why there are three great churches in the old world of progress, and why another church must make its appearance. People are in the habit of abusing Mahomet as an impostor, a liar, a blasphemer, and so forth. They might just as well keep all this invective to themselves: they know not what they are railing at. Mahomet was an excellent character; his morals are admirable, and his liberality is greater than that of the Christians themselves; for whilst the Christians were persecuting the Mahometans and each other, Mahomet enacted laws of toleration in their favour; and these laws have been followed much more strictly by his disciples, than the laws of Christ by his followers. Mahomet was no impostor, for his church is necessary to complete the system of the education and history of man; without that church, the whole system would be imperfect, and another church besides that would be equally destructive of the systematic arrangement. It did not come there by chance; it rose by a decree of Nature, like the moon herself, which it represents. It is the church of the moon. It carries the crescent on its banners, and measures its year by the lunar revolutions; but the rays of the moon are a feeble accession to the nocturnal darkness, more light is yet required; but the sun of righteousness is now arising upon the long-oppressed and afflicted world, with healing under his wings. This is merely a general outline of the systematic arrangement of the three great religious establishments of the old world of progress. The first is the spiritual Jewish church; the second is the grand Polytheistic material Gentile church; the third is the first-born of the two preceding, and the second-born is to come. The first-born is called Esau, and the second-born Jacob, by the prophet Esdras; hence he says, "Esau is the end of the old world, and Jacob is the beginning of the new."

SUNDAY EVENING.

Mr. Owen lectured.

The intelligent and well-disposed have now discovered that the old system of society has not been framed for their advantage,—that the producers have been despised and ill-treated by those who do not produce any thing of real value. The productive and useful classes have at length determined that this state of things shall continue no longer—that truth and justice shall at length take the place of error and injustice, and so-

ciety be organized anew, upon a principle of order, which shall embrace all, and confer upon each individual the benefits of human industry. I have just returned from visiting some of the most populous parts of the country, and there the greatest excitement prevails in respect to the present crisis of affairs; but it is not the excitement of the old world—not the excitement of anger and ill-will; it is a high moral excitement of sober, industrious, and intelligent men, who, indignant at the injustice of the present arrangements of political society, are determined to assert the just and natural rights of those to whom society is indebted for all its comforts and all its enjoyments. I left you with a view of attending certain meetings that were taking place in Birmingham, Manchester, Preston, &c., preparatory to other and more important meetings. After that, a large meeting at Manchester, of delegates from the builders of all parts of the country. This meeting continued its deliberations for a week; a larger number came, on account of the information which was conveyed to the different lodges, that our new plans of society would be submitted to them for consideration. Many of them were quite novices in the new doctrine. The assembly might be said to consist of three classes—1st. of those who were entirely unacquainted with the new doctrine;—2d. of those who were partially instructed in its principles;—and 3d. of those who were comparatively well-informed; and it was most gratifying to find that the most intelligent and well-informed exercised the greatest influence upon the deliberations of the Council. Such was the influence which the true principles of society exercise, and such the conviction of the evil of the present arrangements, and such the resolution to employ every energy they possessed to work out their own deliverance, that we may indulge the hope that, within six months, the working classes of these kingdoms shall distinctly understand their own real interests, and follow the intelligent and well-disposed amongst themselves, who are now beginning to take the lead, and point the way to complete deliverance.

I now give you a short outline of the great changes which are in contemplation, and which shall come suddenly upon society, like a thief in the night, for not one in a hundred of our population has the least idea of what is approaching. This change is to be accomplished not by violence, bloodshed, or any species of injustice; even the higher classes, whose pre-eminence is the cause of the present degradation of the people, will be treated with kindness, for we know them to be the creatures of circumstances, and this knowledge will teach us the duty of lenity and charity, and the least possible injury will be done to them. It is intended that national arrangements shall be formed to include all the working classes in the great organization, and that each department shall become acquainted with what is going on in other departments; that all individual competition is to cease; that all manufactures are to be carried on by national companies. We have long since discovered that as long as master contends with master, no improvement, either for man or master, will be possible; there is no other alternative, therefore, but national companies for every trade. This national organization will be accomplished by simplification and combination: we shall retain all the advantages of division of labour and union. All trades shall first form associations of lodges, to consist of a convenient number for carrying on the business; these lodges shall be called parochial lodges; all individuals of the specific craft shall become members, and these shall include all producers of wealth, or whatever contributes to knowledge or happiness. These parochial lodges shall meet weekly; they shall also select delegates to form county lodges, to meet monthly, and these again shall select delegates to form provincial lodges, amounting to perhaps ten in number for Great Britain. These shall super-

intend the trade of the provinces, and send delegates to the grand national congress, which shall, probably, meet in London. This is the outline for individual trades—they shall be arranged in companies or families; thus all those trades which relate to clothing, shall form a company, such as tailors, shoe-makers, hatters, milliners, and haberdashers; and all the different manufactures shall be arranged in a similar way. Communications shall pass from the various departments to the grand national establishment in London. No secrets shall be kept from public knowledge; every information respecting costs and profit shall be freely communicated, and this shall be done by a gazette, which shall, probably, go by the name of the Gazette of the Grand National Union of the Productive Classes; this Gazette will go into the hands of every member.

Mr. Owen then read several extracts from the last number of the *Pioneer*, and made several observations illustrative of the subjects, and also in commendation of the talent and spirit of the publication. He also gave an outline of some of the arrangements made by the working men for the regulation of wages and labour, to which many of the masters have subscribed; we have given a report of these in a former number of the *Crisis*. He then observed that the time was now coming, when it would be accounted disgraceful not to belong to one or other of the productive classes, that it will be the highest ambition of the rising generation to produce something which shall be useful to society, and that none but fools could ever be so hardy as to contend against a change so favourable to the interests of mankind. When we examine into the real state of things, we discover that the real amount of manual labour is a mere bagatelle, compared to the productive powers of society. If these powers were employed, there is no assignable limits to the production of wealth; and nothing but ignorance on the part of our governors could ever have prevented the producers from enjoying every species of comfort. But we no longer look to governors for relief, we look to ourselves; but let us not be unjust towards those who have been trained to idleness, and even to the injury of society. Their feelings, however, cannot but be at first deeply affected, to know that by one grand act of the million whom they have enslaved, all their slaves and all their servants have been instantly withdrawn from them, that their children can no longer look for support from idleness, but must become both physical and mental producers. Picture to yourselves the state they will be in, but do not deride them; give them courage and confidence, and say, "You have been in circumstances to deprive us of all, and you have deprived us and spoiled us; but we shall not retaliate upon you, for whilst we emancipate ourselves from your yoke, we generously share our fortune with you, and confer our own rights and privileges upon you. You have tyrannized over us with the wealth of Mexico and Peru; we have discovered a much better mine than either, which shall put an end to tyranny. You have been masters and we servants; henceforth there shall be no more masters, no more servants; but all your wants and all your wishes shall be supplied more abundantly than they could have been under the old system."

I would recommend all people who have children, to put them to some productive trade—trades and manufactures will become in more esteem than ever. The sciences render manual labour less necessary, but manual labour being the only means of support for working men, these sciences have hitherto caused great distress; they have now sunk men to the starving point for some years past. Many individuals throughout the country have been working hard from morning till night, starving gradually, and dying for want of nourishment. It is impossible that manual labour can ever compete with science; even now great inventions are lying dormant, withheld by the inventors from pure commiseration of the

wretchedness of the working men; but as soon as this great change is effected, these inventions will be brought into action; and it is incalculable what an amount of benefit this will bring to the physical and mental condition of society.

Mr. Owen then named four children, whose parents desired to have them brought up in the principles of the Social System; and he remarked how easy a matter it was to give a name to a child without a farthing of expense; he hoped the day would soon come when marriages and burials should be equally inexpensive.

At the conclusion, Mr. Warden read a letter from Mr. Pate, dated Dublin, wherein he stated some successes which had attended the proceedings of the trustees of the late Mr. Thompson's property, in regard to the law-suit instituted against them; a business which we understand is likely to be brought to a satisfactory conclusion by next month.

"MOTHER CHURCH."

The old lady's reputation, or attractions, are surely much on the wane; contrast her present with her former position in society, and let even her most ardent admirers deny the fact if they can.

In former days, when in the bloom and freshness of youth, when her purity was more apparent than at present, or when she had sufficient plausibility to conceal any deviation from the strict path of virtue, she had merely to express her wishes, and splendid palaces arose for her accommodation in every direction; her admirers and devotees, always choosing the most delightful or imposing spot that could be found, either on the bank of some delightful stream, which wound its way through a fertile country, abounding with every luxury the heart could wish for; retired, that her devotions and privacy should not be interrupted; or in the most prominent situations in cities, where stupendous erections claimed admiration for her wealth and dread for her power; her "cloud-capp'd towers," rearing their haughty heads where none but the feathered race dared to venture, overshadowing the puny homes of her humble and wondering neighbours. This was when the old lady was in her prime, and had, by her blandishments, taken possession of the purses of her followers, through their eyes and ears, by her splendid processions, gorgeous decorations, ravishing music, and promises of future bliss; and happy was he who was received into the bosom of the holy mother. Then, Grecian Helen-like, she could set whole nations in battle array against each other, and have her cause advocated by the choicest blood and treasure of her devotees; while she plumed her tresses, and most condescendingly smiled her gracious notice upon her crippled supporters, who had lost health and fortune in her cause, as a full recompense for all their dangers and wounds. Oh! these were the glorious days of the old lady—when she led whom she willed in leading or apron-strings, cozening the old to bequeath her their wealth, and flattering, with her notice, the bold and daring into defenders of her purity and virtue.

But, alas! all things terrestrial are doomed to decay; even the old lady, notwithstanding her reputed celestial origin, has for some time past exhibited outward and visible signs of her inward and spiritual decay; these symptoms continue rapidly to increase, and it will require all the skill of the learned physicians in her establishment to keep her together for many years longer. As the rolling seasons passed over her, avarice, the attendant vice of old age, increased upon her; the old dame,

finding her charms declining, and that her attractions ceased to fill her coffers as formerly, lived for some time upon her former reputation; but finding this also becoming a very frail support, she had recourse to solicitations. Oh, sad! that such attractions should need such aid! the treasures thus acquired were dispensed in part among the most eloquent of her followers, for the purpose of praising her decayed beauty, and inviting contributions for the maintenance of her former grandeur and dignity. At last her deformity began to be so apparent, that her public flatterers and parasites required enormous stipends for the arduous task they had to fulfil in bolstering up her time-worn ravages; this occasioned such ceaseless acts of rapacity from the old lady, that her most ardent followers are gradually forsaking her; her palaces in the cities and country are falling into decay; the people are beginning to call upon her to refund part of her ill-gotten wealth, which had been wrested from the fruits of their industry, and to demand that she shall, for the future, keep her splendid palaces in repair from her own resources; declaring, further, that they will no longer support her in magnificence and idleness. She threatens them with her power; but the poor old creature is so tottering, that it is evident, if she were to attempt to strike, she would bite the dust. In one of her western palaces* last week, as also in one of her metropolitan† a day or two since, grants were refused to her household for repairs; and, in the former place, a scene of uproar and confusion took place, which was most scandalous to the reputation of her house.

C.

* In Bath Abbey Church, last week, the inhabitants refused to grant a church-rate; an adjournment took place; and on the adjourned meeting, "confusion worse confounded" was the order of the day, by the destruction of forms, benches, &c.

† On Tuesday a church-rate for white-washing the church and repairing the iron railing of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, was refused by a very large majority.

"SOUR GRAPES."—Perhaps there is no propensity of the human mind more truly beneficial in averting, or at least softening, the ills of life, than that which leads us to slight and undervalue those blessings which are absolutely and positively beyond our reach. An old tradition gives a curious instance of this spirit, as follows:—When Noah had snugly secured himself in his ark, and the rain had commenced pouring down in right earnest, a reprobate who had long had his own sport with the aforesaid ungainly building, now finding the joke rather against him and the water above his knees, walked up and desired to treat for a "chance in." Noah informed him, with the politeness of a diplomatist, but the decision of a general, that his proposition or his person was utterly inadmissible. A second trial was attended with the same success. At last, our graceless wight, finding the water washing his shoulders, and that there was no further time for mincing matters, waded again up to the ark, and humbly entreated an admission. But Noah was still inexorable, and it was plainly a gone case. Turning, therefore, on his heel, with all the disdain and indignation so natural to a man in his awkward predicament, "Go to hell with your ark," says our hero; "I don't believe there's going to be much of a shower."

NOTICES.

In consequence of the highly important business which attends the meetings of the Co-operative Congress, and which must needs be inserted at some length in the Crisis, a double number will be requisite next week, which we would not impose either upon our readers or ourselves, except upon a compulsory moral obligation like the present.

V. C. L.'s valuable statistical essay in our next; when also the answers to Mr. Austin's letter shall be noticed.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCT. 12.

THIS week the Congress of Delegates from the various co-operative societies throughout the country has met, but, as we go to press early in the week, we have not been able to report their proceedings. One of the principal subjects which are under discussion by the members of Congress, is the plan of a grand national organization of all the working men in the country; an idea of which may be collected from our report of Mr. Owen's lecture on Sunday evening. This is one of the most formidable signs of the times, and seems to threaten, and that in a very short time, a total revolution in the outward frame of society. Nothing can resist the determination of the productive classes, provided they are well organized, and have sufficient generalship to manage their own affairs without division or party spirit. We hope that experience of the past, and that knowledge of human nature, which is easily picked up even by a very cursory and superficial view of the general structure of society, will dictate such sound and precautionary measures, as shall secure their union as a body, for a very short time is required. Their deliverance is the work of a few months; one year may disorganize the whole fabric of the old world, and transfer by a sudden spring the whole political government of the country from the master to the servant. This would be in reality turning the world upside down; that is to say, provided it is at present standing in the right position upon its legs; but we consider that it has been standing upside down all along, and that it merely requires an exchange of place between the head and lower extremities to set it right. Men have really been amused and wheedled, from time immemorial, by political rulers, with the names of liberty and popular governments, whilst they have been literally degraded by the vilest servitude; there never has been a popular form of government in existence; all governments, by whatsoever names they are designated in history, are nothing else but so many different species of tyrannies; they are all monarchies; and the world is now divided into an innumerable variety of these royalties, from the titled monarch that sits upon a throne, and ridiculously styles all his fellow-countrymen his subjects, to the common housewife who tyrannizes at home, and issues her imperious orders to her own household. Between these two extremes there are innumerable

shades and degrees of lordly domination exercised by one human being over others, all acquired by the accidental circumstance of the one party being possessed of a greater proportion of the thing called money—a mere trinket, a bit of yellow dirt, as Burns very appropriately calls it, brought from the mines of Mexico and Peru, and conveying to those who are so lucky as to gain possession of its person, the power of rendering themselves comfortable at the expense of the liberty and happiness of others. Well has our esteemed father observed, in his last Sunday's lecture, that the working men have now discovered a more valuable mine than those of the transatlantic world—the mine of labour and productive industry, a mine which is inexhaustible; from which the more you draw, the more rich and valuable the remainder becomes. Let the productive classes determine to work this mine for themselves, and the brilliancy of gold and silver will speedily be eclipsed, their influence destroyed, and tyranny, their offspring and invariable attendant, will die along with them.

On Monday evening we had a very splendid assemblage of friends at the Festival. The place was crowded, and mirth and social feeling seemed to prevail in every corner of our large premises. We had a very pleasing variety of amusements. Mr. Owen addressed the assembly; and young Collins astonished his audience by an exhibition of his extraordinary performances upon the violin.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR.—In offering a few remarks on the subject of Fables and Allegories, I would not wish to undervalue the ingenious productions of Concordia and other correspondents in the Crisis, but I would appeal to their enlightened minds, whether, in attempting to communicate a certain species of knowledge, it be not judicious to select the best means of attaining the end in view.

We have arrived at a period in human history when all disguise is becoming useless, if not pernicious; and the sober intellects of the class with whom we have to deal may be safely trusted with the view of truth without a veil.

In the early ages and primitive states of society, allegory was very prevalent, and even the indigenous Americans of the present age convey their thoughts frequently in that guise. This however arises, not from the wish to hide the subject of their thoughts, but from their being surrounded by objects calculated to generate poetical ideas, and to illustrate them. In the present factitious state of society, called civilized, the allegorical mode is not adapted to the supply of our intellectual wants, scarcely even in its highest reach—true poetry. For, at the best, allegory and fable are only poetry in a prose form; but poetry has greatly the advantage, in the music of the rhythm, harmonized by an opposite and peculiar combination of the ideas. In fine, if images be truly poetical, we have only to see them in both forms to be convinced which would be most effectual to find their way to the heart. I subjoin you a selection for your Post's Corner;* and if your amiable and ingenious correspondent, Concorin, will convert it into prose, its diminished effect will be obvious.

But that allegory is not calculated to become a vehicle for truth, the Christian dispensation furnishes most ample proofs; for there is hardly a prose book in the world more replete with poetical images and fable than the Bible; and is there another book to be found from which such innumerable and opposite opinions and conclusions have been drawn? The al-

most countless sects of Jews and Christians which that book has produced, furnish an unanswerable commentary on the use of parables and prophecies;—every one has been able to frame such doctrines, and to draw such conclusions, as the particular bent of his fancy and the education he had received rendered congenial to his mind.

The two simple and beautiful precepts 'Love one another,' and 'Do as you would be done unto,' these—these alone, in the chaos of contending dogmas, have been either disregarded, or held impossible to be fulfilled: And the proof of this is, in the unparalleled cruelties and destruction of human beings perpetrated in every age where Christianity has prevailed. How is it then that, with two such sublime maxims, their influence should appear to operate upon a number, in all ages so small as to render it obvious, that their actions were prompted by the natural kindness of their dispositions, rather than the influence of religion? For, had Christianity been adapted to the wants of the human race, a great majority ought to have been influenced by, and able to act up to, its highly-vaulted divine precepts. The reason, then, why men have not been able to 'love one another,' and 'Do as they would be done unto,' is, because they have never been taught so to do. And the great Teacher, with all his parables and sermons, while he commanded that 'men should love their neighbours as themselves,' has nowhere given that saving knowledge by which they may be placed in those circumstances that shall cause and enable them to act up to those precepts. A stronger proof cannot be offered to show how powerless, tropes and figures, and allegories are to lead mankind into the paths of truth and happiness.

But this is not all. Any religion is either a real and proper motive to action, or it is not. If it be a motive, its force and efficacy—or if the phrase of the religionists be used,—its *Divine power*, is shown by its effects upon the majority of persons exposed to its influence. It must also be remembered that the priesthood of every religion have exercised, from time immemorial, the most unbounded sway. It has commenced with the infant from the womb, and has continued without remission, till consigned to the womb of the earth! Never, while life and capability lasted, has the gripe upon the poor victim been relaxed. Have human beings never had their misgivings as to the result of this enormous exercise of power? With such a training as religions have had at their command, men ought to have been transformed into angels; instead of which, innocent and lovely infants have been reared up into devils—such as religion had previously portrayed. But religionists in all ages have been conscious of the inefficacy of their motives to produce good effects, and therefore it is that they invented certain dogmas by which to account for their failure. They never suspected that ignorance of themselves and of poor human nature was the true source of all the mischief and misery inflicted upon themselves and their fellow-creatures. No! the fiat has gone forth, that man is conceived in sin, brought forth in iniquity, and ever inculpable, of himself, of thinking one good thought!

After this sweeping denunciation of the human race—trained upon such dreadful tenets as these—can we be surprised that human beings have become depraved, and that the earth has been glutted with crime and misery?

But the teachers have always taught, that man cannot be saved from sin and misery but by the grace of God! And this, according to their own creeds, never comes but to the elect—that is, themselves, and the little circles whom they teach;—not, these small circles (as if the elect could not be too few) are taught to be so uncharitable as to deny it to one another! They declare, that narrow is the way, and strait the path that leads to heaven; and broad the road that leads to hell, &c. One of the deplorable effects of these dogmas has been the generation of an inordinate vanity. While denouncing the rest of the world, and despising themselves, they have risen in their own estimation in the ratio of their depravity. They take a delight in exhibiting their scars, and sores, and ulcers, and filthiness; and these

* Not in the present number.

they consider as reasons for peculiar favours to be bestowed on them. They bring down their deity from the regions of glory and bliss, to partake of their degradation, and to die an ignominious death, not in behalf of the whole human race, whose condition is the same with their own, but for the little knot of which they form a part—they, the 'salt of the earth!' Can poor human vanity soar higher than this? Can insanity itself exhibit a more pitiable result? The present and past condition of the world is a running commentary upon these deplorable fantasies of the human imagination!

In the 19th century, that is, after some thousand years of human sufferings, a few enlightened beings have at last, somehow, in the revolutions of nature, become emancipated from the thralldom of these degrading tenets. By dint of inquiry and reflection, they have discovered the undeniable and truly useful truth, that themselves and their fellow-creatures are only what their forefathers, and the circumstances that preceded them, have made them to become. The knowledge of this simple, self-evident truth, is to them like the sun in the firmament; it enlightens every step of their path, and promises the real salvation of the human species ultimately from the horrid thralldom of all the bad passions. If the conduct of their predecessors has made them what they are, they feel that, for circumstances in which they had no part, they cannot be accountable; and as their original formation and their education are of that kind, although they must suffer under their influence, they ought not in justice to be otherwise responsible. Meanwhile, knowing the nature of the evils under which they suffer, and that the fate of the next and succeeding generations depends upon them, they feel prompted by motives truly human,—the prospect of present and future happiness to themselves, in the promise of an ameliorated condition, with the reflection of the happiness of their offspring, and others dependent upon them for their instruction and capacity for the enjoyment of life. Such appears to be the order of nature,—such the true solution of the long-hidden enigma of human responsibility,—that the fate of each generation depends on those which precede it!—such the nature of man's boasted free agency! powerless to effect his own welfare and happiness alone; potent, as an instrument for good or for evil, to affect the destinies of his fellow-creatures. But the same law of nature that places the welfare of others at his disposal, renders his own happiness a necessary consequence of theirs. Upon this simple and sublime principle, the production of good revolves in a continually extending circle. Though each contributes to the whole but the agency of a single individual, yet he derives a portion of the accumulated power of that whole in return. When once this principle becomes practically understood, a stronger motive to action cannot be imagined.

Man, the creature of circumstances, cannot be expected to become miraculously emancipated from their evil control; but the work once begun, must go on with an accelerated progress. Our ancestors undoubtedly had a glimpse of this truth, but were devoid of a saving knowledge of it. 'The Fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge.' 'I will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation.' Thus, wrapped up in metaphor, it has ever remained a dead letter, and has never, perhaps, before, in the history of the world, promised to become a living principle of action until now.

If, in the course of this communication, strong phraseology has been used, it was excited by the nature of the subject; sufficient patience in the investigation of human misery is hard to attain, but it would belie its own doctrines, if it could attribute blame or inculcate hatred to any human being, inasmuch as they have been only involuntary, sometimes well-meaning, agents of human misery. X. L.

Nobility, say the aristocracy, is the intermedium between the King and the people; true, just as a sporting dog is the intermedium between the sportsman and the hare.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

WHAT follows is from an account of the first settlement of Ohio, published in Cincinnati:—

"It happened, in an incursion of the Indians some years back, that a young man of the name of Bird, with his wife and child, a boy of about six months old, were made prisoners. The quantity of plunder in the possession of the victors making the assistance of Bird and wife important, they were shown their burthens, and directed to follow. The mother, fearing the fate which in these circumstances, she thought awaited her infant should it be discovered, contrived to conceal it, and having wrapped it up in her burthen close to her breast, journeyed on by the side of her husband towards the wilderness. After travelling from sunrise to sunset through a long summer's day, they arrived at an Indian village on the banks of the Scioto. The captives being secured, the Indians threw themselves on the ground, and were soon asleep.

"But how they might escape, alone occupied the thoughts of Mr. B. and his wife. Having freed themselves from the cords that bound them, to avoid recapture still required more vigilance and resolution. They set out, and with the babe, which by a miracle they had preserved unnoticed, they began to retrace their steps; but before day, fatigue and want of nourishment so completely exhausted them both, that they found the child must be left in the wilderness, or they must remain to perish with it. Morning was streaking the east with grey, and their flight must have been discovered; and to escape no time must be lost. Distracted with opposing resolutions, a sense of duty to themselves prevailed over parental fondness; the mother pressed her infant to her breast, bedewed its smiling cheek with tears, and set it down on a green bank, where, as she cast her last agonizing look, she saw it scrambling after the flowers that grew around it. They escaped to the settlements; and Mr. B. speedily collected a party of his neighbours, and returned to the spot where the infant had been left; but it was gone. Fifteen summers had smiled upon the spreading woods, when, in a treaty with a tribe of Indians, an article of which bound them to give up any captive in their possession, a boy was brought to the whites, who were told that he was a white, found in infancy on the very spot where young Bird had been left. He was immediately recognised by his parents by a remarkable scar on his right hand, which he had received in his father's house. The measure of the parents' joy was full; but, to the boy, his bow and blanket were his only joys. He despised alike the dress and the luxuries proffered him; while persuasion and indulgence were alone resorted to, he modestly resisted; but when force was tried, he grew suddenly discontented, and at last was missing from his father's house. It was twenty years after this event, when Mr. Bird and his wife removed to a new settlement. While a more comfortable building was erecting, they inhabited a hut adjacent to a thick wood. One day, while the old lady was alone, she saw several painted Indians approaching. Alarmed, but resolute, she ascended a ladder to the loft of the building, and drew it up after her, having provided herself with a hatchet, and resolved to defend herself to the last. The Indians retired, and laid down their rifles to ascend to the loft. But the first hand

through the trap-door, was severed from the arm by the intrepid woman; and an alarm being given at the time that the whites were approaching, they retreated, and were lost in the woods instantly. Mr. Bird and his party appeared, but scarce had her deliverers approached, before Mrs. Bird caught sight of the severed hand, and lo! there appeared before her the scar-marked hand of her eldest son."

From this I learn that it is habit that endears the Indian to his wilds, that teaches him to love his own pursuits, and that between men the greatest difference is created by education and custom. C. H. W.

RATIONAL SYSTEM.

"The character is formed *for*, and not *by* the individual.

"Each individual comes into existence within certain external circumstances, which act upon his peculiar original organization during the early period of his life; and by impressing their general character upon him, form his local and national character."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I think that Benefit Societies amongst the working classes of society want a reformation and change from the old system to the new. The common practice in Benefit Societies is, to subscribe a certain sum of money monthly, to raise a fund or stock for the purpose of allowing a sum of money to members when sick. They do not consider that this money they subscribe might do them good in health as well as sickness, if they would leave off the old practice of putting their money into banks, or the hands of opulent brewers and publicans, to work against themselves, as they must know that these people do not lock this money up in chests, but use it in their business. Now, if they were to lay out their own money in provisions, linen-drapery, bootery, &c., at the wholesale markets, and vend them amongst themselves at ten or fifteen per cent. on the wholesale prices, they would have no fear of the box being shut against a member who is sick for the want of sufficient funds; there would be no fear that the society would break up when the members became old, as there is at this time on the old system. Now, if they were, instead of allowing, as is the practice of societies, a yearly salary, to their secretary (with all those little perquisites, or, as I call them, impositions on the members, of pence for entering a member's name in the book, pence for entering a member's wife's name, pence for entering a removal of habitation, pence for summoning to general meetings, and summonses to clear up the books), to elect a fit and proper person or persons of their own body, to serve the office for three months, with the assistance of stewards, to be paid a fair remuneration for their time, so that the business shall not be entrusted to one individual; and if, instead of conducting their business at a public-house, as is the practice of the societies in the old system, they could take a house suitable for them to hold their meetings and conduct their business, for less money than it now costs them to hold their meetings at public-houses, they could have their meetings three or four times a week, instead of once a month. They could there vend out their stores, and adopt plans to assist their brother members with work when out of employ. In short, they might make them real Benefit Societies in practice as well as name, by using their own money to work for, instead of against, themselves, as they now do. Shoreditch. J. M'DOWELL.

Change of fashion is the tax which the industry of the poor lays upon the vanity of the rich.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—That a load of misery pervades human society is too palpable to admit of doubt, even by the most elevated intellect, as well as the most secluded from the busy scenes of life; all must admit the prevailing evil; but few, very few, who have cogitated upon it have been able to trace out its cause, much less its remedy; or, if they have been successful in finding it out, it has appeared too formidable a task for an individual to propose a cure for such a ramification of evils; it has to this period of time been considered as a part of the system of organization of society, permitted or designated by Providence for our probationary experience and education; and it is obvious to all that expedients are the best of preparations, calculated to make the most indelible impression on our understandings; it is viewing it in this light only that we can account for so apparently strange and anomalous a part of the divine system of government, designed no doubt for an ample development when the fulness of time (known and predestinated by the almighty disposer of events) renders such a development congenial to the notions of mankind; the present enlightened period seems to be propitious for such development; and it is to that worthy philanthropist, Mr. Owen, —however he may differ with the major part of the community in matters of religion—it is to him we are indebted for so much light in discovering the cause and remedy of the evils of society; but I fear there is not charity nor virtue enough yet among the holders for old worn-out doctrines and dogmas, to accept the proffered boon from one who displays so much candour and liberality of opinion, and from one who detests hypocrisy in the truest sense of the word, a sincere, lower and indefatigable searcher for the truth, as he has proved himself to be; and for such reasons, much coolness, any opposition, may be apprehended from fanatics and zealots in religion; such reasons as before described may thwart the progress of amelioration of evil for a time; but it will certainly prevail, as the knowledge of it becomes disseminated; in the mean time, its advocates should not relax in their endeavours to promulgate its excellent truths and maxims, for they are daily necessary to be known to be duly appreciated.

A well-wisher to the cause, R. D.
Kingland, Sept. 28, 1833.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—A few individuals (instructed and enlightened by the *Crisis*), being thoroughly disgusted with the existing state of society, are determined upon the formation of a community of rational beings, so soon as their numbers will enable them to commence the necessary work. It is presumed that twenty such, subscribing each 500*l.*, may, in return for such outlay, have a well-built, commodious cottage, in the midst of a large garden (his own freehold), and be surrounded by neighbours of a congenial mind. Well-digested and good regulations might form the whole into an elegant and pleasing village, occupying twenty acres, to be purchased for the purpose in a delightful situation, and as convenient as any district to London. It is further proposed, that a public building should be placed therein (the joint property of the community); and that, as soon after as possible, an individual competent to act as schoolmaster, lecturer, and librarian should be placed therein, with a sufficient salary, to be regulated by the number of pupils he may instruct, and duties he will have to perform.

Knowing as we do, Mr. Editor, the liberality of your sentiments, the enlarged state of your mind, and the strong desire you have to improve and render happy all those of your own species who are competent to understand and appreciate your

intentions and motives, we do earnestly entreat of you to promote our wishes, by giving us such advice as you may deem needful, and by communicating our intentions and wishes to those who may, by their respectability of character and parity of sentiment, be able and willing to join us.

As lovers of nature and of truth, and detectors of all that is marvellous and supernatural, we shall subscribe ourselves, Mr. Editor,

RATIONALISTS.

Brighton, Sept. 30, 1833.

P.S. If we hear further upon the subject, through the *Crisis*, we will at once communicate our names and addresses.

[This letter is satisfactory to us that the co-operators of Brighton are no less zealous than formerly, when they made bolder attempts, and supported a handsome periodical publication. It is, in truth, most difficult, on a limited scale, to get rid of the trammels of the old system. Until society shall rise, *en masse*, to make rational arrangements, and throw off the burthens so long imposed by ignorance and superstition, so long will the success of the few who make the attempt be partial only. The change, however, though partial, will be greatly for the better, when those only shall unite in co-operation who truly admit and comprehend the force of its fundamental principle. This will be their sure beacon and unerring guide to happiness.—The "Rationalists" will oblige us by further communications.—ED.]

EXTRACT OF A LETTER

Received from Mr. William Pate, of Birmingham, dated Dublin, 3rd October, 1833, addressed to the Managers of the Equitable Labour Exchange, Birmingham.

With respect to the terms on which the orders are taken, that for Halifax is in exchange for merino, stuffs, linings, &c., patterns and prices of which I have with me; and you shall have particulars so as to guide you to order them; in my next sheet. These are the Huddersfield terms—that we take the broad and narrow cloths at half cash and half our goods; this is the best they can at present do; you will receive in a few days a pattern-card of their fabrics, from which you will order, when our invoices of goods is forwarded to them. Well, now methinks I hear the shoemakers grumbling at the arrangement on behalf of the tailors; to them I say patience; wait a little; the leather will come by and by. Our excellent friend, Vandeleur, of the county of Clare, who crossed the Channel with me, is turning his attention to the establishment of a tannery for us; in his peaceful, happy, and harmonious community of producers.

I have now done, for the present, with a relation of my proceedings in England; and I now come to relate my doings in this country. Happily for our purposes, she is at peace from one end to the other; men's minds are now beginning to be tamed to real practical measures, for the relief of her miserable and unhappy population; would that our influential men understood the subject of Equitable Labour Exchanges, as well even as I do, that they would there be little difficulty in placing the people in full prosperity!

You will find, by the *Dublin Morning Register*, of Tuesday, which I sent you, that I have opened the campaign here; the first advertisement appeared on Monday, this announcement brought me several persons, from whom I am gathering much valuable information. I have had two hundred placards printed and posted, and five hundred small bills, to deliver among the merchants, commission agents, dealers, &c., &c.; and from these I anticipate useful results.

Since writing the above, I have been introduced to J. Staunton and — Barratt, Esq., the editors and proprietors of the *Morning Daily Register*, and three other papers, to relate to them my

business in Ireland, and a most important meeting I assure you it has been; my interview lasted nearly two hours. Mr. Staunton is a very shrewd, intelligent, and quick-sighted man, and deeply imbued with the importance of raising the condition of the productive classes. He listened to me with the greatest attention, and the explanations I gave to his questions were so satisfactory that he was prepared to say he would render me every assistance in his power through the medium of the press; he is to prepare my way for a great public meeting in the Wellgate National Market, in this city, which is to be lent, free of any expense, on Monday week, the 14th instant, to explain the matter to the inhabitants of Dublin!!! This may be considered bold and presumptuous for a man like me, a stranger to the country, and standing alone. Thank God, however, I feel fully equal to the great task; indeed, how could I let such a golden opportunity be thrown away! I must confess, however, I should like an able coadjutor, and I trust that arrangements will be made in London to allow of Mr. Owen coming over to my assistance. I have now no time or space to lose. I am to be introduced to all the Editors of the other papers, and a gentleman has just informed me that a celebrated person (not O'Connell) is likely to give me aid. I now ask the men of Birmingham, am I to do the work I am sent to do thoroughly and effectually, or is it to be hurried and slovenly? I wait their definite answer, write me the decision as soon as the council have seen this letter. I am, &c.

W. PARE.

DELEGATE MEETING.

Sept. 19, 1833.

Mr. Simpson in the chair.		
First Section of Carpenters. — Mr. Carter brought up the report.		
Receipts by contributions	£	s. d.
By trade	1	11 6
	7	17 0
	9	8 6
Expenditure	7	8 2½
Balance in favour of society	2	0 3½
Labour performed	179½	hours
Rent	0	2 0
Notes exchanged by members	69	hours
Second Section of Carpenters. — Mr. Jordan presented the report of the week's business.		
Balance of notes and cash in hand	0	19 0½
Receipts of ditto ditto	1	11 8
By trade	5	10 5½
Total	8	1 2½
Expenditure for wages and materials	6	18 1½

Balance in favour of society 1 2 2½
First Cabinet-makers' Society. — The delegate reported an increase in their number, and said they had in hand three sets of chairs for the Exchange, and that they had appointed men to sit on the valuing committee.

Mr. Gray observed that in the cabinet work the materials were expensive, so that their subscriptions were not sufficient to meet them. It thus became necessary to exchange one shilling per week for labour notes. The other trades adopted the same plan; all others connected with this Exchange ought to do the same; two shillings per week so exchanged would procure a suit of clothes yearly. The men so subscribing, he thought, alone ought to be entitled to vote, and not the mere penny-rent payers.

Second Section of the Cabinet-makers. — The delegate handed in a resolution passed in their association, recommending the paying of the managing committee for their services, and if the profits were insufficient for that purpose, they

proposed an increase in the rent. He said they were going on prosperously, and could assist the first section in the execution of their orders, if they required it.

First Section of Tailors' Department.—The delegate gave in the report as follows:—

Members' subscriptions for the week	4	5	0
Men's wages	269	3	6th hours
Amount of business	18	0	0
Goods purchased	41	12	0
Loan received from the trades' fund	37	16	3

The deputation appointed to wait on the second section of the tailors, now organizing in the city, reported they had met with a most favourable reception. They had promised to attend again next week. Numbers came to hear the principles explained; and they thought this would soon be a most important section. They also thought a Benefit Society would be a most important feature in connexion with the Association; he trusted the subject would not be lost sight of.

First Section of Shoemakers.—The delegate read the following report from the United Society of Boot and Shoemakers:—

"We have to regret the incessant cry of some of the members of the Institution for a reduction of the prices and labour.

"We beg leave to call the attention of our fellow-workmen to the superior articles produced by our society; and next we deem it our duty to inform them that, in some cases, we are actually working for less than sixpence per hour, and in no part of our work do we exceed sixpence. Therefore a reduction on our parts is impossible, unless we can be furnished with the material at a better market.

THE WEEK'S ACCOUNT.

Receipts. Expenditure.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
By collection	5	9	5	Leather	3	16	8
By cash taken	1	1	8	Wages	1	5	0
	6	11	1	Commission	0	17	0
				Rent in pence	0	8	2
					6	6	10

"From the 11th to the 17th received notes to the amount of 671 hours, which have been paid in wages."

The delegate (Mr. Warner) after some very forcible observations on the general subject of valuation, said they could hold out no hopes of a reduction of their labour.

Industrious Females.—Miss Green gave in the report from Sept. 6th to the 13th.

	£.	s.	d.
Receipts in cash and notes	2	9	4
Expenditure ditto ditto	2	15	6
Commission paid	0	1	10

Mr. Wood reported the audit.

Mr. Norman the provision store.

Mr. Prior the trades' fund.

Second section of Shoe-makers.—The delegate read the report.

Expenditure in cash and notes	£.	s.	d.
Receipts ditto ditto	3	7	0
	5	1	0

Rent 2s. 5d.; number of members 64.

Messrs. Hoare, Simkins, Carter, and Wood, were appointed a deputation to wait on an intelligent body of shoe-makers on the 30th of Sept.

The meeting adjourned.

What right have the dull-polite of this generation to laugh at Mr. Owen and his parallelograms, when they have their own parallelograms run to seed and of frightful continuity, under the illustrious-obscure name of Wigmore, and Welbeck, and Wimpole-streets, all with their eternally-repeated door and two windows,—door and two windows,—door and two windows,—like the knop and the flower of the Jewish architect, with the everlasting three-windowed stories above, and the absence of all generous ornament, the windows being cut into the walls, without even the humanity of a border.—LEON HYAT.

Police.

MANSION-HOUSE.—A young lady of respectable connexions was brought before the Lord Mayor, to affiliate a child of which she was the mother. The defendant was a butcher. It appeared that the reputed father was in the habit of calling at the farm of the brother of the young lady, where, under a promise of marriage, she had listened to his solicitations and yielded her honour. The defendant betrayed the utmost recklessness and effrontery, appearing to treat it as a joke; he did not deny the intimacy, but said he had not known her long enough to be the father of her child. This, however, was disproved, and the order of affiliation made accordingly. The brother of the unfortunate girl observed, that neither he nor any of his family could possibly notice her, for she had disgraced them. The Lord Mayor conjured him not to abandon her to the horrors of prostitution; but he appeared impenetrable.

This, then, is one of those frequent and melancholy cases of seduction under a strict promise of marriage. They are of such constant occurrence, and inflict such enormous evils on society, that it is high time the whole system of laws, relative to the sexual sympathies was fully revised. To seduce and to betray are bad enough; but to crown these by total desertion, is the sublime of baseness and criminality. In the first place, it is an utter violation of all truth and sincerity—a studied and deliberate fraud—a robbery of the deepest dye; you rob the object of your unhalloved passion of the two noblest principles of action—affection and honour; and these are wrested from a person who has given you the most convincing proofs of her love and confidence, and which alone should have rendered you her most powerful protector.

Then come crowding, in crushing and fearful succession, the complicated consequences of this crime—shame, desertion, destitution, remorse, prostitution, disease, and premature death. Chastity in woman seems the source and centre of all the virtues; for, when this is lost, she too often becomes the subject of the most determined depravity. Hence the greater necessity of its protection and preservation. Of all this frightful mass of evil, we are all more or less the authors and participators; for all crime arises from a total misconception of society, where every man is in a false position with respect to his neighbour, and the whole world in reference to truth and justice. I must, in passing, remark that the supporters of the present marriage laws appear to me, though unconsciously, as the special patrons of seduction and prostitution. In fact, in the vast majority of instances, courtship, with its present blandishments and deceptions, is little better than seduction; and marriage is only a legitimate and varnished prostitution. Courtship is, indeed, a system of the most atrocious mutual deception, and, as might be naturally expected, is generally followed by mutual misery. To remove these evils, however, requires the most mature and profound deliberation. I have said that deliberate seduction is the base of crimes; but if there be an exception, it is to be found in the cruelty of those who refuse to receive an erring daughter, sister, or relative, for the very reason that ought to strengthen her claim on our candour and protection—viz. that she has been basely betrayed by a wretch to whom she had confided her honour and happiness. The English public betray an obtuseness on this subject, as singular as it is unpardon-

able. It seems as if every crime, save misplaced affection, was venial and pitiable—every criminal, save injured and lovely woman, estimable and interesting. The murderer is pitied and forgiven; his last deeds are rigorously recorded; his last words carefully registered; and he departs this life more the subject of interest than abhorrence; and so on through the glowing catalogue of crime;—and while the heartless seducer himself is received with additional eclat into the first society, his hapless victim is pining in solitude, the prey of reproach and self-abandonment. But we must not look to legislators for a remedy; yet something must be done to modify and restrain such excesses. If, for example, it were exacted that every seducer should be compelled to earn a sufficient sum to support for life the injured woman, it would do much to prevent such practices. In a just education lies the only hope of refuge from all the abuses of the old system. It will prove itself the parent of genuine reform in law and legislation, and the patron of virtue and happiness. No man, properly educated, could become a deliberate seducer; no man of refined imagination and corresponding intensity of feeling, could endure the contrast his fancy would suggest of the love, purity, joy, and the generous, confiding tenderness of his victim in her happy home,—to the vagabond from her family, the outcast of society, the model of art, avarice, and distrust, and then tracing her through the awful grades of prostitution, he sees her driven, a loathsome mass, from the lowest brothel, to take refuge in a workhouse or an hospital, to die in agony and despair. In a well-educated community, no such man as the present defendant could by any possibility exist; or if he should, no woman could be seduced by him. Every female adorned by cultivation, and her natural softness and sympathy confirmed by judicious instruction and lofty principle, would turn from such a coarse and callous ruffian with loathing and disgust. He would no more be able to win her heart, than to pluck the sun from his sphere, or to trample on the stars. Yes, education is the only panacea for all the remediable evils of society; and when fully diffused, will assuredly banish all evils not inevitable and immoveable. That this time is slowly, but surely approaching, is my sincere belief. W.

The first impression made by an acquaintance with the better order of American gentlemen is certainly pleasing. There is a sort of republican plainness and simplicity in their address, quite in harmony with the institutions of their country. An American bows less than an Englishman; he deals less in mere conventional forms and expressions of civility; he pays few or no compliments; makes no unmeaning or overstrained professions; but he takes you by the hand with a cordiality which at once intimates that he is disposed to regard you as a friend. Of that higher grace of manner, inseparable, perhaps, from the artificial distinctions of European society, and of which even those most conscious of its hollowness cannot always resist the attraction, few specimens are, of course, to be found in the United States; but of this I am sure, that such a reception as I have experienced in New York is far more gratifying to a stranger than the farce of ceremony, however gracefully it may be performed.—*Men and Manners, &c.*

Success produces success, just as money produces money.

Poet's Corner.

Poems, by Charles Cole. Nos. 1 & 2. London, Mantz. Price 2d.

There is a double attraction on the title-page of these numbers. Books of poetry always excite our curiosity, but poems by a mechanic are especially interesting to us. We would have the mechanics and labourers (as they are called) pursue every valuable accomplishment and elevating speculation; in other words, we would have them, by producing for themselves, instead of for others, obtain wealth and leisure sufficient to enable them continually, as they ought, to rise in the scale of humanity. The working classes have now, by means of union, a high object presented to them, and they have begun to perceive it. May success and universal advantage attend their just proceedings!

How lightly has this phrase been used,—the producing classes! As if all things, whether of use or ornament, did not emanate from them. Other heads, indeed, it may be said, sometimes design their operations, but they (the working classes) alone are competent to execute. Nor are they less capable, as has been abundantly shown, of designing what they thus exclusively carry into effect. But why make this distinction? Is not every man who designs, no less than he who executes, a working man—a producer of wealth or happiness? Generally speaking, however, we believe it will be found that the most useful inventions have owed their origin to the talent of those who, by the work of their own hands, have brought them before the public notice. They have been in chief the mechanical inventors, they have given their accuracy and penetration to the building up of science, and they have cultivated with admirable efficacy the beautiful art of poetry. But, to return to the number before us. The opening piece of the first number, "To Liberty," (inserted in a late number of the *Crisis*, and since commended in several publications,) is, we think, a fair specimen, both of the author's well-sustained ability and true dignity of sentiment. The following extract, although in familiar verse, is another instance of that high moral tone which none but a poet, either in expression or feeling, is capable of entertaining. The variety of verse and subject throughout these numbers shows the aptitude of the author for this species of composition. We would, however, most zealously advise Mr. Cole to avoid personal subjects; poetry should be philosophical; that is, true to nature; but, in our view, to praise or blame individuals is quite opposed to truth, as it is to the pure spirit (so becoming in poets), the meek, the mild, the just spirit of charity. We trust Mr. Cole will meet with much encouragement in the publication of these and future numbers, and be animated to go on to the attainment of a highly-refined taste, and the prophetic judgment which a true love of nature ever inspires.

DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

As through the street the other day,
I saunter'd in a careless way,
I saw a sweet, engaging child,
Who might e'en Milton have beguiled,
Come running to his mother's side
In wild alarm, and thus he cried:
"Oh, Mother! I have seen a sight
Which makes me tremble with affright;
The new police to prison took
A little boy, who sold a book!
Has selling books become a crime?"

You know how very short a time
It is, since—we had walking been—
I bought a Penny Magazine;
And one of these blue police-men
Stood near and saw me buy it then,
But did not take the man to jail
For selling me that servile tale,
Which, after reading, Father burn'd,
Lest I its meanness should have learn'd.
There was a man amidst the crowd,
Who said—and said it too aloud—
'This poor boy's books would make men wise,
Would teach them tyrants to despise;
Then, why should he be forced away
To prison, where the felons lay?'
He ceased:—upon his cheek I spied
A tear; his mother thus replied:
"His books, no doubt, are true, my dear;
And truth is still the tyrant's fear!"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I beg you will insert in this week's *Crisis*, for the information of members of the Social Community, and others wishing to become members, that the following are the places where the Classes meet:—

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| Class A. No. 11, Old Ford lane | Tuesday. |
| B. No. 54, Ewer-street, Lambeth | Ditto. |
| D. No. 5, Little Howland-street | Ditto. |
| F. No. 21, New Church-street | Thursday. |
| G. No. 6, George-court, Old-st. | Tuesday. |
| H. Palmer's Coffee-house, Silver-street, Falcon-square | Ditto. |
| I. No. 4, Great Wild-street | Monday. |
| K. No. 23, Duck-lane, Edward-street | Friday. |
| L. No. 14, Moore-st., St. Ann's | Monday. |
| M. No. 38, Poland-street | Thursday. |
| N. Coffee-house, near the Toll-gate, Knightsbridge | Ditto. |
| P. Globe Coffee-house, Ossulton-street | Tuesday. |
| Q. Bradshaw's Coffee-rooms | Monday. |
| S. Kew Foot-lane, Richmond, at Mr. Penny's | Sunday. |

The Social Community will not meet on Wednesday, October 9, on account of the Congress; but will meet on Wednesday, October 16. The subject for discussion to be "Are Republican Principles or those of the Social Community best calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of a nation?" B. PORTBURY, Secretary.

P.S. The Social Community met by appointment last Sunday afternoon, to the number of two hundred, and took tea together with the utmost cordiality and liberality of sentiment.

MAXIMS FROM MIRABEAU'S LETTERS.

The least fault a man in distress commits is a sufficient pretence for the rich to refuse him all assistance; they would have the unfortunate entirely perfect.

The presence of the unfortunate lies on most men the effort of Medusa's head—at the sight of him hearts are turned to stone.

VICES are more frequently habits than they are passions.

Little minds triumph over the errors of men of genius, as the owl rejoices at an eclipse of the sun.

Accused be the writer who flatters the age in which he lives, and helps to deceive it, who kills it with the history of its ancient heroes, and virtues that are no more; palliates the evils that undermine and devour it, and like a subtle mountebank talks of its florid complexion, while the gangrene is preying upon its members. The writer of fortitude will never avail himself of these dangerous deceptions.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

Abstract of the Report from 26th July to the 29th September, 1833, being the first two months of the new Association.

Balance of Stock on hand 44,170h. 3s.
Notes in circulation 30,338 3

Excess of Stock in hand above the notes in circulation 13,792 0

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

PAID.		RECD.	
	£. s. d.		£. s. d.
Wages	150 19 8	Commission	148 3 9
Charges	74 4 1	Prov. acct.	161 11 6
Rent	67 10 6	Festivals	49 17 3
		Lectures	35 7 4
		Rent subs.	39 15 8
	292 13 10		

434 15 7
9 2 13 10

Total profit in goods' value 142 1 9

R. ALGER, Auditor.

Charlotte-street, October 7, 1833.

THE EPICUREAN CREED.—By Epicurus, happiness is placed in the enjoyment of pleasure, and in freedom from pain. Virtue, according to him, consists in following the natural inclinations of the heart, at the same time taking care to purify and direct them; the practice of temperance, which prevents pain, and, by preserving our faculties in their full force, secures all the enjoyments that nature has provided for us; the care to guard ourselves against hateful and violent passions, that torment and render the soul delivered up to their bitterness and fury; the further care to cultivate, on the contrary, the mild and tender affections; to be frugal of pleasures that flow from benevolence; to preserve the soul in purity, that we may avoid the shame and remorse which punish vice, and enjoy the delicious sentiment that is the reward of laudable actions: such is the road that conducts at once both to happiness and virtue.

The notices for this week are the same as last.

THE ATLAS UNSTAMPED SHEET ALMANACK, beautifully Printed on a large Sheet of thick Vellum Paper, containing all the most necessary information appertaining to Almanacks. The ATLAS contains also a Victorian Calendar, containing upwards of 365 Battles gained by British Arms, being a Conquest for each day in the Year—a useful document for reference.

Also the MAN ALMANACK (price 3d.) for the Year of the Advent of Human Liberty and the Year of real Christianity 1834.

Also, the LONDON PADDY'S WATCH ALMANACK. Price One Penny.

In a few days will be Published the LONDON ORACLE, a Book Almanack. Price Three Halfpence.

Printed and Published by Benjamin Franklin, at the Reformer Office, 22, Drury-court, Strand, and E. Lee, Office of the *Man*, 31, Murylebone-lane; and sold by all the Venders of the Unstamped.

TO OUR LONDON READERS AND THE TRADE.

The *PIONEER* may in future be had at the *CRISIS* Office. Nos. 1 to 5 are now ready.

Printed and published by B. D. COVINGS, 18, Dale-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields.

Sold also by Strange, Paternoster-row; Partis, Old Compton-street; Watson, Windmill-street, Finsbury-square; Cleave, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street; and at the Reformer Office, 22, Drury-court, Strand.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION. CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING.

Mr. Owen lectured. The attention of the Congress, held during the last week in this Institution, has been directed to effect that which the governments of the civilized world ought to have accomplished long since. First, to form arrangements by which wealth may be produced in the greatest abundance; and, secondly, to introduce measures in order to give a superior character to the human race, and a government which shall prevent disorder, and produce harmony, virtue, and happiness. Have the governments of Europe or America made the slightest progress in the principles or practices calculated to produce this result? America is perhaps the most advanced in popular government; but in what condition are the United States with regard to the first of these objects? I know from personal examination, and from facts, that the capabilities of that region, its soil, mines, and minerals, can at least furnish full supplies for 500 millions of people; the present number is only 13 millions, and yet they are obliged to have recourse to various charitable institutions for the support of part of this very limited population, and the majority of these 13 millions, not in absolute poverty, are, nevertheless, in the fear of poverty. This is the condition of what is called the civilized world. Then what is the state of America and of Great Britain in regard to education? Neither possesses a national system for forming the character of the population, which is left to chance, and compounded at random—the large mass is utterly neglected. Yet these are in reality a more valuable mine of wealth than the mines of Mexico and Peru—a mine which is truly inexhaustible of good, when cultivated upon right principles. The Americans are in this respect a little before us; they are calling for a national system, but they know not what is required before it can be fully introduced. There is no government yet formed upon that basis which shall insure any thing like order. The United States are in a complete ferment whenever any public business is at hand; the election of President and Vice-President, once in four years, produces an outrageous commotion which hardly subsides till the period again

recurs. Thus it must ever be while the fundamental principles of all society shall remain as they are—while men are to be considered entitled to praise or blame, and answerable for their opinions, their likes and dislikes, which, by their nature, and the circumstances in which they have been placed, they could not possibly obviate.

Until the present period, however, the time had not arrived when true principles could be introduced, this is the earliest period, and fortunately for this generation, and still more so for the next, all the materials to be wished for are in the greatest abundance—land of any required extent and fertility—knowledge to work this land as much as can be wanted, industry in such excess that half the population could with ease and pleasure supply the necessary manual labour; capital in such profusion, that but a few years since the wildest schemes imaginable were invented for the dissipation of its excess. Thus we have land, skill, industry, capital; and what more do we require to give permanent prosperity to the nation and the world? We still require one thing more—it is unity among the producing and useful classes. Union among these is now the only want of intelligent minds—the spirit of union must now be brought in to unite the capital, the skill, and industry to the soil, in order to produce a greater degree of prosperity, and a better character, for all than have yet been attained by any single class.

To consider of the means of carrying out these objects, has been the business of the Co-operative Congress. I trust the delegates will be found to have done their duty, and will continue their labours at home, to spread the principles of union, the science of production and distribution of wealth, the knowledge of the formation of character and of rational government.

These principles, which were openly promulgated ten or fifteen years ago, were then entirely disregarded; they have slept as it were from that period till now, when the population seems to have roused from their deep slumber. Is it possible, I then asked, that these principles should not be comprehended, so illustrated by facts, and plain to the apprehension? But the prejudice arising from the accumulated errors of ages was sufficient for a time to coun-

teract this saving knowledge; it required the perpetual application to the public mind of the most simple and obvious truths to make progress upon a population engaged in the grovelling pursuit of buying cheap and selling dear. The industrious and useful classes have now, however, begun to perceive their real position, and are making such rapid strides that probably before the end of another year, the whole of these classes will have formed a firm and solid bond of union, not for themselves alone, but for the far nobler purpose of insuring liberty, prosperity, and happiness to the whole human race.

Mr. Owen then introduced the statistical document, which is given at length in these numbers, the accuracy of which is sanctioned by parliamentary papers, and cannot be contradicted. The official value of exports has been the instrument used to hoodwink the public, by making a boast of prosperity upon a false and arbitrary value. It is not the official value of exports which ought to be taken, but the declared value, or real price, near to which the goods are sent to market.

From a comparison of the list of declared values, and their sub-division per head of population, with the rate of taxes falling upon each individual, it will be seen, on the one hand, that the resources of the people have been gradually diminishing, while, on the other, the demands made upon them have been gradually increasing, inasmuch that, during the first period, each individual's share of the declared value was 23*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*, out of which the taxes to be paid by each was 5*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*; during the last period the resources of each was only 13*l.* 1*s.* and there was to be paid 6*l.* 15*s.* of taxes.

The column of patents was then referred to, which (Mr. Owen said) are formal instruments to secure certain privileges to the inventors of those machines, or means by which human labour may be abridged or superseded. These patents had increased from 1700, the number during the first period, to 4,075 during the last. These have been mainly the inventions of the productive classes; but who had been benefited by them? Not the producers of all that is valuable; but the useless class, whose only care is the accumulation of capital, and who have encouraged at home a system of

white slavery, greatly more oppressive than the black slavery in any part of the world.

Another column worthy of particular remark is the profits of the Bank of England, which have been increasing from five millions of the first period to seven millions of the last; while during the same time the resources of the nation have been constantly decreasing.

Another indication of the state of the times will be found in the increase of certificates to attorneys and solicitors; these have increased from 7,664 during the first period, to 9,221, the number of certificates during the last. The interest of these individuals, of barristers and lawyers generally, is to sow every kind of division among the people, in order that by their contentions they may deprive them of wealth for their own particular advantage. In our new world there will be neither lawyer, nor any thing like what is now called law, for this, in plain language, is nothing, else than the grossest ignorance and injustice. Its foundation is false, by imputing merit and demerit to human beings, for opinions and affections over which, under the circumstances, they had no possible control: this is the original error that has converted into a pandemonium a fair globe, which, governed upon the principles of truth and charity, would be a terrestrial paradise. Let us then hear no more of petty divisions among those who are competent to work out their own salvation—let the working classes unite upon the noble truths developed in the science of human nature and of society, then will they quickly arrive at the knowledge how to create wealth for all in the greatest abundance, and form arrangements by which the physical, moral, and intellectual condition of mankind shall be made greatly superior to any that could have existed heretofore.

After the lecture, of which the above is but a very bare abstract, some of the choicest vocal and instrumental music was (as usual) performed under the superintendence of Messrs. Collins and Stevens, the indefatigable and talented conductors of this department.

Mr. Owen then, in conclusion, referred to the vague reports in the public papers respecting the 'Trades' Unions as secret societies. He said, he had the satisfaction of knowing that, in the constitution of these societies, there was nothing contrary to the laws or to the spirit of humanity; and that the secret oaths had no other object but to protect the members in those legal and rational rights which might otherwise be more easily encroached upon. It may have been that some of these persons have acted improperly and illegally; but they who have allowed the individuals so acting to be trained in ignorance, are (if any) alone to blame; and where is the society, consisting of large or small numbers, wherein some members do not bring such society more or less into discredit? But these unions have among them many strong and intelligent minds, who will be competent to devise the means, as well to insure temperance, as harmony and success. Let us wait patiently, and assist to our utmost these mighty and regenerative proceedings.

The man possessed of superior mental qualifications is often little suited to society. You do not go to market with ingots, but with silver or small change.

True love is pure as the fountain, strong as the oak, sweet as the rose.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS, Held at Huddersfield, on Easter Monday, April 8, 1835.

A considerable demand having recently been made for a report of the proceedings of the Fifth Co-operative Congress, held at Huddersfield, on Easter Monday, 8th April, 1835, we have been induced to publish the following account preparatory to the report of the Congress held in London during the last week, which will be published in full in a Supplement to this week's Crisis.

The delegates met at eight o'clock, when R. Owen, of London, was unanimously called to the chair. A reference was made to the proceedings of the last Congress, when it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Wilson, of Halifax, seconded by Mr. Simon, of Bradford, that Mr. John Eveley, of Loughborough, and Mr. W. R. Wood, of London, be Secretaries to Congress.

The morning was occupied by the reports of the delegates, some of which were of a highly interesting character. On the report from the Branch Exchange, Robert Owen, delegate, a discussion arose, from the desire of the delegates to hear Mr. Owen's views of Labour Exchange. Mr. Owen informed the Congress that the Birmingham Labour Exchange consisted of upwards of 400 depositors and 500 shareholders, and that as the men of Birmingham were in the highest expectation as to the beneficial results that would ensue from the establishment of the Branch Exchange, they had resolved on immediately commencing. Mr. Owen then read a letter from the United Trades of London, to the Trades of Birmingham, urging union and Labour Exchange; after which Mr. Owen gave a full explanation of the principle and practice of Labour Exchange, and recommended a national establishment, to be sustained by branches throughout the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. Several speakers stated that the Trades' Unions in and about Huddersfield amounted to 20,000 persons, and that they were about adopting measures to employ their unemployed, and felt that by means of Exchanges they might greatly facilitate their operations; when it was resolved unanimously, on the motion of Mr. C. Wood, of Huddersfield, seconded by Mr. Wilson, of Halifax, that this Congress view the establishment of Branches of the National Equitable Labour Exchange as a highly desirable consummation, according to the plan explained, and earnestly recommended the Co-operative and Benefit Societies, and the Trades' Unions in the different parts of the kingdom, to unite themselves into an association, for the purpose of promoting the National Equitable Labour Exchange. Resolved, to hold a public meeting that evening at the White Hart Inn, for the purpose of explaining the advantages of Co-operation and Labour Exchange.

Mr. Owen was then introduced to a Trades' Committee then sitting, to whom Mr. O. gave a full explanation of the principle and practice of Labour Exchange; upon which they passed a resolution pledging themselves to use their utmost influence in urging on the attention of their fellow-workmen the important advantages derivable from the Labour Exchange.

THE PUBLIC MEETING AT THE WHITE HART INN.

It was announced for seven o'clock, and although the room contained between four and five hundred, many persons went away who could not gain admission.

Mr. Owen was unanimously called to the chair. Mr. Owen explained the nature and objects of the meeting as follows:—

"One great object of society is, to obtain wealth, and to enjoy it. The genuine principle of barter was, to exchange the supposed prime cost of, or value of, labour in one article, against the prime cost of, or amount of labour contained in, any other article. This is the only equitable principle of exchange; but, as invention increased,

and human desires multiplied, it was not found to be convenient. Barter was succeeded by commerce, the principle of which is, to produce or procure every article at the lowest, and to obtain for it in exchange the highest, amount of value. To effect this, an artificial standard of value was necessary; and metals were, by common consent among nations, permitted to perform the office. This principle, in the progress of its operation, has been productive of important advantages, and of very great evils; but, like barter, it has been limited only to a certain stage of society. It has stimulated invention: it has given industry and talent to the human character, and secured the future exertion of those energies which otherwise might have remained dormant and unknown. But it has made man ignorantly selfish; placed him in opposition to his fellows; engendered fraud and deceit; blindly urging him forward to create, but depriving him of the wisdom to enjoy. In striving to take advantage of others, he has overreached himself. The strong hand of necessity will now force him into the path which conducts to that wisdom in which he has been so long deficient. He will discover the advantage to be derived from uniting in practice the best parts of the principles of barter and commerce, and dismissing those which experience has proved to be inconvenient and injurious.

"This substantial improvement, said Mr. Owen, in the progress of society, may be easily effected by the general establishment of Labour Exchanges; by the operation of which, the sale of every description of useful property will be effected much more easily than purchases are made now; and by which the value of human labour will be speedily enhanced to a degree which at present would scarcely be believed. (Loud cheer.) The landholder and the capitalist would be benefited by this arrangement in the same degree with the labourer, because labour is the foundation of all values, and it is only from labour, liberally remunerated, that high profits can be paid for agricultural and manufactured products. Depressed as the value of labour now is, there is no proposition in Euclid more true, than that society would be immediately benefited, in a great variety of ways, to an incalculable extent, by making labour the standard of value. By this expedient, all the markets in the world, which are virtually closed against the producers of wealth, would be open to an unlimited extent; and in each individual exchange, all the parties interested would be sure to receive ample remuneration for their labour. (Applause.) It would soon be found that there would be no inducement for manufacturers to produce inferior descriptions of goods, which they are now compelled to do, in consequence of the excessive and injurious competition induced by the present injurious system of commerce. (Hear, hear.) He had himself been actively engaged for fifty years in business, and during thirty years of that period he was a very considerable manufacturer of cotton yarn, having a population of some thousands of individuals constantly in the employ of himself and partners, and under his immediate and entire control. The daily produce of cotton yarn at this establishment was more than sufficient to go twice and a half round the globe. He ought, therefore, to know something of the manufacturing system. (Hear, hear.) He was about to tell them one little fact, which would prove to them how much the public were injured by the insane practice of manufacturing what were called cheap goods. (Hear, hear.) He had always been accustomed to trace every operation to its source and to its consequences. Finding that there was a general cry for cheap cottons, among other goods, by which the qualities were obliged to be deteriorated, he tried a variety of experiments, to enable him to discover of what quality the fabric ought to be manufactured, in order to be most beneficial to the consumer. Having discovered this, he had some cotton thread made of the desired

quality, which was woven into a variety of articles, such as stockings, shirting-cloth, &c., for his own use. These articles he found to wear six times as long as those in ordinary consumption, whilst the extra cost did not exceed twenty-five per cent. (Hear, hear.) For the sake of argument, however, he would allow that they cost fifty per cent. more. Now the annual value of cotton fabrics, of all descriptions, produced in this country, was somewhere about fifty millions, which, according to the estimate he had just mentioned, would have cost seventy-five millions, had they been of the best make. But then they would have lasted six times as long, and multiplying the fifty millions by six, it would give three hundred millions, which would have been the value of the articles to the consumers. Thus, then, he had demonstrated, that the loss to the public, by the manufacture of cheap cotton goods, was no less than two hundred and twenty-five millions per annum. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear," and cheers.) He had no doubt but the same extent of loss was being sustained by the deteriorated quality of other descriptions of goods. (Hear.) All these irrational proceedings would, however, be corrected by the operation of the Labour Exchanges, and they would find that a superabundance of wealth would be created, which would be enjoyed by the whole population. (Loud applause.) Mr. Owen then went into the details of the operations of the Equitable Labour Exchange, founded by him in London, and showed, in the clearest manner, the immense benefits which would be derived by both masters and men, by the establishment of a branch in the town. The "labour note," by which the operations of these establishments are carried on, was exhibited to the company by Mr. Owen, who said that it would be found to be an instrument which would effect a greater change in the affairs of the world, than had been effected by all the armies which had ever been in it. (Cheers.) It would be found to be the most secure, and, in all respects, the best currency which the world ever knew. These notes were only issued upon real wealth being deposited in the national storehouses, and when any of this wealth was taken out or consumed, notes to an equal amount were brought in, so that the quantity of currency always in circulation, was exactly equal to the wealth in store; and, what was a remarkable fact, a run upon the banks issuing this new paper-currency, would be of the greatest service. (Laughter and applause.) Mr. Owen continued at some length, and afterwards gave replies to many important questions which were put to him on the subject-matters of his address, all of which the querists declared were satisfactory. (Mr. Owen sat down amidst the most enthusiastic applause.)

1st Resolution.—"That this meeting earnestly recommend to the labouring classes carefully to examine the principles of co-operation, and, if found to be upon a proper basis, to adopt them, as the best means of raising themselves and their families from poverty and wretchedness."

Mr. Whitehead, of Holmfirth, proposed this resolution, and said it had only just been put into his hands, and if he did not do it that justice that the importance of the resolution required, he was not to blame, for their worthy chairman insisted on his taking it, and that he would answer for all the consequences of it; therefore, with that understanding, he felt perfectly easy. He congratulated the meeting on the overflowing attendance, and considering the shortness of the notice, it was a clear proof to his mind the working men of Huddersfield were alive to their real interest. The plans of their benevolent chairman were responded to by every thinking working man who had heard them, and he regretted more had not heard them, though they were principles that were now being extensively disseminated, and their good effects were beginning to be very visible; yet much more remained to be done. They must have mis-

sionaries to declare these great but simple truths. The Trades' Unions had now begun to feel the folly of keeping their men idle when on the strike and out of work, and pressing heavily on the trades' funds. No, said they, it must be altered, we must set them to work; and all we shall then want, said the speaker, will be Exchange Banks, where we may beneficially exchange our goods. "And now, my friends, let me urge you to union; and, as one fact is worth fifty theories, I will just mention a fact as to the importance of union. At the time of a strike near Holmfirth, after the men had been out some time, and their funds were nearly exhausted, and there did not appear much prospect of the masters succumbing, said some of the men, 'let us make a subscription, and set John Poulett to work' (a term by which the combination is characterised). They accordingly raised 60*l.*, laid it out in wool at Huddersfield, and set part of their men to work. 'But,' said the master, 'this is John Poulett's last shift; they will presently come to now.' But they were mistaken, for the cloth sold well at Huddersfield Cloth Hall; the returns were then laid out in wool, and a greater number of men set to work than before, which, when made up, sold well also, which made the masters say, 'this looks very queer.' (Loud laughter.) The men persevered, and manufactured a third quantity, which also, fortunately, sold well. 'Then,' said the masters, 'this won't do, we must give in, or we shall have to do the work ourselves, and what will they do who cannot work?' so this industrious wealth-producing method procured to us the most important results. The masters yielded, and they have been tenacious ever since as to the interference with the workmen's wages. Then, as to co-operation, I look on that as a superior union, the object being to procure to all mankind the highest enjoyment and happiness; and the means to secure it is by our united exertions, determination, and perseverance, in the good cause, and victory must be ours." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Christopher Wood, of Huddersfield, seconded the resolution. In doing which, he said, it had his full concurrence, but he would not detain them with a speech, as there were friends present who would give them very important information.

The Chairman put the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Turner, the delegate from the trades of London, moved the second resolution.

"That that state of society must be wrong, where the producers of wealth are destitute of all the comforts and many of the necessities of life, and proves that some important change ought to take place."

"Mr. Chairman and friends—This resolution describes the present state of society. Do not you, fellow-workmen, produce all wealth, by your labour? And what is your condition? Are you not all in misery and want? This is not all; we have to toil twelve or fourteen hours a day (hear), often under the greatest tyranny and fear; while, to obtain this scanty pittance we are in continual competition, watching each other like beasts of prey, and considering each other as enemies. (Hear, hear.) But the evil does not rest here. By the present system we are prevented from creating an abundance of wealth, which, if our energies had full and fair play, we could create and make ourselves happy by working half the hours we now work. Is not the earth rich in material for the production of wealth? Is it not stored with rich mines of every thing we want? Do you not put your labour to it, and produce all that makes man comfortable and happy? You make the bricks, build the houses, dig the iron, make the machinery, and all the domestic utensils of life from it; you cultivate the earth, breed the cattle, gather the wool, and make the cloth. In fact, there is no wealth, but it is produced by our labour. Yet these resources remain exhaustless, while you are pining in idleness and want. But

how long shall this last? And what have we as a remedy for it? (Hear, hear.) I will tell you, my friends; we have a certain remedy for it, by 'taking our affairs into our own hands;' by working for ourselves. It is of no use to look any longer to others. See what they are doing in Parliament; have they done any thing there to better our condition? Are they likely to do any thing, think you?—No! (Hear.) If one does a good act, the others undo it; witness the Factory Bill. Therefore we must look to ourselves. In London and Birmingham we have already begun; and to give you a proof, I will show you a bill put forth by the London trades, calling on their fellow-workmen to unite. We have there nine societies already formed, to work for each other; some of them have paid 70*l.* or 80*l.* for wages in the short space of three months. (Hear, hear, and applause.) We exchange our productions with each other, by means of the labour exchange which Mr. Owen has explained to you. We find, and justly too, that we can consume and enjoy, as well as those who do nothing. We are all in want of each other's productions. We, the tailors, want the cloth you produce, with which we can make clothes for the other trades, such as the iron and tool makers of Birmingham, and the cutlers of Sheffield, whose goods you can have in exchange for your cloth. But, my friends, we have one great difficulty to overcome—that is, getting the raw material. You know that the land is monopolised by a few hands; and food and material being the first things wanted by us, they hold a double power over the labourer. But this we can overcome; by union it will be but as mist before the sun. You have had the glorious effects of union shown to you by Mr. Whitehead, in the strike that took place. (Hear, hear.) You see in that what can be done by working for yourselves; and you possess all that is required for that purpose within yourselves, inasmuch as you are already united. The societies have discovered a secret, they have seen the folly of paying their unemployed members sums of money to sit about in idleness, sinking into degradation, and begging from their fellow-members for that which they could obtain in independence by being employed by the funds of the society to which they belong. (Hear, hear.) What then do we contemplate? It is a general union of the working classes throughout the kingdom. Never had they such a power put into their hands by which to effect their emancipation. Every thing that has taken place tends to the consummation of this glorious and just cause. The spirit manifested by the working-classes throughout the country this moment justifies the anticipation that they will emancipate themselves, by taking their affairs into their own hands, through the medium of exchange and union. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Chairman and friends, I will not take up more of your time, as there are other gentlemen to speak. Yet I have one or two remarks to add. Many people look at co-operation with jealousy, and suppose that it must injure them, and therefore oppose it, and throw obstacles in its way; but this is an error. Co-operation is the only thing that will benefit the people, without injury to any; co-operation is meant to surround the working-classes with comforts, at the expense of their own industry (hear), without taking from others; therefore, to oppose it is an error, and is useless. They might as well attempt to subvert the laws of nature, as to attempt to put it down. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, my friends, keep this ever in your minds, that labour is the source of wealth, and that you, the labouring-classes produce all wealth; and if your great powers had fair play, you could surround yourselves with all the comforts of life with ease. Contrast this with your present condition of misery; and contrast that condition with the state of those who never do any thing—those who ride in carriages, and live in luxury and waste, regardless of every body but themselves; contrast this, I say, and decide

to act for yourselves. But remember that it is the system, and not the men, we attack. If we were in their places, and trained as they have been, we should act in the same manner; but we must no longer continue that system. Therefore, I once more earnestly entreat you, by all that is dear to you, to take your own affairs into your own hands. Remember that union is strength; and, with good feeling to all, I most heartily move this resolution." (Great applause.)

Mr. Wood, from the Missionary Society, London, "Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—The present is a most distressing and painful state of society to witness; on the one hand you see the non-producing, idle, pampered, and luxurious few; and, on the other, the producing, wretched, and starving many. And what was this state of things to be attributed to? Why the ignorance of the many, and the fancied interest the few felt in keeping the many ignorant. But the many were discovering the real cause of the evil—they were struggling, and were rapidly acquiring intelligence. The many began to find they were the real parties who supported the State, but were not supported in return. They bore all the burthens, they did all the work, and when they came to investigate their real situation, they discovered they had not the same advantages as their fellow slaves in the West Indies, inasmuch as they had not a certainty of subsistence. And what led to the admission of these important facts by the many? Why the distress occasioned by the evils they laboured under. And what caused the principle of co-operation to be attended to by the producing classes? Why, the certainty of its remedying the evils they were labouring under had rent the veil of prejudice and ignorance, and truth was appearing to the many in all its radiant majesty. It had been stated in one of the leading articles of the *Morning Chronicle*, that individual possession was only allowable on the principle of its benefiting the community, and on no other was it tenable. Well, then, let us keep this principle in view, and look at a few anomalies. There was the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Buccleugh, the Duke of Devonshire, and the Marquis of Westminster, whose united incomes amounted to upwards of a million annually; and the proprietor of the whole of the houses, with the exception of two, in that town, whose income was said to be 60,000*l.* annually from that source, had not built one of them, while many of the producers, who built these houses and hewed the stones from the quarries, had not a place to lay their heads. Then let us look at the statements made by Mr. Fielden, the member for Oldham, who fearlessly spoke the truth in the House of Commons, that there were whole districts where the population was yielding to society their valuable labour, and not receiving more in return to live on than 3*d.* or 4*d.* per day. These, my friends, are plain matters of fact, within your own knowledge most probably. Then, as we admit this crying and desolating evil, let us unite as one man and save ourselves by taking our affairs into our own hands. Can we manage them worse than they have been managed for us? No, my friends; and were we to manage them no better than they have been managed, we should save that portion of our produce that has been taken from us, under the pretence of services rendered us. But the light has shone forth, it has diffused its rays amongst many of the producers, and they will not rest until their fellow-producers see it in all its bright effulgence, and feel its full influence; and then, and on that day, will we have achieved our full independence. The good work has commenced, and is proceeding actively in London. The society I have the pleasure to represent at the Co-operative Congress, sends forth its active members into the fields and the busy resorts of the metropolis, and proclaims the glad tidings of Co-operation and Labour Exchange, the only means left by which the productive classes can gain their just situation in the social scale. They have also influenced the Trades' Unions to take up the subject, and they are proceeding energetically, setting an excellent ex-

ample, which has been well followed up by the men of Birmingham; and, judging from the expressions of many of the inhabitants of this place within the short time I have been here, and the temper of this meeting, as regards co-operation and Labour Exchange, I conclude it will soon be followed here. (Loud cheers.) This will be the measure to produce the desired change, to bring about prosperity and happiness, and it remains now for the producing classes (and there are but two classes in society, the producing and non-producing) to say whether they will longer submit to the toil and misery they have been so long subjected to. Therefore, Mr. Chairman and friends, with these views I most cordially second the resolution."

Mr. Wilson, of Halifax, moved the third resolution—

"That this meeting considers that the principles of co-operation, if properly understood and reduced to practice, are capable of producing this change, and of securing to the producers of wealth the enjoyment of it."

"By those unacquainted with co-operation it may be asked, what is co-operation? It is the principle or science of uniting or working together for one common and determined object, and which is exemplified in associations for carrying into effect railroads, navigation, turnpike-roads; and amongst religionists by the erection of their meeting-houses, the supporting of them and their preachers, and the forming and carrying forward Sunday-schools. The influence and wealth of religious societies in this kingdom was a proof of the mighty effects of co-operation. Governments were carried forward by the science of co-operation, and what they do by this is to make us pay taxes to support the army, navy, and church—not to benefit the people, but to support their ill-gotten power, pride, and aggrandizement. (Loud cheers.) What was the East India Company, but a large co-operative society? and what was it that kept the poor negro in slavery in the West Indies, but the co-operation of the planters? But co-operation, amongst the working-classes, is to instruct us how to bring our combined energies into action for the benefit of all. (Cheers.) The practice of the principle was simple and easy; it is to be done by small subscriptions, which subscriptions form a fund for the employment of themselves. See what has been done by thirty societies in this district, composed of working men. They have in the last four years accumulated a capital by these means, and trading with these funds of no less a sum than between five and six thousand pounds. (Loud cheers.) In reference to a statement made by the preceding speaker, in allusion to Mr. Fielden's statements in the House of Commons, which were contradicted by some honourable, but ignorant members, instead of the poor creatures having 3*d.* or 4*d.* per day, they had not more than 2*d.* per day, let us prove it by the test of figures. Suppose the wages of the cotton, the fancy, and the worsted weavers were 12*s.* weekly, with a wife and three children on the average; out of this 12*s.* per week, say rent 2*s.*, fire 1*s.*, light 6*d.*, soap and other things 1*s.*, which in the whole is 3*s.* 6*d.*, leaving for meat and clothing 8*s.* 6*d.*; five times 1*s.* 8*d.* will cover this 8*s.* 6*d.*, which leaves not more than 2*d.* per head for each individual, for meat, bread, and clothing. Are these facts? If so, is it not quite time that we took our own affairs into our own hands? Well, then, but there are others who earn more than 12*s.* per week. Granted. Now let us see what a man with five children can do.

EARNINGS.			EXPENDITURE.				
Man	1	0	0	Rent	0	3	0
1st child	0	5	0	Fire	0	1	6
2d ditto	0	3	6	Light	0	0	6
3d ditto	0	2	0	Clothing for man	0	2	0
4th ditto	0	0	0	Rest of family	0	2	6
5th ditto	0	0	0	Soap, &c.	0	1	0
	1	10	6		0	10	6

One pound divided by 7, leaves for each head 2*s.* 10*d.* per week, or about 4½*d.* each per day; no-

thing for sickness, for Church-cens, for Sunday schools, for Co-operative Societies. Now, then, what becomes of the contradiction? Here we show them we can calculate; and what have working men done? Why they have established thirty Co-operative Societies in this district, which were not in existence four years ago, and they have, out of their limited means—

	£.	s.	d.
Subscribed	1,244	5	3
Have lent by themselves	1,470	14	9
Profits	2,704	11	0½

5,427 11 0½

Here, then, my friends, is a specimen of the principles of co-operation reduced to practice. Go thou, and do likewise. (Cheers.)

This resolution was seconded by Mr. Simon Bradford.

Mr. Stock, High Constable of Huddersfield, stated that, from his personal observations, the working classes were reduced to a lower point than ever was known before; and hailed indeed, with feelings of satisfaction and pleasure, that the plan he had heard that evening from their excellent chairman, which was so well calculated to relieve the working classes from their sad degree of suffering. (Loud cheers.) He indeed could bear witness that there was no exaggeration in the calculation made by Mr. Wilson, he (Mr. S.) had made an official survey. (Inserted in No. 15, vol. ii. of *the Crisis*.) As a well-wisher to his country and to the working classes, who bore all the burthens, he would say to them—unite, be wise, and relief must be the result; and he would be happy to do any thing in his power to assist them. (Loud and long-continued cheers.) It has been very properly put by a speaker this evening, that there were but two classes in society, the producers and non-producers—the rest was all fictitious and delusive; but unfortunately the producing many had, for periods past, been kept by the idle few in darkness, misery, and degradation; but there appeared to be a rapidly growing intelligence amongst the working classes, which would speedily enable them, if he mistook not, to overcome the difficulties that oppressed them, and did not some counterpoising power of that kind arise, he was fearful an awful convulsion must ensue; for the people had become weary and impatient with worn-out expectation that Parliament would have done something; but they knew not how; they have denied the truth of the real situation of the people, and consequently, if they know not the disease, they cannot apply a remedy. (Loud cheers.) The resolution was put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Owen moved a vote of thanks for their patriotic High Constable; which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Holmes moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was also carried by acclamation.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The delegates assembled at 7 o'clock, at the Co-operative Store, Westgate.

After a very lengthened discussion, which occupied the morning, as to the extensive field which was then opening for missionary exertion amongst the Trades' Union, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1st. That this Congress recommend the different co-operative councils of the kingdom to raise funds, and form a Missionary Association, to employ missionaries for the spread of co-operative knowledge.

2d. That a Missionary District Association be formed, taking in a circle of thirty miles round Huddersfield.

3d. That the first Huddersfield Co-operative Society be requested to act as Treasurer of the Huddersfield District Missionary Society.

4th. That four shillings per day be allowed for the compensation of Missionary labourers, subject to extra pay for coach-hire or other expense.

5th. That each society favourable to missionary exertions, send a penny for each member, on or before the first of every month.

6th. That Mr. Wilson, of Halifax, be appointed the missionary, *pro tem.*, for the Huddersfield district.

7th. That Loughborough and Foleshill be considered separate districts, and be recommended to follow the example of the Huddersfield district.

8th. That a Public Meeting be held at Back Green, at 3 o'clock, and that public notice be given by the town crier.

Adjourned at 2 o'clock for the public meeting.
BACK GREEN MEETING.

Mr. Owen being unanimously called to the chair, he explained the subject of the meeting, and gave a comprehensive and interesting description of his plans for the amelioration of the condition of the industrious classes.

Mr. Nicholson, of Halifax, moved the first resolution, viz.: "That it appears to this meeting that there is no want of agricultural productions, materials for manufactures, or finished goods of any description; and yet the great majority of the producers of all this valuable wealth are in abject poverty, and by some cause or other are constantly deprived of a regular supply of any of it."

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, in moving this resolution, I cannot refrain from expressing my delight at the manner in which Robert Owen has come forward in the cause of the suffering and working classes. (Loud cheers.) His conduct, his character, his plans, demand our fullest confidence. You have before you in his person, the father, the founder of co-operation; and had not that benefited the working classes in and round this district? There were thirty societies that, in four years, had accumulated between five and six thousand pounds capital, and withal, by the union and the diffusion of intelligence by libraries and discussions, had produced a great moral improvement in the minds of the working classes. And Mr. Owen has now explained to you a principle of exchange, which promises the most satisfactory results; then, my friends, let us consider this proposition of our benefactor, for we have depended in vain upon the Parliament to do any thing for us; and if we expect that they will ever do any thing for us, we shall be much mistaken. You know well that the terms of this resolution are quite true. You know well that your children are worked nearly to death in the factories; and that you have for their and your excessive toil, a bare subsistence. And it is not for the want of any thing that nature furnishes that you are so destitute; it is because you are so industrious, that you are so destitute. You do not husband your industry, which is your capital—you sacrifice it to the money capitalists, to those who do not the work. But this National Equitable Labour Exchange appears to be calculated to give you a ready market, to enable you to get the various productions of other working men of this kingdom in return for your productions. By union, this can be done; by union you can accomplish any thing. Therefore, my friends, I support this resolution, recommending you to the Co-operative Store for every information."

Mr. Evelyn, of Loughborough—"I most cordially second this resolution, and fully agree in the sentiments that have been expressed. I shall not detain you with any remarks of mine, as there are other friends who will explain the subject to you more satisfactorily than I can do."

Mr. Wood, the delegate from the Social Missionary and Tract Society of London (a society, said the chairman, consisting of 150 members, who have done much more good than all the members of the House of Commons put together), rose to propose the second resolution, and said, "the object of this meeting is to abolish poverty and produce the greatest amount of happiness in the shortest time, which your Legislature knows not how to bring about, for it is ignorant of your

situation. And how can it be otherwise? Do its members ever mix amongst you? Do they not, when they pass through your streets and your towns, roll in carriages? They lose all sympathy with you. To whom do you pay your rents? To their agents, their middlemen, and stewards, whose interests are to oppress you and misrepresent you. These oppressions have caused the men of London to look into the causes of these things, and they find they have been as much to blame as any one; and therefore, with the kindest feelings to all parties, they have resolved to take their own affairs into their own hands; and if you do the same thing, you will not only have the Cloth-hall, or some other extensive building, for your Exchange (as Mr. Owen has stated) speedily in your possession, but you will also have a convenient building, as you have plenty of materials in this district, for the working-classes to meet in, instead of being compelled, as now, to stand in the damp and cold. (Cheers.) My friends, the resolution I hold in my hand is as follows:—

'That the distress thus experienced by the industrious classes arises from the want of a just mode by which to exchange their labour with each other; and that the Equitable Labour Exchange, as now explained, appears to this meeting as the only means left to the working-classes to regain a just value for their labour, and to relieve them and their children from the dreadful effects of continually-increasing competition.' If the distress of the working classes arises from the want of money by which to exchange their varied productions with each other, why do not they remove their distress, by making money for themselves? Let them do this, and breathe confidence on their own money, which is the labour-note, to the full extent of their influence in society, and they will then have gained what all good men desire—Independence, and a just reward for industry. It is not on account of the indisposition of the population to work, or Nature's refusing to supply us with stone, or brick, or timber, for building, or materials for clothing and manufacture, or agricultural produce for food, that the working population of this kingdom is in a greater degree of distress than ever was known before. In London they have established an Exchange, in which the working classes, who were acquainted with it, have, in many weeks, done business to the amount of 1000*l.* weekly, (loud cheers;) and, by this time, had we been allowed to have continued, I have the fullest confidence we should have been doing many thousands weekly. The landlord of the premises in which the exchange was conducted, required such terms from us, because we were going on prosperously, that it would not have been just to the public that we should have acceded to them, and he, therefore, took forcible possession of the premises, and has been carrying on the business, but to a much less extent, for his individual benefit. But though this had retarded our operations, and had prevented us from opening country branches by this time, it had been productive of much good; we had been gaining great experience in the time, and in a pecuniary point of view also, instead of having 1800*l.* a-year to pay for rent and taxes for the premises we were ejected from, in our new premises we should have only 400*l.* a-year to pay, and for premises quite equal for the purposes of the exchange, and in a situation much superior. Thus, though there has been delay and inconvenience in our proceedings, they have been attended with the most beneficial results; and so the society feels which I have the pleasure of representing at the Co-operative Congress. On our being turned away from the Gray's Inn-road premises, it sent a deputation to Mr. Owen proffering him the utmost of its assistance, both in funds and services, should he require them, at the same time expressing the fullest confidence in him as a great public benefactor. The Equitable Labour Exchange was a ready market for goods of all kinds, and having

watched the practical operations of the exchange from its commencement, I can speak from personal acquaintance with various cases, wherein I know persons have greatly benefited themselves by it, from the readiness of the market to dispose of the goods of all; also by their being enabled to get back in exchange what they might require. In the old markets, a man very often, after he has manufactured his goods, will be days and days waiting for a customer; and when he meets with one, from want of the gold and silver to make his exchanges with, he is compelled to take whatever amount the customer will give him, which necessitates him to go with a less amount of exchanges than he ought to do for his subsistence and comfort as a human being. In London there have been many parties who have been able to furnish their apartments and houses, to get boots, and shoes, and clothes, and a variety of other useful articles which the Exchange was the depository of; and which they would not have been able to have obtained, had it not been for the existence of this excellent Institution; and when we shall have the Birmingham Branch opened, and branches in Manchester, in Liverpool, in Huddersfield, in Nottingham, in Sheffield, in Coventry, in Worcester, in Northampton, and other manufacturing districts—what is there then to prevent us from having the fullest interchange of cottons, of cutlery, of cloths, of stuffs, of ribbons and silks, of gloves, hosiery, and shoes? and when we have a stock of these, will not merchants be glad enough to make exchanges with us for other things we shall want, such as tea, colonial produce, and raw materials? Meanwhile the institutions are daily becoming richer and richer; a capital will be raised, and then we shall purchase land; and then, my friends, we shall be independent. What, then, have we to fear, with land and industry? With this end fully in view, have the United Trades' Association of London been acting. During the infancy of the Institution, the notes do not pass very extensively for the raw material, so they advance a sum weekly, for which is returned labour-notes; with which they procure the materials for their trade, and set to work their unemployed men, instead of keeping them idle, and wasting the trade funds. The Argyle Carpenters' Society, in Argyle-street, Oxford-street, London, have produced, within the last few months, nearly three hundred pounds' worth of property, which they have disposed of advantageously through the medium of the Exchange, and which might not have been produced, had it not been for the Exchange. (Loud cheers.) Then there was a Tailors' Society, following the example of the Carpenters, who had, in the last three months, laid out 70*l.* for cloth, ready money, and had done 150*l.* worth of business in the whole. These are a few of the many encouraging examples in London, which Birmingham is following. I could tell you of many more, but will not detain you longer. (Cries of "Go on.") Then there is a Ladies' Union also, which the ladies had themselves formed, and which employed unemployed females; and this encouraged many a working man to deposit articles to exchange for shirts, and other useful linen which his family wanted. (Loud cheers.) There is also a Shoemakers' Society, a Brass Founders', a Painters', and many others. Are these not pleasing facts of our working brethren in London and Birmingham? (Cheers.) This, indeed, is the right way effectually to take our affairs into our own hands; and when we, the producers of all wealth, get the possession of the whole of our produce—which these institutions will ultimately enable us to retain—we will not be so neglectful, so uncharitable, and so oppressive, as the non-producers have been to us.

Another important feature in this matter, which I had almost forgotten, is, that the desire of the founder is, that these institutions should not be made the vehicle for amassing individual fortunes; but that every one occupied in them should have

a just remuneration for his services, and the surplus to go for specified objects, viz. the education of the children of the working classes, and to secure the best means for the full and most beneficial employment of all; and if the working men commence only by exchanging their surplus labour through these Exchanges, it will prove to them the reverse of the present system of things; for now, the more they produced the poorer they became,—but then the more they produced, by exchanging it through the Bazaar, the wealthier they would become individually, and the richer would the institution become, which was so well calculated to bring them such important advantages; therefore, my friends, I move this resolution, feeling fully certain that great difficulties arise to the working classes from the want of a just mode by which to exchange their labour."

Mr. Walker: "I second the resolution, and agree most readily in the plans and statements set forth. Now is the time for the working-men; let us and our societies come forward, and take the subject up, and a brighter day will be our reward. I most cordially support the resolution."

Mr. Whitehead, of Holmfirth, rose, and said he held in his hand a very important resolution, which he would read:—"That this meeting strongly recommend to all classes to take this subject into their immediate and most serious consideration." This resolution he warmly supported, for he thought it essential that all classes should take this subject into consideration, for the benefit of the many, who were so lamentably suffering, some for the want of employment, and all for the want of a better remuneration for their labour. The plan their worthy and benevolent chairman had submitted to them was well worthy their attention and support; and why? because it would support them in return. Let them consider this well; let them join co-operative societies, where they might do themselves and their families good, by increasing their wealth and gaining knowledge. The co-operative society in this town was worth upwards of a thousand pounds. This was the union of the working-men; we might have Labour Exchanges all over the kingdom, which would benefit all classes; it would ease the farmer and housekeeper of poor-rates; it would enable the working many to pay their rent, which would be better for the landlord; it would enable all parties to lay out more with the shopkeepers—it would tend to make the poor comfortable, which, as far as it goes, must tend to produce happiness to society.

Mr. Simon, of Bradford: "In seconding this resolution, I will not detain you longer, as you have waited a long while in the cold, further than to urge on your most attentive consideration all you have heard this day."

A proposition was made by a person in the concourse assembled, for a vote of thanks to R. Owen, the chairman, which was carried with three times three.

At a special meeting of Congress, called by the Chairman, at 8 in the evening, after the Public Meeting.

It was resolved—"That the thanks of Congress be given to our dear and beloved brother in co-operation, Thos. Hirst, for his unwearied zeal and disinterestedness, both as a Co-operator and Missionary, in the latter of which he has sacrificed his health, and greatly endangered his most valuable life."

"That Mr. Owen, the chairman of Congress, and Mr. Wilson, his personal friend, wait on Mr. Hirst with this resolution."

WEDNESDAY.

Mr. Owen gave a further explanation of the principle and practice of Exchange in discussion, which took place among those delegates who were present.

Mr. Wood read a letter from Mr. King, late of

Gothic Hall, presenting a quantity of tracts to Congress.

Mr. Turner made a report from the Trades' Unions of London, on which a most important discussion arose, eliciting the most satisfactory practical information; when it was resolved—"That a Sub-Committee be appointed to take into consideration the best means for establishing district Branches of Equitable Labour Exchange, and also to digest a plan to submit to Congress for obtaining the co-operation of the Trades' Unions."

The following delegates were appointed to be the Sub-Committee: Messrs. Turner, Dawson, Holmes, Whitehead, Simon, and Nicholson.

It was then resolved—"That a National Congress, consisting of Delegates from the Co-operative Societies, and Trades' Unions of Great Britain and Ireland, be held in London on the first Monday in next October, and that the next provincial Congress be held at Barnsley, Yorkshire, on the Easter Monday following."

"That Mr. Owen and Mr. Wood, of London, be instructed to make the necessary arrangements for the National Congress."

"That this Congress address a letter to the working men of New York, proposing a union between their Societies and the National Co-operative and Trades' Union Societies of Great Britain and Ireland; and that Robert Dale Owen be requested to convey this resolution and communication to them, and to explain in person more particularly the desire of Congress for the exchange of reciprocal and kind feelings, and mutual good offices between the parties."

"That Mr. Dunn be requested to prepare the letter pursuant to the above resolution."

In the evening, the following report of the Sub-Committee was read:—

"Your Sub-Committee recommend to the delegates assembled, to submit to the consideration of the respective societies which they represent the propriety and practicability of establishing Labour Exchanges in their various districts."

"It is the opinion of this Committee that the best means of obtaining the co-operation of the Trades' Unions in Labour Exchange, is for the Congress here assembled to urge on the attention of the delegates the necessity of the members of their societies who do not belong to Trades' Unions, to join Trades' Unions, and for those who do unitedly to use their utmost exertion in explaining and teaching the principles of exchange."

"That the Co-operative Societies, after collecting all the information in their power respecting exchange, do communicate it at the earliest opportunity to Messrs. Owen and Turner, of London, in order that they may make the best practical use of such information."

After which, Mr. Dunn's letter to the Working Men of New York, as follows:—

"Fellow-labourers and Citizens of the United States of North America.—The delegates of the fifth Co-operative Congress of Great Britain and Ireland, now sitting at Huddersfield for the transaction of business, have deputed the Rev. C. B. Dunn and Robert Dale Owen, Esq., to make known to the working men of New York their unanimous desire to institute forthwith an amicable intercourse and correspondence between the operatives of their respective countries, confident that such a measure cannot fail to be attended with mutually beneficial results to their co-operative and trading associations. Such are the fraternal and friendly sentiments entertained towards you by a numerous portion of our industrious countrymen. We cannot for a moment doubt but that they will be met by a corresponding feeling of kindness and goodwill on the part of those to whom they are addressed. To the individuals entrusted with the management of this interesting negotiation no diplomatic commission could have afforded livelier emotions of pride or pleasure. Amongst the signs of the times, and the ominous indications around

us, there are none which present to us such a cheering and auspicious appearance as the establishment of unions of working men in the two most influential countries of the world. It is true that the industrious classes of the British empire have to struggle with difficulties, with which you have no longer to contend. They have not only, indeed, to combat for the restitution of their social, but likewise of their political rights; and that proud, dignifying feeling of independence, which expands the breast of an enfranchised citizen of America, has hitherto never been permitted to warm the heart or string the nerves of hundreds of thousands of degraded British subjects. We are at length, however, sufficiently sensible that we have now no longer any thing to hope from our present political constitutions. The Reform Bill has proved, as we anticipated, a piece of political chicanery: and that narrow policy which excludes the English operative from any participation in the government of the country, closes, in the mean time, the avenues of prosperity on the British nation. The consequences, however, are deplorable in the extreme. The innocent and unprotected artisans and manufacturers are suffering, in the interval, all the miseries of misrule; while the real delinquents, protected by the arm of power, not only continue to misgovern with impunity, but wallow in that wealth which we alone create, yet in which, anomalous as it may appear, we are not permitted to possess an iota of property. Is it, then, a matter to make a marvel at, that those artificial and coercive ties which have hitherto held society so feebly together, should, under such destructive circumstances, be rapidly dissolving? Or can we be allowed to wonder that the health of a great community should be vitally deranged, in which are manifested such evident symptoms of internal consumption. Humiliating—mortifying—irritating as it must necessarily be, to be compelled to speak in such disparaging terms of the state of our unfortunate country, yet do we feel a melancholy satisfaction in being allowed to confide to the sympathising bosoms of our industrious American contemporaries those indignant feelings which are excited within us by the contemplation of the multiplied injustice under which we suffer—conscious as we are of our sacred rights as men, and our paramount importance as citizens."

Such, freemen of America, are the political sentiments and feelings of the Co-operative Congress of this country. You have a claim upon our confidence, you have a right to be put into possession of our opinions upon these important subjects, before you can consent to receive us into the bands of brotherhood, or accept that right-hand of fellowship which we now stretch out to you over the waves of the wide Atlantic. We are not aware, indeed, to what extent you are prepared to concur in the views which we, as co-operators, entertain of the present constitution of society. It is, however, our opinion, that man is, even now, in possession of a rich treasure of social and moral truths, calculated, under a wise administration, to remove the greatest part of those evils to which our present institutions expose us, and create for the whole human race a new and very superior character. We look forward, indeed, with sanguine presentiments, to the speedy establishment of a quite new era in society, from which envy, hatred, and malice, will be for ever excluded, by the simple exclusion of the causes from which they emanate; and wherein all the opposite virtues—love, benevolence, usefulness—will universally predominate, through the predominance of the motives which call them into action.

In the present age of antagonism and contention, the satanic passions, pride, avarice, ambition, appear to animate the whole social body. We would not exaggerate nor set down as evil in malice, but we demand of the reflecting portion of our countrymen, are the tortures of Tantalus any longer in a mythological fable, whilst the millions

of England and Ireland are starving in the midst of plenty—forcing their attenuated muscles to unnatural exertion in the production of those vital necessities which are snatched from their withered grasp even in the moment of fruition, leaving them but the veriest refuse upon which existence can be supported? And can we for a moment suppose that these antisocial anomalies will be propagated in an infinite series to the end of all time? Are the achievements of mind in the material world to be followed up by no corresponding advances and improvements in the infinitely more important department of social life, where we behold such a mass of heterogeneous and discordant elements awaiting that grand moment in the plenitude of time, when the voice of reason shall enforce the mandate of the Almighty, and proclaim as of old, with creative energy, "Let the fruits of the earth and the means of happiness be equally distributed, and let man conform to the laws of his nature and the dictates of his reason." To this great crisis in the affairs of men and nations, every thing around us is rapidly approximating. The physical and moral power of the world is momentarily devolving into the hands of the productive millions. Of that power the working men of New York are reported to possess a formidable portion. Let them prepare to use it with discretion, and in the brief interval which may elapse before that period of our triumph shall arrive, let us remember that we have to qualify ourselves for the exercise of the godlike prerogative of remodelling the world. Independent, therefore, of any politico-economical or antiquated and worn-out notions, of which we have experimentally proved the inadequacy and inefficiency, bearing in mind that "the proper study of mankind is man," let us each and all pursue with indefatigable diligence that most useful study of the social science, always estimating the value of every moral principle, as well as every political institution, by their relative fitness and appropriateness to promote "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

You, brethren, like us are the victims of pseudo-civilization, exposed on every side to the manifold frauds which are practised upon you by the cupidity of usurers, and the vicious workings of the present medium of exchange. Your attention will be called to the subject of the monetary system by the highly-talented and influential individual with whom, in the present instance, I have the proud satisfaction to co-operate—a gentleman who has acquired, during the short interval of his residence among us, the love and esteem of every Englishman who can appreciate manly sense and sterling rectitude of conduct. The writer of this letter has long been a devoted admirer of the political institutions of America. Should his present disinterested and well-meant exertions in the cause of humanity and the welfare of his country expose him to any ecclesiastical censures or domestic persecutions, he will instantly seek an asylum in the palladium of freedom, and find friends and brothers amongst the intelligent workmen of New York. It is unnecessary to add how very happy he will be to hear from you with reference to the interesting subject of his present communication. Let no anti-social or mistaken policy interpose between you and us. The patriotism which confirms its spirit and operations within the narrow limits of our native land, is of a false and spurious character, unworthy to be entertained by men of enlarged and enlightened understandings. National antipathies no longer exist. The French and English people have already fraternized, never more, we fervently hope, to point against each other the murderous weapons of destruction. Let only the productive classes of America—of England—of France, obtain the preponderating power in the government of their respective countries, and the days of despotism are numbered—the working men will take their affairs into their own hands, and availing themselves of the accumulated experience of successive ages, remodel all their social and

political institutions upon that broad and secure basis which the wisdom of Washington, of Ben-
tham, and Owen has recommended for the adoption of the whole family of man.

By order of Congress.

C. B. DUNN.

Cumbeinorth, April 12, 1833."

The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—That the thanks of this Congress be awarded to Robert Owen, Esq., for his able conduct in the chair during the sittings of Congress, and more especially for his laborious, unwearied, extensive, and benevolent exertions in the great cause of humanity, and for the permanent welfare of the whole of the productive population of this country.

"And that the thanks of this Congress be given to Messrs. Eveley and Wood for their indefatigable exertions as Secretaries to Congress."

THE HAPPY VALLEY.

In No. 86 of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* there appears the following highly interesting description of a place called "The Happy Valley," which, although not mentioned in the text, we are informed is New Lanark. C. M.

"To the enthusiastic lover of the vastness, the beauty, and variety of nature, few situations are capable of imparting the same delight which he feels when the winter he has passed amidst the sophisticated circles of fashionable society, and the narrow compass of the streets of a city, is over, and the earth, having once more donned her summer robe, invites him to go forth and contemplate her loveliness. It was in the blooming month of June that I turned my steps westward from the capital of Scotland, to visit several places celebrated for their beauty, which I had never seen. There is something in the view of new prospects, and in the treading on new ground, which has always had the most exhilarating effect on my mind; and I arrived at the end of my first day's journey in the best possible mood for enjoying the pleasure that awaited me. It was a clear, soft, balmy evening when I left the vehicle which had conveyed me from town, in order to prosecute on foot the remainder of the way to the place which was the present object of my travels, and where I intended to remain for some days, that I might have an opportunity of examining its works of complicated art, as well as its scenes of natural and picturesque beauty; there being in the place I was about to visit very extensive cotton-mills, whose site is at the bottom of a deep ravine, through which flows one of the principal rivers of Scotland. For the short distance of somewhat less than a mile, which I traversed before reaching the place of my destination, there were no very remarkable features in the country around to attract attention, or excite admiration, which was all in favour of the impression to be suddenly made, when the object of interest burst upon my view, and I beheld the vale through which the river winds, in all its luxuriance of beauty, lying at my feet, at a very considerable depth.

"There I stood, in a perfect trance of delight, while I contemplated the circuitous paths which descend the banks in a perpetual zig-zag, and lead to the mills amidst trees of different kinds, whose foliage still retained the first bright and unsullied verdure of spring. The large masses of building, though constructed in straight and stiff lines, are prevented from appearing monotonous by their standing separately—by the manner of their disposition, the inequalities of the ground, and the scene of beauty in which they are embosomed, between

the banks of the river, that are now precipitous and now receding—in one place clothed with young plantations to the water's edge, and in another studded with trees the growth of ages, and interspersed alternately with rugged rocks and green slopes. The view was indeed like that of a fairy land, which I almost imagined myself to be entering after having left the every-day world behind me. I have seldom visited large manufacturing establishments without revolting from the moral picture they exhibited, in the squalid misery, or the impress of reckless vice in the people; but here every thing accords with the first delightful impression that you are entering a favoured spot, enclosed and kept apart from the wickedness that reigns in the earth; for you behold nearly two thousand of your fellow-beings rescued from idleness, want, and vice, by means of the benevolent and wise regulations to which they are subjected, and the unremitting care taken to put those regulations in force. Here all are well instructed, and supplied not only with the necessities and decencies of life, while they are exempted, in as far as the nature of things admits, from its calamities, but also with many of its innocent recreations and enjoyments. Here health, order, neatness, and amity prevail, while instances of depravity are exceedingly rare; and it enjoys the proud pre-eminence of being pronounced the place most free from crime of any in Scotland."

FROM HERSCHEL'S ASTRONOMY.

Those who have travelled on the celebrated rail-road between Manchester and Liverpool, testify that, but for the noise of the train, and the rapidity with which external objects seem to dart by them, the sensation is almost that of perfect rest.

The deepest mine existing does not penetrate half-a-mile below the surface: a scratch or pin-hole duly representing it, on the surface of a globe of sixteen inches in diameter, would be imperceptible without a magnifier.—The ocean comes to be conceived as a mere film of liquid, such as on our model would be left by a brush dipped in colour and drawn over those parts intended to represent the sea.

The greatest extent of the earth's surface which has ever been seen at once by man, was that exposed to the view of M. M. Biot and Gay-Lussac, in their celebrated aeronautic expedition to the enormous height of 25,000 feet, or rather less than five miles. The proportion of the visible area, in this case, to the whole earth's surface, is that of 5 miles to 8,000, or 1 to 1600.

Were it not for the reflective and scattering power of the atmosphere, no objects would be visible to us out of direct sunshine; every shadow of a passing cloud would be pitchy darkness; the stars would be visible all day, and every apartment into which the sun had not direct admission would be involved in nocturnal obscurity.

The stars continue visible through telescopes during the day as well as the night. Indeed, from the bottoms of deep, narrow pits such bright stars as pass the zenith may even be discerned by the naked eye; and we have heard it stated by a celebrated optician, that the earliest circumstance which drew his attention to astronomy was the regular appearance, at a certain hour, for several successive days, of a considerable star, through the shaft of a chimney.

NOTICES.

The second notice of last week remains unanswered, on account of the Congress proceedings. W., H. R. B., and Mr. Gill's letter, have been received with pleasure, and shall be inserted in due time.

Mr. Smith's Lecture on Sunday morning last is unavoidably omitted this week.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCT. 19.

THIS week we have been obliged to publish a supplementary number of the *Crisis*, for the report of the proceedings of Congress. We have also thought proper to publish the report of last Congress at Huddersfield, as an introduction to the present. The next Congress is to be held at Barnsley, in April next. Our readers will also find a very important document, drawn up with great care and labour, from the Parliamentary Reports, by one of our friends. This will lay before them at one view the present state of the country, and the gradual decay of our individual prosperity. From the column of official value of exports, which is a value that never alters, it will be seen what increase in quantity of manufactures exported has taken place; in the column of declared value will be seen the price which the merchant puts upon them at the Custom-house. This is, no doubt, below the real value, but merely a trifle; for if the merchant attempts to defraud government by declaring an inferior value, he is liable to be taken at his word, and have his goods taken from him. This is an *ad terrorem* law, to deter merchants from endeavouring to impose upon the custom officers. It is evident, then, from the official value column, that we are now exporting three times more goods than we exported in 1798; but it is also evident, from the other column, that these goods are worth very little more; for the true value of the manufactured goods, owing to the influence of machinery, has been invariably decreasing, so that the real value of our exports has been keeping pretty nearly stationary for forty years past. Thus, it is a very easy matter to hoodwink the public, as Mr. Owen expresses it, by making a false show of prosperity; yet all the while abiding strictly by the letter of the Parliamentary Reports, which reports are all perfectly accurate. The deception is effected, not by making false statements, but partial statements. Here we have two values, an official value and a declared value: yet neither of these is the real value after all: the real value to the merchant is the price that he receives for them, of which the government can give no account. But some parliamentary declaimer might, with strict truth, inform the house, and consequently the nation, that our exports had increased from nineteen millions to sixty, and elicit from that a most plausible proof of our increasing prosperity; but he either knows not, or willingly conceals the fact, that this is a false value, for the nineteen millions are worth thirty-three millions, and the sixty

millions worth only thirty-six; so that our exports, instead of increasing from nineteen to sixty, have only increased from thirty-three to thirty-six millions. But all this while our population is increasing so rapidly, that it is one-half more than it was forty years ago. Thus the proportion of real wealth to each individual is diminished, whilst it is evident, from the taxation column, that his burdens are increasing inversely, according as he becomes less able to bear them. This deterioration is going on progressively, with a sensible increase yearly; and thus it appears certain that we are sinking rapidly in the pit, and must soon be at the bottom, or starving point, if we do not vigorously resolve not to continue the present irrational system any longer. The other columns will be easily understood by our readers, and they will discover from each of them that the people are invariably the sufferers, and the aristocracy the gainers. Thus all the inclosure bills are passed in behoof of the rich, to shut out the poor man from the green fields, and imprison him amid the dust of Macadamization. The increase of pauperism is a proportionate increase of wealth to the great; for the wealth of the nation is divided amongst the population; and if four millions are reduced to beggary, it is the division of their proportion of wealth amongst their more fortunate superiors. Solicitors, attorneys, &c., tend to magnify the pauper-list, and consequently to fill up the coffers of the capitalists. Money makes money. All law is made for the rich man; and when he has gained a certain pitch of ascendancy, if the people do not devour his substance, he will speedily devour the people's. It is necessary that the people seriously consider these things, and the proper means of averting the coming evil. It is clear that Parliament cannot or will not relieve them; they must therefore yield to the law of necessity, and endeavour to relieve themselves.

FIRST USE OF MAHOGANY IN ENGLAND.—Dr. Gibbons, an eminent physician, had a brother, a West India Captain, who brought over some logs of this wood as ballast. As the doctor was then building him a house in King-street, Covent-garden, his brother thought they might be of service to him. But the carpenters finding the wood too hard for their tools, they were laid aside for a time as useless. Soon after, Mrs. Gibbons wanting a candle-box, the doctor called on his cabinet-maker (Wollaston in Long-acre), to make him one of some wood that lay in his garden. Wollaston also complained it was so hard. The doctor said he must get stronger tools. The candle-box was made and approved; inasmuch that the doctor then insisted on having a bureau made of the same wood, which was accordingly done, and the fine colour, polish, &c., were so pleasing, that he invited all his friends to come and see it. Among them was the Duchess of Buckingham. Her Grace begged some of the same wood of Dr. G., and employed Wollaston to make her a bureau also; on which the fame of mahogany and of Mr. Wollaston were much raised, and the wood came into general use.

THE CHARACTER OF MAN IS FORMED FOR HIM.—The idea corresponding to the term character, inevitably includes in it the assumption of necessary connexion. The character of any man is the result of a long series of impressions communicated to his mind, and modifying it in a certain manner, so as to enable us, from a number of these modifications and impressions being given, to predict his conduct.—Godwin's *Political Justice*, vol. i. p. 269.

When an extreme thirst for wealth possesses every breast, the glow and spirit of virtue vanishes, and government can only reward by large premiums those who were formerly satisfied with titles of honour. Monarchs should therefore create that species of wealth, but it will be current only while the minds of men are susceptible of noble impressions.

TO THE RATIONALISTS OF BRIGHTON.

FRIENDS.—The property of the late philanthropic Mr. Thompson, of Cork, having been left for the formation of communities upon the principles developed in his "Practical Directions," permit me to inform you, that, shortly, we have every reason to expect legal decision, as the possession and appropriation of the property is disputed by his relatives, and is now in legal suit for decision in the Irish Law Courts, as stated in several numbers of the *Crisis*. If, therefore, the Rationalists of Brighton can assist with pecuniary means, any communication addressed to Mr. S. Austin, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, London, (post paid,) will be thankfully received. The London Branch of the Social Community of Friends of the Rational System are about taking land sufficient for from ten to twenty adults, as an incipient community. Thinking, also, as a branch of the same has been formed at Manchester, and a return of their Members having been sent by Mr. Rigby, a delegate of Congress, to the Parent Society in London, it is very probable the Social Community of London will extend their numbers, in order to give opportunity for our friends in the North to join us. If the Rationalists will communicate with me I shall be very glad to give them every information which is in my power, and, in conclusion, would submit to them the propriety of making a united effort with us, rather than alone by themselves. I am, &c.

B. WARDEN,
Honorary Corresponding Secretary
to the Social Community.

All Letters to be post paid, directed to the Exchange, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, London, and will be attended to immediately.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT—ENDING OCT. 5.

Deposits excl.	Exchanges:
of Provis 10,391h. 1s.	Stock deliv. 7,692h. 2s.
INCOME: Cash & Notes.	EXPENDITURE:
Commission £19 13s. 1½d	Charges £. 7 12s. 0½d.
Charges rec. 0 7 4	Rent . . . 5 0 0
Rent Sub. . . 4 9 10	Lectures . . . 4 0 6
Lectures . . . 14 13 5½	Wages . . . 21 3 0
Festival resi-	Provisions 97 13 9
due . . . 0 10 6	
Provisions 120 13 1½	135 9 3½
160 7 4½	
135 9 3½	

24 18 0½ Profit for the Week.

Total Stock on hand . . . 46,892h. 2s.
Notes now in circulation . . . 32,061 5

Excess of Stock to meet the Notes 14,777 3
Audited by the Managing Committee,
S. WARNER, Chairman.

TABLE No. 1.

The first of the most IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS ever yet published, relative to the FINANCES and GENERAL STATE of Great Britain, making obvious to the world the FACTS which develop the TRUE CAUSES of the gradually increasing POVERTY and DEGRADATION of the PRODUCTIVE and USEFUL CLASSES, and of the gradual accumulation of MONEY by the Useless Classes; by those Classes who are now the ONLY BARRIERS to prevent the production of a VAST ADDITION ANNUALLY to the national wealth, and who also are the ONLY OBSTACLES to extensive rapid improvements in the physical, intellectual, and moral CHARACTER of every subject, from the highest to the lowest, in the British Empire.

DECREASE in the Value of our Products, and increased Pressure of Indirect Taxation, during seven Periods of Five Years each, from 1798 to 1832, showing the exact Proportion of Decrease and of Increase upon each Head of the Population, for each Period. Also the accumulation of Patents and Inebriate Bills.

Years.	Population of England and Wales.	Products and Manufactures exported each Year.		Declared or real Value, for Periods of 5 Years.	Proportion of Wealth per Head of Population, at each of the Periods.	Accumulation of Patents granted for Inventions and Improvements.	Excise and Customs on Tobacco, Wine, Brandy, Geneva, Sugar, Tea, and Glass.		Total Amount of Custom Duties in each Year.	Amount paid in each Period of 5 Years.	Proportion of Duty upon each Head of the Population at each Period.		
		Official Value.	Declared Value.				£	s. d.				£	s. d.
1798	...	19,772,603	33,142,182	...	...	1,700	...	...	7,983,000	...	...		
1799	...	24,084,213	38,942,498	...	...	1,760	...	...	10,227,000	...	...		
1800	...	24,304,284	39,471,203	200,896,920	...	1,852	...	36,806,000	9,425,000	48,307,000	...		
1801	8,872,980	25,719,980	40,770,354	...	23 15 2½	...	...	...	10,053,000	...	5 8 8		
1802	...	27,012,108	48,500,683	...	...	...	...	...	10,519,000	...	...		
1803	...	22,252,102	40,100,870	...	...	1,912	...	...	10,728,000	...	...		
1804	...	23,934,292	40,349,642	...	...	...	...	...	10,315,000	...	...		
1805	...	25,003,308	41,068,942	205,241,495	...	...	...	51,435,000	9,306,000	49,894,000	...		
1806	9,518,920	27,403,653	43,242,176	...	21 9 2	...	...	...	9,672,000	...	5 4 10		
1807	...	25,190,762	40,479,865	...	...	...	...	...	9,973,000	...	...		
1808	...	26,662,288	40,881,671	...	...	2,150	...	...	9,533,000	...	...		
1809	...	35,107,439	50,242,761	...	...	...	...	...	11,025,000	...	...		
1810	...	34,940,550	49,975,634	203,677,211	...	...	...	62,368,000	11,355,000	52,511,000	...		
1811	10,163,676	34,109,931	34,919,281	...	20 0 9½	...	...	...	10,124,000	...	5 3 4		
1812	...	31,243,362	43,657,864	...	...	...	...	...	10,454,000	...	...		
1813	...	32,000,000	43,000,000	...	...	2,257	...	...	10,939,000	...	...		
1814	...	33,200,580	43,447,372	...	...	...	...	...	11,126,000	...	...		
1815	...	41,712,002	49,643,245	216,756,675	...	...	...	59,976,000	11,807,000	59,238,000	...		
1816	11,073,370	37,034,774	50,400,328,940	...	19 11 5½	2,387	...	...	11,125,000	...	5 7 0½		
1817	...	39,235,397	40,337,118	...	...	...	...	...	14,201,000	...	...		
1818	...	41,963,527	45,188,250	...	...	2,570	...	...	14,464,000	...	...		
1819	...	32,923,575	34,248,495	...	...	...	...	...	13,081,000	...	...		
1820	...	37,818,036	35,568,670	187,006,394	...	...	...	63,763,000	12,550,000	65,622,000	...		
1821	11,984,875	40,194,893	35,826,082	...	15 12 1	2,812	...	...	12,958,000	...	5 9 6		
1822	...	43,558,490	36,176,897	...	...	...	...	...	12,569,000	...	...		
1823	...	43,144,466	34,691,124	...	...	3,016	...	...	13,852,000	...	...		
1824	...	48,030,037	37,573,918	...	...	...	...	...	13,984,000	...	...		
1825	...	46,468,282	38,083,773	177,592,792	...	...	...	...	18,640,000	86,375,000	...		
1826	12,934,770	40,332,104	30,847,638	...	13 14 7	3,472	...	...	19,380,000	...	6 13 6		
1827	...	51,276,448	36,396,339	...	...	...	...	...	29,519,000	...	...		
1828	...	52,029,151	36,152,799	...	...	3,878	...	not known,	19,817,000	...	...		
1829	...	52,019,728	36,150,379	...	...	...	...	say	19,212,000	...	...		
1830	...	55,465,723	35,312,873	181,860,047	...	...	...	75,000,000	19,540,000	93,875,000	...		
1831	13,894,574	40,492,637	37,691,302	...	13 1 0½	4,075	...	...	17,516,000	...	6 15 1½		
1832	...	60,690,123	36,652,694	...	...	...	...	...	17,790,000	...	...		
Increased Population 57 p. cent. since 1801.		Increase of Quantity, Value, 10½ p. cent. only since 1798.		Decrease 45 p. cent. per Head since 1798 to 1802.		Inc. Pressure 39 per cent. p. Hd. since 1802.		Inc. Pressure 39 per cent. p. Hd. since 1802.		Incr. Pressure 32 per cent. p. Hd. since 1811.			

* B. Official Value, is the old standard value of the goods, not the present value. — Declared Value, is the value given by the Merchants at the Custom House.

For any one, not initiated into the mysteries of Financial Quackery, the most intricate of all anomalies is the fact of so much Property being allowed to accumulate into *private hands*, when it is actually made by manufacturing a *public currency*; by managing a *public debt*; and by using a *public credit*, resting upon *public opinion*, grounded upon the power of the executive to collect the *public revenue*. Had the profits of the Bank been (as they ought to be) for the public benefit, 50 millions of the Public Debt might have been cancelled.

Uninterrupted and regular Increase of the Profits of the Bank.	Amount distributed in each Period with increased Capital.	No. of Solicitors in England and Wales each Year.	Years.
£ 814,968	...	...	1798
814,968	...	...	1799
814,968	5,239,080	...	1800
814,968	...	...	1801
814,968	...	...	1802
814,968	...	...	1803
814,968	...	...	1804
1,397,088	5,588,350	...	1805
1,397,088	...	...	1806
1,164,240	...	...	1807
1,164,240	...	...	1808
1,164,240	6,403,320	...	1809
1,164,240	...	...	1810
1,164,240	...	...	1811
1,164,240	...	...	1812
1,164,240	...	...	1813
1,164,240	...	...	1814
1,164,240	6,548,850	...	1815
1,309,770	...	...	1816
1,455,300	...	...	1817
1,455,300	...	...	1818
1,455,300	...	6,764	1819
1,455,300	7,858,820	6,930	1820
1,455,300	...	7,080	1821
1,455,300	...	7,353	1822
1,164,240	...	7,618	1823
1,164,240	...	7,894	1824
1,164,240	7,276,500	7,928	1825
1,164,240	...	8,193	1826
1,164,240	...	8,430	1827
1,164,240	...	8,624	1828
1,164,240	...	8,908	1829
1,164,240	7,276,500	9,016	1830
1,164,240	...	9,083	1831
1,164,240	...	9,321	1832

* To which add, B-nurses:—£3,910,600 in 1816; £582,120 in 1804; £391,080 in 1802; £582,120 in 1808; £1,164,240 in 1799.

MONDAY, Oct. 7.

Mr. Owen was called to the chair.

The minutes of the last Congress having been read, Messrs. Austin, Smith, and Wood, were elected secretaries.

The afternoon was spent in receiving the credentials of the delegates. After some other preliminary matters were arranged, the Congress adjourned till Tuesday morning, to allow the delegates to participate in the amusements of the festival, which took place in the evening at eight o'clock.

"The Co-operative and Trades' Unions Congress Festival was held at the Institution, Charlotte-street, which was attended by at least about 1,000 persons, of all classes, under the directions of working men. The social and friendly feeling that seemed to pervade their repast and amusements, gave us great satisfaction, and fully proved to our minds that the work of rationality was fast progressing. Mr. Owen animatedly addressed the assembly at some length, and in which he gave a rapid detail of a tour in the North of England, where the working-classes were fast gaining an idea of their importance in the social scale, and which was only to be gained and retained by union founded on knowledge. The pleasures of the evening were further augmented by the extraordinary performance of young Viotti Collins on the violin."—*Morning Advertiser*.

TUESDAY.

Congress met at nine o'clock, a. m., and after reading the minutes of the proceedings of last Congress, and the minutes of the proceedings of yesterday, Mr. Owen read two letters, one from Mr. Gill, London, and another from Mr. Miers, secretary of the Grand Association of the Potteries; he spoke highly in commendation of the spirit and intelligence manifested by the pottery men, who seem to be far in advance of the rest of the trades in useful knowledge, and a right understanding of the proper means to be adopting for effecting their own deliverance. The builders, he observed, come next in this graduated scale of intelligence and spirit.

Mr. Simpson, delegate from the Potteries, stated that he was the representative of about 8,000 men, 6,000 of whom belonged to Staffordshire, and 2,000 to other places; that they had established lodges in different parts of the kingdom, such as Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Bristol, Derby, Swinton, Yorkshire, and, in fine, wherever there is a pottery. "These lodges consist of a president, vice-president, secretary, &c. Besides these, there is a grand lodge, which is composed of the president and representative of each lodge, and is superintended by a grand master and a deputy grand master, &c. The common and inferior lodges meet every Saturday evening, and the grand lodge meets on Monday evening, and hears the report of the proceedings of the minor lodges. For some time past we have been making a determined resistance to the masters, and they have at length felt the necessity of treating us with respect. About three weeks ago they requested a deputation of our society to meet and confer with them. We told them that our intentions were, that no man should work for less than a certain amount of wages. The masters had no objections to this, provided we would guarantee to them that all other masters throughout the country should comply with the same conditions. This proviso we insured to them ultimately. Accordingly we appointed another

meeting for presenting a new list of wages. This meeting was to take place yesterday; hence it is impossible for us to report the proceedings. We have been studying the subject of labour exchange and co-operation, and we find the subject of considerable importance, and are desirous of obtaining further information. We have no power from our constituents to form any alliance or enter into arrangements with you; we merely come for instruction; but we have been so thoroughly satisfied with what we have seen since we came, that we have no doubt that a solid union will shortly be effected between you and us."

Mr. Edward Keys, the other delegate from the Potteries, confirmed the statements made by Mr. Simpson, and observed that Mr. Owen's plans had been discussed by the lodges a little before the departure of the delegates, and had given general satisfaction. The subject was seriously discussed, and the consequence was the present mission of himself and colleague to the Congress.

Mr. Gray, delegate of the first section of the cabinet department, merely stated that the grand object of his association was to furnish a supply of articles in the cabinet line, for the Labour Exchange. He remarked, that the sooner his and all other trades were identified with the Bazaar the better. The trades in their present state were like so many little islands; were these islands brought together, they might form a spacious continent. The first and second section of cabinet-makers are distinguished by the locality alone, there is no other difference. About sixty subscribe 1s. per week; by means of this shilling per week they employ all their idle hands.

Mr. Wood, from the Co-operative Society of Worcester, stated that his society consisted of about 100 members; that the work was progressing amid many difficulties; that there were many in Worcester who were favourable to the cause of co-operation and exchange, but who dared not openly avow their sentiments; and that the society only wants a little more strength to defy public suspicion, and then there could be no fear of a rapidly-increasing prosperity.

In answer to some allusions which Mr. Wood made to the pecuniary resources of the pottery unions, and the project of commencing a manufactory of their own, for giving relief to the unemployed, Mr. Keys replied, that the subscription of each member was 6d. per week, and that it was in contemplation to form a joint-stock company.

Mr. Simpson stated that last annual meeting, in August, delegates from all parts of the country attended, and the delegates from Worcester recommended taking a factory, to give employment to the idle, instead of supporting them by the subscriptions of the members. At that time, however, it was found to be impossible to carry this plan into execution, and this was one point upon which he requested some information.

Mr. Rigby, from Manchester, made his report. He stated that he represented three separate interests, the first is the schools, and the other two are social communities, the one for emigration, and the other not. In respect to the first, he said that they had observed a great barrenness and want of intelligence amongst the people; and that it appeared to them that the best means of removing the evil of life is to create intelligence. Many societies had increased in wealth, but none had increased

in knowledge; hence they had all become disorganised and gone to dissolution. Division of mind is occasioned by want of knowledge, and practical disunion necessarily follows. Hence the formation of the schools which he represented; and the committee of management wished particularly to impress upon Congress the propriety of following their example, in the formation of similar institutions. They taught from 250 to 300 pupils, three nights weekly. "It is not an uncommon thing in our school to see little ragged boys learning geometry and algebra, and acquiring considerable knowledge of the elementary principles of some of the sciences. We have also established Sunday-schools for a similar purpose. In the formation of these we met with considerable opposition from the priests and religious world; but we soon triumphed over them by the progress of our pupils, and by the attraction which we gave to our prelections, by which our meetings are crowded to excess. We have no money, the teachers teach gratis. We never meet each other at public-houses; when we want to meet, we go to school, where we are sure to find congenial minds; and on Sunday afternoon we all take tea together." Mr. Rigby mentioned that the scholars subscribed part of the money, which paid the expense of his mission.

Mr. Owen asked what kind of feeling was manifested between master and pupil?

Mr. Rigby replied, we teach the children that no individual can love or hate at pleasure; that his character is created for him by organization and surrounding circumstances; and neither rod nor stick, nor any instrument of punishment, has been used in our school since its commencement. On Sunday week we went with our pupils to visit some gardens in the neighbourhood of Manchester; other schools had been denied admittance, on account of depredations formerly committed, but after some entreaty and persuasion, we obtained an exception in our favour. Our pupils behaved with such decorum and good faith, that the people asked us, in surprise, how it happened that we had gained such a superior control over their minds, and subjected them to such strict discipline. They probably suspected that we treated them with cruelty, and enforced obedience by the severity of our corporal punishments; but we informed them that our discipline was so far from being strict, that we had no discipline at all, as discipline is commonly understood in schools—that is, we had no punishments. Other teachers rule their pupils by a rod of iron; our rod is a rod of love. And if we were to turn our backs upon them, they would behave with the same propriety as when our eyes are upon them. I may also add, that some of our pupils are so far advanced, and so zealous in the good cause that they have acted as missionaries, and propagated our principles by their own personal exertions. Our first or most advanced class has a vote in all the transactions of the school; the other classes have a right to send a petition to the teachers for any thing they want, whether it be a favour they seek to obtain, a grievance they wish to have removed, or a proposal they wish to recommend. At first we found considerable difficulty in properly arranging and distributing the pupils of the different classes, for we frequently found little boys were children very far in advance of elder boys, and even of adults; we felt aversion to any arrangement which should introduce an inequality of age into the

different classes, but at last we yielded to necessity, and classed our pupils, not according to their age, or the size of their bodies, but according to the advancement of their minds and the degree of information which they possessed. To this they all agreed to submit; we put them through the sieve by a strict examination, and the result was that in the lowest class of all we had several adult married men. Our school cost us in establishment about 150*l*.—The second constituency which I am sent to represent are the Social Community Company. These have witnessed with great sorrow the successive failures of numerous societies of individuals who contemplated advantageous changes, and formed plans of amelioration for the working men, and are now in despair of seeing the realization of the golden prospects of community in their day. They say, that if all the money which has been expended upon such societies had been collected into one mass, it would have been amply sufficient to effect all the change which is demanded; but it has all been divided and uselessly squandered, and they see little prospect at present of concentrating the means. Men of fortune, they say, may easily go into community, for they have the power, which is capital; but poor men are dependent upon circumstances of a more adverse and restrictive nature; hence they have concluded that the most prudent step they can take at present, is to unite their savings, and instead of spending them either in one speculation or another, to suffer them to accumulate at the ordinary rate of interest, and afterwards to employ the sum in planting themselves upon some spot of land, where they may commence their agricultural and social labours. They have already a common fund deposited in Heywood's bank, and mean, if some favourable and unexpected change in the social and political condition of England do not previously occur, to emigrate next spring to Mr. Owen's co-operative establishment in New Harmony.—We have already made an experiment of the institution of provisional stores upon the common joint-stock principle, but they have not been productive of any advantage. In consequence of the overwhelming competition of the capitalists, who are enabled to purchase large stocks at less than their original cost, we were obliged to act upon a very confined plan. In the first place, we were obliged, from want of capital, to establish our stores in the small lanes or back streets; and in the second place, we were obliged to confine our sales entirely to cash exchange. These two circumstances subjected us to very great disadvantages: the former, as regards the respectability, and consequently the attraction of our establishment; and the second in some measure defeated the very end of these establishments, namely the interest of the poor; for if any of our friends were thrown out of employment, then we were their friends no longer; there was no credit allowed in the establishment, so that at the very time when they stood most in need of assistance we were compelled to refuse it. You may well imagine that this was done with great regret and reluctance on our part; but in doing so, we consulted merely our own abilities and the general good. At last the clamour arose about the cruelty of this law against credit, in our dealings with the members of the society. We could not resist it, and after consulting together we agreed to allow credit to each member to the full amount of his subscriptions. This, however, proved eventually the dissolution of

our association; and after two years, when we came to balance our affairs, we found that we had not gained sixpence: it was some consolation, however, to think that we lost nothing; it was as near as possible a fair balance. Hence we came to the conclusion, that our money would have been better in the bank, or spent on education; for in that case we should have had wealth and knowledge where now we had nothing. This class, which is the third constituency by which I am delegated—the Social Community of Friends—conceive that errors and superstitions have proved the great cause of all the failures, in every benevolent attempt to ameliorate the condition of the people; that there is only one true religion, and that that religion teaches men to associate together as one body—to rear every child with equal care and tenderness, and give equal opportunities of instruction to all; that it is the duty of this church to give a proper direction to industry and knowledge: that the earth contains enough for all, if proper arrangements were made; and that knowledge and wealth might easily be spread amongst the whole mass of mankind. That it is the duty of Co-operators to project some plan by which this new religion may be diffused, and as an example to others in reducing this article of faith to practice, they have instituted lectures and discussions on Sunday evenings, which are crowded to excess, and are found to be productive of essential benefit in the propagation of useful knowledge. And this society have requested me to recommend to Congress the adoption of a similar measure, that we may all unite in one body, of which the society in London may constitute the head. They think that our friends are very numerous throughout the country, if they could but be collected and organized; and therefore they recommend that persons be appointed to visit different parts of the country and open these religious assemblies, &c.” Mr. Rigby gave a short view of a graduated scale of intellectual and physical ascent, beginning with the education of children, then schools of industry, then the taking and cultivation of land; afterwards the inclusion of manufactures, trades, &c., till at last he arrived to a high state of physical, moral, and intellectual liberty.

Mr. Freeman reported for the first section of carpenters. “This association was instituted January, 1832. Its ultimate object was the equalization of property; but since the Labour Exchange was brought into operation, we have adopted its principles and determined to support it. We have already commenced manufacturing articles for the Bazaar, and have continued doing so for three months, during which time we have done business to the amount of 154*l*. 12*s*. in cash, and 35*l*. 1*s*. in notes. Besides this, we have done business to the amount of 180*l*. exclusive of exchanges. Our stock in trade is at present 64*l*.; we pay 6*d*. per week of subscription, and we employ all our members who cannot find employment in outer society, and occasionally find it necessary to employ strangers to execute our orders.”

Mr. Handy stated that he represented what is generally called the miscellaneous department, which consists of a great number of members (1100); the principles of this Exchange are as popular as can be amongst them. “Equal rights and equal privileges are not understood by the people, or we should meet with much less opposition; our difficulties are very great, and we had overcome much; but our

chief difficulties are to be found in the foolish prejudices of the people. Ultimate success is certain, and all that we want to accomplish speedily is, close union and organization. Many of the popular prejudices have arisen from the breaking up of our establishment in Gray's Inn-road. The public, always rash and unjust in forming its conclusions, has formed its opinion of our principles from the fate of our establishment, ignorant of the private circumstances which occasioned our removal to Charlotte-street, and the ungenerous conduct of certain individuals, who had us in their power, and consulted their own interests more than the public welfare; the people have been tempted to ascribe the failure to defects in our principles, or fraudulency in our practice. That rupture has proved a very powerful check to the propagation of our principles of late; and many who are ignorant of our present arrangements, and the success which has attended them, still continue to reproach us with the old misfortunes. This prejudice, however, is gradually and rapidly wearing off, as people come to a knowledge of facts, and make a comparison between the present and former plan of procedure. Our success is now beginning to be apparent, and the great benefits which many individuals have experienced from our Exchange, is of itself a sufficient recommendation to public patronage. Besides, we have hitherto met the old notes very satisfactorily, and made arrangements to take up the remainder, so that we have every reason to believe that the fears of the public respecting our paper-money shall vanish, and it shall enjoy a wide circulation. It seems to be of essential importance that we appoint a valuing committee, whose business shall be to set a fair price upon all articles of exchange. This is one of our chief difficulties at present; and we cannot expect to prosper, unless we contrive to surmount this difficulty with more facility than hitherto. Hitherto, we have been obliged frequently to go out of our own premises to obtain valuation of goods which were sent for exchange. This is disagreeable; and, besides, it subjects us in some measure to the world without, who thus have it in their power to tamper with us.” Mr. Handy also spoke of the committee in high terms of commendation; but, he observed, that hitherto their services had been gratuitous; that instead of being masters, as some might suppose, they were the slaves of all; and that they had been indefatigable in bringing the Exchange to its present state of prosperity. “Our managing committee has divided itself into sub-committees, for the better regulation of our affairs; and now, with the removal of some few difficulties to which I have alluded, and some capital to give us a little more vigour and independence, we have no doubt of success! We are all of us warmly attached to the principles of labour exchange; principles so very social, we judge also must commend themselves to public notice speedily, more especially as at present we do not attack any of the popular prejudices so violently as we should do, were we projecting or carrying into execution a plan of community.”

Mr. Foskitt, from the Social Reformers—The object of this society is not trading; it is purely intellectual, and aims at the creation of means for disseminating the principles of general science; a knowledge of the immense powers of human production; a knowledge of statistics; a knowledge of the small advantage derived, even by our rulers and aristocrats,

from the vast resources of society; a knowledge of the laws of Nature, and the means of effecting a removal of poverty. It is also friendly to the cause of labour exchange. However, it sees no moral improvement in the mere practice of labour exchange; that moral improvement can only be seen in the great and ultimate desideratum—namely, community.

Mr. Meres, from the Social Community—“Our members are 340; we are divided into eighteen classes, which division is determined by locality, or the residence of the particular members; these classes have private meetings of their own, independent of the general public meeting on Wednesday evening. These classes have each a superintendent, who calls the class together, so that in a few hours any communication can be conveyed to any, or all, the members of the association. These superintendents form a council; which council, last Sunday morning, discussed a proposal to take land in the neighbourhood of London, for the purpose of forming an incipient community, which project they hope to carry into effect in the course of a few weeks.

Mr. Waddington appeared as a delegate from the same association, and gave a delineation of some limited plans, which he proposed as an experiment upon land, spade cultivation, and incipient community.

REPORT OF MR. HORNE (DELEGATE TO FRANCE) TO THE CONGRESS.

“In June last I passed, a delegate from the Missionary Society, into France, to obtain a correct knowledge of the actual state of aggregate intellect in that progressive country; the fundamental principles—the practices emanating from such principles—and to discover if a possibility existed of commencing a correspondence and friendship with intelligent individuals and societies, professing and possessing similar principles or desires with the missionaries and disciples of the Social System; which desires are no less than an entire change in the condition and practices of existing things—an entire emancipation of mankind from ignorance, uncharitableness, and misery.

“We had heard much respecting the rationality and knowledge in France. The Council of Missionaries desired to know, for they doubted whether these assertions were correct; and why did they doubt? simply because we knew that real rational knowledge, and the profession of a great fundamental error, from which all anomalous practices and prejudices emanate, could not exist together.

“The French people do possess a desire to deliver themselves and other nations from the wretched condition in which they are placed; but they do not possess the necessary knowledge and power by which this desirable event can be accomplished. It was to discover whether they possessed this knowledge—whether they were acquainted with our great fundamental principles, and whether their actions were in unison with such principles, and if not, to unite with them, and co-operate in such views that are common to us both, that I was delegated by the Missionary Society of the Social System, professing the highest principles of rationality, justice, and charity, to be an inquirer, observer, and collector of facts. And if I found liberal and enlightened men and societies willing and placed in a position to commence a friendly correspondence with the advocates and disciples of the Social System, to lay a train of circumstances by which it could be accomplished; and I am glad to say that I found many intelligent men, and some societies, willing, but few placed in a position to commence such a correspondence and union. One intelligent society, however, (in which I consider some of the highest intellect in France is condensed,) is fully prepared to commence a correspondence and friendship with the intelligent in England, professing similar principles with themselves, viz. the civilization of mankind, and destruc-

tion of misery and wretchedness. The society that I allude to is called “The Society for Universal Civilization,” situated in Rue Jacob, Paris. This society has power, if knowledge is power, and if high names go far; it possesses above twenty-five professors in the arts and sciences; men that are really seeking truth; it publishes a monthly journal and weekly paper, containing a report of all lectures, discourses, theories of all individuals, no matter from what country the individual delivering these theories comes. These lectures are gratuitous and open to the public.

“To this society, in particular, I went several times, and placed before it the credentials of my mission, papers, &c., and a letter from the Missionary Society. This is a copy:—

“*To the Friends of Human Happiness in France.*

“*FELLOW-LABOURERS IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM.*—We, the disciples of the Social System, address you on behalf of the cause, in the promotion of which you are engaged in common with ourselves; we are desirous of uniting with you in this great cause; and we invite you, as fellow-men and as brothers, cordially to co-operate with us in promoting the advancement of human happiness. To Frenchmen are mankind deeply indebted; your writers have pointed the way to freedom; they have inspired mankind with a thirst for inquiry; they have animated them with a love for liberty.

“You have shown by your actions how deeply you felt those noble sentiments with which the literature of your country is adorned; our hearts have beaten in unison with yours during your struggles for freedom. We have sorrowed with you at finding that these struggles have been in vain.

“Frenchmen! the enemies of freedom have formed a (misnamed) holy alliance against human liberty—let the friends of freedom unite in a holy alliance to promote it. We desire to unite the great family of mankind in a bond of brotherhood and of happiness. We call upon Frenchmen to aid us; surely you will respond to our call? We desire to discover and to disseminate eternal and infallible truths regarding human nature. We desire to discover and to bring into practical operation principles in unison with these eternal truths: we have laboured in these investigations; we have discovered principles which appear to us to be founded on immutable truth, and by which alone we conceive can human happiness be perfected; we invite the liberals of France to examine these principles; we invite you to give us your sentiments on them.

“We also desire that we may receive from you those principles and those views by which you propose to effect the happiness of your fellow-men. And if we should not agree with you on all points, yet we desire to act with you on those which are common to us both; and that those on which we may differ may not prevent that brotherhood which should ever exist between men whose interest is unity and truth.

“By the eternal laws of nature, by the value of human labour, and by our desire to promote the happiness of all,

“We are your brother liberals,

“The Disciples of the Social System.”

“*Objects to which Mr. Horne is requested to direct his attention during his continuance in France:—*

“1st. To discover what the liberal parties hold as fundamental principles, what numbers these parties consist of, and what means they make use of to bring these principles into practice.

“2nd. To invite them to a co-operation with us.

“3rd. To advance our principles.

“4th. To establish a communication with the Missionary Society, monthly (if possible).”

“I delivered it to the president and council, and it was received as intelligent men will always receive philanthropic designs and principles—with kindness and friendship; in return, they presented me, for the Missionary Society’s perusal, five of their monthly journals, and some of their weekly papers, containing a full account of the origin, progress, and ultimate design of this intellectual and philanthropic society, and a promise that when the advocates of the Social System are prepared to commence a regular corre-

spondence, or exchange, weekly, monthly, or yearly, of publications, principles, truths, &c., they will fairly and honestly study and discuss in their assemblies the letters, publications, and principles sent to them, on condition that we follow their example, and discuss the principles and truths they send us, and, for the welfare of the human race, hold fast that which is true.”

Mr. Grettan, of the Social Union, said, “we intend to organize the various societies throughout the kingdom. Our friends in Manchester have already answered to our call; our friends in Worcester, we believe, are about to do so. We wish to show a practical experiment to the world of the superiority of our principles; the public has attacked us upon the visionary character of our doctrines, they have told us that it is merely a theory, and, consequently, impracticable. We hope speedily to undeceive them. Our friends in Manchester have already made the experiment, and their efforts have been crowned with success. I could scarcely refrain from tears when my friend Rigby was drawing his vivid outline of the proceedings of the school at Manchester, for I myself was present at the foundation of that school, and take a lively interest in the success of all similar institutions; for it is my firm belief, that principles of any kind, good or bad, are more easily planted in the young mind than in adults, they so easily imbibe ideas, and first impressions are so lasting.”

Mr. Rigby here mentioned, that the committee of the Manchester school had resolved to petition government for part of the money which had been voted in Parliament for the promotion of education amongst the people; but the scholars hearing of this intention, petitioned the masters to abandon their resolution, as it might subject the school to some tyrannical restraint. At the suggestion of the scholars, the masters cancelled their resolution, and now we carry on successfully without any pecuniary assistance. “Our pupils have established a sort of scientific school amongst themselves, independent of the teachers; and when it was asked them what was their object in forming such an institution, they replied, that they formed it for the purpose of initiating themselves into the practice of teaching, as the masters would not always be with them; and they wished to qualify themselves for supplying their places, as the school should happen to be deprived of their services.”

Mr. Peel, from the Social Union, stated the object of the Social Union, which was organized immediately after the declaration of the 1st of May; this object is to enable us to leave, as soon as possible, the old, irrational system. The progressive means are—first, to prove, by example, the principles of the social system. Second, to prepare, not only infants but adults, for a new state of society, by a system of education. “We are all of us very unfit, with our present prejudices, to enter into community; any attempt to establish such a perfect system, must fail in the mean time. We must all go to school first, and unlearn what we have been taught; we must leave old circumstances, and enter into new; it is with this view that we have been led to the formation of schools or classes; we begin first, by meeting together, and afterwards we hope to take a new step, and commence living together, which is a result that may easily be obtained. All that we have yet done is but outward show, mere moonshine; but we are creating the means which shall ultimately fit us for better things. The last and greatest object we have in view is the obtaining of land; but what is thirty acres of land, or indeed, any small portion? we want it in large quantities, and we really have the

means, if we knew how to make use of them ; but prejudices are in the way of all improvement, and, indeed, if we were in possession of the land, prejudices would prevent us from making use of it to our own advantage. I feel myself imperfect ; I don't make myself an exception, when I brand my fellow-creatures with the guilt of imperfection. Hence, I would counsel all to consider well their own defects, and endeavour to remove them." Mr. Peel spoke in commendation of Mr. Henderson's school, in which there are no rewards or punishments. He differed with many of his friends in respect to land ; he considered education, infant and adult education, as of more importance at present ; all improvement must commence with education.

Mr. Jennesson made several appropriate remarks on the same subject, of the nature and intention of the Social Union.

Mr. Pryer, from the First Tailors, said, this association was formed about the time of the Institution of the Labour Exchange, in Gray's Inn-lane. Their first assembly consisted of about a dozen, and now their number amounts to two hundred. Each member exchanges one shilling a-week for a labour-note ; these shillings are employed to purchase raw materials ; and by this simple process, they have employed from twelve to twenty men, who would otherwise have been without work. Many take the practice, or rather the mal-practice, of exchange for the principle, and hastily condemn it ; but those have seen it practised in a judicious way must at once acknowledge the justice of the principle, and the possibility of making it highly instrumental in improving the condition of the people, as it secures to the labouring man the value of his labour. The old societies require a subscription of two shillings a-month, or from two shillings to five shillings from their members, out of wages which are only at an average of twenty-six shillings, although they are usually called thirty-six shillings." These societies pay out of their funds to the unemployed, instead of providing them with work, as we do ; but we are persuaded that, if they were to follow our example, they would find ample employment for all, and have a surplus fund in addition. Many suppose that this exchange of the shilling for the labour-note is a sacrifice ; but this, if it is a sacrifice, which happens only occasionally, is entirely owing to present circumstances, for when the exchange is better supported, and the Bazaar contains a greater variety of articles, the labour-note will be equally as good as money, not only to ourselves, but to strangers. All our members pay one penny per week, which is called exchange rent ; this entitles them to send one member to the managing committee at the Institution. The Exchange gives great satisfaction, and proves of no disadvantage to any. Many from it have had clothes and food, and from one pound to thirty shillings per week, who would otherwise have been destitute. Our men are all paid in labour-notes, none in money ; we are enabled to pay as well as the best shops, and can produce as good and as cheap an article. The trades' fund is managed by a council of seven, who are chosen by the shareholders ; every member who subscribes five shillings becomes a shareholder. Those who lend money to this fund receive 5 per cent., and those who borrow pay 5 per cent. Individual members sometimes draw eight or ten pounds at a time. This enables us without a sacrifice to compete with masters, whose great advantage over the work-

ing men consists in the possession of ready money. This capital enables them at times to purchase goods 25 per cent. cheaper than prime cost."

Miss Green reported for the Female Association. The object of this association is to provide raw material for unemployed females to work upon ; this is done by each member purchasing a labour-note per week, and they have gone on without any pecuniary assistance from the commencement. Their numbers were originally fourteen, and they commenced with seven shillings and sixpence ; now they amount to sixty in number, and consist chiefly of females who are out of employment. Hitherto they have continued to prosper, and have good reason to expect that their prosperity shall be progressive.

Mr. Austin read a letter from the representatives of a society, Church-street, Lisson-grove, Marylebone ; also one from the Kendall Co-operative Society.

Mr. Owen here stated that the Kendall shoemakers had sent a supply of shoes to the Birmingham Exchange, which were so very good and so cheap as to astonish the shoemakers of Birmingham. This was one proof of the soundness of the fundamental principles of labour exchange, and the certainty of its success, provided the people could only be convinced of the fact, and induced to make a practical experiment of the system. In reference to these apologetic letters for the non-attendance of different societies, Mr. Owen observed, that one reason why the present Congress was so small was the shortness of the notice which was given ; the delegate from Worcester had told them that his society had only received the circular on Saturday evening, and he set off for London the next morning.

Mr. Wood, the Secretary, here stated that circulars had been sent to all the societies about a fortnight ago, but many of them might not be delivered in time. A letter from the society in Bradley stated, as an apology for not sending a delegate to Congress, the smallness of their capital, which was only 140*l.*, and therefore they request to be represented by letter. A letter from Huddersfield was also read, and one from the Spanish Leather Dresser Trade's Society.

Mr. Owen : " We have now heard the reports of the delegates, and it is evident that all the efforts of the different societies have hitherto been of an incipient nature. Notwithstanding, they form a nucleus in the different parts of the country, to collect around them the working population, to induce inquiry into the true state of their condition, and to afford that information which they require respecting the practical measures to be adopted for their future deliverance. And I have no doubt that, small as they yet are, they have been the chief instruments of bringing the working classes to their present state of intelligence and resolution to resist the oppression, by enforcing an entirely new set of arrangements. It is only within these few months, that the working classes have come to a knowledge of their true condition. They are now at last convinced that they can create capital to any amount ; that the capital is in reality their own, since it consists of labour, and that hitherto they have been guilty of a foolish generosity in giving it away to idlers. The greatest advance in the knowledge of this important fact has been made in the Potteries. The Pottery Lodges could raise 300*l.* per week, by a very trifling subscription

from each individual. And by this means and the closeness of their union, they have compelled their masters to give them something like a remuneration for their services ; they have obtained an advance of wages and a reduction of the hours of labour ; and with these resolutions, they will be able to insure regular employment to all their members, as well as such a proportion of leisure time as shall conduce to the health of their bodies, and afford opportunities for the improvement of their minds. Such is the position in which the Potteries stand at present. And I do not think that they themselves are fully aware of their real strength ; but I am certain that they have it in their power to control every thing relative to the management of their own affairs. The builders are now in contest with their masters in Manchester and Liverpool, but especially in Liverpool. The operatives in these places were lately on the point of making concessions to their masters, and signing conditions which would have put them entirely at the mercy of their employers. This, however, did not take place ; and I have reason to believe that myself and other individuals who had influence with the operatives, were instrumental in preventing this dangerous decision, without a fair and equitable treaty. They have already advanced so far as to unite themselves into one general interest, for the regulation of the building trade. This union consists of seven distinct branches, and these branches of different lodges ; delegates from the various departments of this great body lately met in Manchester, to the amount of five hundred individuals ; great confusion at first prevailed, on account of the division of mind which our new doctrine created amongst them. Many of them were entirely ignorant of our principles, some partially ; and those who were well versed in the new science of society were the smallest portion of the assembly, but I am happy to say that they possessed the greatest amount of information and moral influence. The confusion to which I alluded lasted for some days ; at last it was agreed to appoint three delegates from each of the seven branches, to revise the whole of the laws and regulations of the union, as the general meeting was too numerous. It was proposed, also, to form an eighth branch, which should be called the Architects' branch, as two gentlemen of extraordinary liberality, talent, and great experience, came personally forward to assist them in their deliberations. These gentlemen expressed their willingness to put themselves upon an equality with the working-men, so as to enable the latter to become, by degrees, their own masters. It was agreed to institute this eighth branch ; but when these gentlemen, after having been admitted, as they supposed, members of the Union, went to meet the delegates of the other seven, they were challenged as not being legally appointed, which, upon investigation, turned out to be correct, and they could not, in consequence, remain in the meeting. The document which these gentlemen presented had not the seal of the seven lodges appended to it ; the delegates were therefore obliged, contrary to the wishes of great numbers, to refuse them admittance. These two gentlemen then determined to commence operations in Birmingham, upon the proposed improved system for masters and men, as soon as 200 names could be collected. In the first week, more than the number required was obtained, and

buildings to the amount of 16,000*l.* were given them to commence with. "These buildings we give you to raise," said their two generous friends, "and advance you the money to execute the order, charging you only five per cent. of interest, and leave the whole profit to yourselves, to enable you to form yourselves into a company, and undertake contracts upon your own responsibility;" and there is no doubt all masters who possess foresight will act in the same manner." After this, Mr. Owen alluded to the necessity of uniting all the trades in one upon similar principles, and to the propriety of rearing all children in the knowledge and practice of some useful productive employment. "I have been listening with considerable amusement to your reports, and the variety of your views; all, however, accompanied with sanguine hopes of future success. Here is our friend Fryer rejoicing that he could purchase goods from the market lower than prime cost. We are all of us doing the same thing; and this has proved the ruin of society; but the time is coming when we shall no more rejoice at buying cheap, for if such a system continues, there shall not be found an honest man in society. I have to propose to your consideration the general outline of a plan of organization for all the trades and manufactures of the country. Our Labour Exchange is but a small part of our affairs; yet the world shall at last be obliged to adopt it. It is useless to spend our money in the manner in which we have lately been going on. We must undertake schemes of a much more comprehensive nature. The Exchange is but a bagatelle—a mere pawnbroker's shop, in comparison of the superior establishments which we shall speedily have it in our power to institute. I was much amused when the subject of exchange was first broached in Birmingham. The builders were up in arms immediately; they had formed an unfavourable opinion of it from some vague reports in the newspapers. I then explained the principle of the labour note to them; I told them that gold and silver are in their nature deceptive and fluctuating in their value; and that labour, or the labour note, which represents labour, is the only true medium of exchange; but their prejudices were too strong to be overcome—the name was an obstacle which they could not surmount. I then betought me of changing the term, and instead of the labour-note, I told them we should have the *builders' note*; this satisfied them immediately, and they exclaimed, 'Oh, this will do, the builders' note will do.' I merely changed the name, the meaning is the same. The labour-bank they would not have, but the builders' bank gave general satisfaction. The builders were rather exclusive in their notions, for they were mere novices in the science of society, and they expressed an aversion to form a junction with other trades. But when they were asked what they would do for food if they resolved to act in such an unsocial manner; they found that they were as much dependent upon the agriculturists as the agriculturists upon them; and that if they persisted in the practice of these exclusive principles, they would be the first to cry "*pecavi*," for they could not support themselves upon stone and lime. They found that they had as much interest in the manufacturing of food as of buildings; and by a similar process of reasoning in respect to other trades, they found, after all, that what they wanted was nothing more nor less than arrangements similar in many respects to our

projected communities. The term community has frightened three-fourths of the population out of their senses. We have therefore no particular reason to make use of this term, since it is yet so little understood by the people, but merely say, we are going to unite to produce the best articles in the best way, and they will find out the truth of their own accord; they will come to the same conclusions as ourselves, without any trouble on our part to convince them, for they will acquire the knowledge by degrees, that the communities which I have always had in contemplation, have been nothing less than scientific combinations to enable the population to carry on the whole business of life much more advantageously for all than it has ever yet been effected, and to give to each individual all the liberty of thought and action consistent with the best organized social state."

Mr. Baines then rose and said, that though not a member of Congress, he hoped he might be permitted, before the adjournment, to call their attention to one circumstance, which must be interesting to every liberal mind; he had great pleasure in stating, that there was now present amongst them a benevolent advocate of liberal principles—a Frenchman, a man of genius, and editor of a Review in the city of Paris; he might be said to be the representative of the millions of Frenchmen. This good man had come to England for the purpose of acquiring correct information respecting the condition of the working-men—the progress of liberality and knowledge; and in pursuance of the object of his visit to this country, he had this day come to witness the proceedings of Congress, and to inform himself of its ultimate object. Mr. Baines also stated that Monsieur Julien contemplated the publication of the first number of a Review, called the *Cosmopolitan Review*, to be published both in French and English, in which he had no doubt would be contained information of the utmost importance to the working classes.

Mr. Owen, in reply, stated that he was indeed most happy to witness the presence of Monsieur Julien, of whose extraordinary talents and patriotic exertions in favour of sound and liberal principles he could abundantly testify. Though a Frenchman, he had in a short time, and with merely a cursory view of the subject, given a more correct account than he had ever seen published of the New Lanark operations.

It was moved by Mr. Hume, and seconded by W. R. Wood, that Monsieur Julien be elected an honorary member of Congress.—Carried unanimously.

Adjourned till Wednesday.

WEDNESDAY.

Mr. Owen—"We have now met to do what Government and Legislators ought to have done many years ago; that is, to consult about the best means of making and distributing wealth, and of producing a new and superior character to each individual member of society. We have all the materials in abundance for effecting such a favourable change, and we have also the control over these means, and have had this control for many years; but through the ignorance of public opinion, that control has not been exercised to the advantage of the people; that public opinion is now undergoing a complete change; the present mode of distribution is giving universal dissatisfaction; but the producing classes alone are prepared to make a new organization, which shall be of es-

sential benefit to all parties. Such an organization has been proposed, and will be submitted to your consideration. It will require all your wisdom to deliberate upon it, and you would require to come to the discussion of its merits with minds free from sectarian or party feelings, and from all individual interests; all private advantages should be sacrificed, or give place to public utility. But if not united amongst ourselves, how can we propose arrangements to unite the world? Whatever is imperfect, let us immediately correct; whatever is defective, let us supply, and come to an amicable understanding with each other upon all important principles." Mr. Owen then spoke at some length on some of the physical causes which at present demanded some new arrangements in the constitution of society, and in particular of the wonderful progress which had been made of late in the mechanical arts. The mechanical inventions of modern times had reduced the value of manual labour so much, that the working-man was now reduced to the very minimum of support—the starving point. Hitherto, these mechanical inventions had proved a very great evil, but not the only evil. The chief evil consisted in the resignation of the power and the capital into the hands of the masters; the other evil—namely, the increase of mechanical power, was only created by the evil of monopoly and unequal distribution, and might, under proper arrangements, be made instrumental in promoting the prosperity of every individual member of society. To effect this advantageous change, the working-classes had resolved to organize themselves into a grand national union, of which the following plan is now submitted to your serious consideration." Mr. Owen then read the following plan:—

"The progress made in the mechanical arts, in chemistry, and in various other sciences in the last century, has rendered manual labour less necessary now, and therefore less valuable, in a commercial point of view, than it has been at any former period. But manual labour being, as society is now constituted, the only medium through which the industrious classes can obtain the means of support for themselves and their families, this reduction in the commercial value of labour has necessarily produced among them the continually growing distress of which they complain.

"The commercial value of manual labour, in agriculture and in many branches of manufactures, has already sunk to its minimum, while the extension of scientific power continues rapidly on the increase; consequently, commercial pursuits are speedily advancing to a crisis, the approach to which is viewed, by the middle and working classes, with feelings of the utmost anxiety and alarm; yet the middle and working classes comprise two-thirds of the whole population. It is impossible, however, that, under the existing commercial system, manual labour should ever again successfully compete with the powers of science.

"The working class, therefore, as the only practical mode of ameliorating their condition, will be compelled in their own defence to adopt a general system of mutual exchange of labour for labour, and thereby render themselves, at once, independent of the non-producing classes.

"But this measure, if generally adopted by the producing classes, would create great confusion and misery among the non-producing classes, because their present nominal wealth would lose the adventitious value it now possesses. Yet, if carried into execution by the aid of the higher classes, under the sanction of government, it would produce the more beneficial results to the whole population.

"It cannot, however, be much longer hidden

from the more intelligent of the producing class, that the physical, mental, and scientific powers of the population are so miserably directed, that enormous evils, moral, political, and commercial, are entailed upon all classes; that these evils are daily upon the increase, and the sufferings which they create are such as to excite, among the more intelligent and best disposed part of the community, an earnest desire for an entire change in the whole system of what is called civilized society, but which, in fact, is one altogether of deception and hypocrisy. It is for the interest of all classes that this change should now be made, and that means should be adopted to induce all classes to form a union to effect it, in such a manner that, if possible, neither the people nor the government should experience any temporary evil by the change. And this seems to be the period when this great change may be peaceably effected.

"For the extraordinary political events which have lately occurred, the rapid advances of scientific discoveries, with their extensive application to the purposes of domestic life, but, more especially, the progress which has been made in a knowledge of human nature, and consequently of a better organization of society, have prepared the population of Europe and America, generally, to expect, at this time, some extraordinary fundamental changes in morals, politics, and commerce.

"And the commencement of this change is more particularly looked for, at this period, in Great Britain, in consequence of its enormous powers for the production of wealth, already far exceeding the real want of its inhabitants, although these powers are daily augmenting, and there can be no assignable limit to their increase.

"These powers must, under the existing moral, political, and commercial notions of society, more and more oppress the productive class, instead of ameliorating their condition. There is, however, fortunately, sufficient stability in the general organization of the British government, and knowledge in the population, to control the progress of such a change most advantageously for all classes.

"It may be doubted by some, whether there is sufficient knowledge in the population to admit of so great a change being effected at this period; but when the arrangements now making by the Trades' Unions shall be generally known, it will be discovered that there is sufficient intelligence and power to accomplish it without further delay. The members of these Unions will, in a short period, have the real power of the country under their influence, unless the master producers and the government unite with them, to give a wise national direction to all their measures.

"The members of these Unions have discovered that competition in the sale of their productions is the chief and immediate cause of their poverty and degradation, and that they can never overcome either as long as they shall conduct their affairs individually, and in opposition to each other.

"They are, therefore, about to form national companies of production; each trade or manufacture to constitute one grand company or association, comprising all the individuals in the business throughout Great Britain and Ireland; but each trade and manufacture to be united to all the others by a general bond of interest, by which they will exchange their productions with each other upon a principle of equitable exchange of labour for a fair equal value of labour; and all articles, upon a principle of economy and general advantage, will be produced of the best quality only.

"The next step in gradation will be the union of the master traders and manufacturers with the operatives and manual producers; and when these two parties shall fully understand the value of this union, the government will not only feel the necessity of uniting with them, but it will also discover the advantages to the whole empire of this national bond of union.

"It is, however, greatly to be desired, that these national companies or associations should have their laws and regulations founded in strict justice, and with a view only to the general welfare of the whole population, without reference to any partial interests—to any religious sect—political party, or particular trade, manufacture, profession, or employment.

"The British means are abundant to provide amply, nay, splendidly for all; and, therefore, in justice, all ought to be splendidly provided for.

"But this change, from a combination of the grossest possible errors in principle, and injustice and folly in practice, cannot be made otherwise than by a gradual progression of changes, carrying the lowest grade of the population in character up to the second; then the first and second to the third; then the first, second, and third, to the fourth; and so on, until at length all shall become intelligent, well disposed, and superior producers and enjoyers of wealth, under a new combination of hitherto-unconceived circumstances, far superior to any which have been possessed by the most favoured class under the system which has hitherto prevailed in society, as any known period in the past history of the human species.

"To effect these gradual changes, through all ranks, without temporary evil to any, the following plan of a general organization of the producing classes is submitted by the General Congress of Delegates of the Co-operative and Trades' Union, held in the National Equitable Exchange Buildings, commencing October 7:—

"That the National Moral Union of the Productive Classes shall have a national establishment in London; provincial establishments, to comprise several counties; district establishments of counties; and parochial establishments.

"The National Establishment to be under the government of a president, vice-president, council of twelve, first and second secretary, and assistants.

"The Provincial to have president, vice-president, council of nine, secretary, and assistants.

"The District, president, vice-president, council of six, secretary, and assistant.

"The Parochial to have president, vice-president, council of three, and secretary.

"The members of the Parochial District, Provincial and National Establishments, to elect all their officers by ballot.

"The members of the Parochial Unions to consist of delegates from each general trade, manufacture, and productive occupation carried on within the limits of the Parochial Union, that has formed itself into a regularly-constituted lodge, to superintend the general interest of such trade, manufacture, or occupation.

"The members of the District Unions to consist of delegates from the Parochial Unions.

"The members of the Provincial Unions to consist of delegates from the District Unions.

"The members of the National Union Establishment to be formed of delegates from the Provincial Unions. All delegates to be elected by ballot.

QUALIFICATION OF MEMBERS.

"That all who are employed, or who are willing to be employed, in producing wealth, knowledge, or happiness, for their associates or the public, and who are willing to conform to the regulations and laws of the Union, shall be eligible to become a candidate for membership.

"That a provincial council be appointed to draw up the regulations and laws of the Union."

The object of this association is to simplify the proceedings of all the industrious classes throughout the country, and also by means of regularly printed reports, to enable every individual to obtain a knowledge of all that is going on in the industrious world, and to know it weekly. A number of the trades are already united in the lodges, but by far the greater

number are divided, and those who are united are only individually so. We want another line of lodges, which shall take charge of the whole general interest of all the working classes. Mr. Owen then informed the Congress that he would bring before them the most important document which had ever been presented to the public. This document will show, that in proportion as the exports and imports of the country have increased, or, in other words, in proportion as the manufactures and produce of the country have multiplied, in the same proportion has the poverty of the working man progressed. Nay, in the same proportion has the wealth of each individual diminished; for, by this document, it is demonstrated that in the end of the last century the average proportion of the produce of the country belonging to each individual was twenty-three pounds, whereas it was now reduced to thirteen pounds. We have every year been increasing our produce, but the value of that produce is every year diminishing. Our exports are triple what they were forty years ago, but their value is very nearly the same, whilst our population has increased at least one half. This statement, Mr. Owen observed, is taken from the Government reports, and can be relied upon as correct; and when laid before the public, as it should soon be, he had no doubt that it would tend most materially to open their eyes, and bring them over to our point, by which means they shall insure to themselves a fair remuneration for their labour, and enjoy rational and useful recreations, to which they are entitled as producers.

A discussion then arose upon the subject of this new organization of the working men, in which the delegate for Birmingham remarked, that some of his friends in Birmingham looked with suspicion on the new Unions, and were afraid that they were meant to supersede the Labour Exchange, which was in danger of being overwhelmed by superior numbers. And he was afraid, that unless something more definite was expressed respecting the relative connexion which now subsisted between the Unions and the Exchange, that many of our friends would forsake the latter and join the Unions.

Mr. Owen, in reply, said that the Labour Exchange, as at present conducted, though founded upon just and infallible principles, was but a mere drop in the bucket, compared to the trade of the nation and the means of the working classes. Notwithstanding, he would say, by no means discontinue the practice of this mode of trading, but rather continue with increased spirit, until the nation were compelled from necessity, or from a conviction of the advantages to be derived from it, to adopt it upon a grand scale; the Unions, as soon as they were organized, would fall into it of their own accord. Each trade will have its own domestic arrangements, and each trade its own notes, and we shall not have one single hour more of circulating medium than is requisite. Mr. Owen, in answer to other queries and objections, stated that many of the most influential individuals in the country were in our favour, and were ready to assist us whenever we began to show a bold front; they had hitherto been withheld by political expediency, and hopes of benefiting the nation by republican principles. But these hopes were now in a great measure defeated, since the fortunate insufficiency of the Reform Bill had been demonstrated by the first sitting of the new Parliament. Some of these individuals Mr. Owen mentioned by name.

Mr. Fryer speaks of the present trade societies of the old world, and wanted to know what methods were most prudent to be adopted for gathering them together, as they seemed to have a strong aversion to labour exchange?

Mr. Owen gave an excellent reply, by alluding to the different ideas entertained by different individuals, of which every one made his own particular hobby. One had his mind entirely engrossed with some agricultural project, or incipient community; another with education; a third with social union; a fourth with labour exchange, &c.; but we must endeavour to unite them all upon one great general principle; and prevent the division of mind and dissipation of strength which is likely to be the consequence of any other course. He thought that, when the one great object was gained—viz. the union, that all the rest would follow of course.

Mr. Simpson stated that any plan which would have a tendency to destroy the present Unions, would be decidedly opposed by the society to which he belonged—namely, the Potteries; but that they could have no objection to one which would draw them in, by forming a junction with them.

Mr. Wood, of Worcester, observed that the trades' must already be sensible of the necessity of a general union. Thus 30,000 men, it is reported, have struck work in Yorkshire; and no private society could possibly support such a vast number of unemployed. Hence the necessity of a general union of all trades.

The different resolutions for the public meeting in the evening were also proposed and discussed, but we can do no more than make mention of these and many other subjects which were discussed during the week.

Adjourned till Friday; Co-operative Bazaar on Thursday.

FRIDAY MORNING.

Mr. Bishop, delegate from Birmingham, apologised for not bringing any official report; the reason of this was, that the Birmingham delegates were scarcely expected to attend Congress, on account of other business which had been entrusted to their charge by the Birmingham association. "We are, however, doing well; but it is chiefly by strangers that our Bazaar is supported; they come to make a trial of it; and therefore we can scarcely judge of our true circumstances until the novelty subsides. We have, I think, however, good reason to hope for success. People now begin to see that the Reform Bill is to be of no use to them. At the sectional houses of the Union, the subject of co-operation is, I am told, at present under discussion. Mr. Attwood himself encourages these, and sometimes attends them. As leader of a political union, however, his power is now gone. The Radicals have found that the visions of Radical Reform have been altogether fallacious, and that some other and more effectual measures must be adopted than the old Republicanism. Mr. Attwood will no doubt come round; and, indeed, is coming round; he is too fond of his power to relinquish it, and his subjects are beginning to leave him.

After this, a discussion arose about the printing of the financial document, to be found in the present number of the *Crisis*. It was moved by Mr. Simpson, and seconded by Mr. Peel, that it be published immediately; the resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Owen observed that this document was of immense importance, and it had come into his hands at the very time when it would be particularly serviceable in the cause. He also said that it was in contemplation to form a provisional council of gentlemen in different parts of the country, for the purpose of effecting the great object of National Union; and that during his tour through the country, which he meant to make in the course of two weeks, he hoped to meet with in-

dividuals qualified for that purpose. He proposed to proceed first to Worcester, then to Birmingham, the Potteries, Manchester, Liverpool, Bolton, and Yorkshire.

Several resolutions were moved, seconded, discussed and carried, and the meeting was adjourned till Saturday.

SATURDAY.

Several resolutions were passed, some financial and other matters of importance, which required adjustment, previous to the final adjournment of the Congress, were settled. After that, it was resolved and carried unanimously,

"That the next Congress be held at Barnsley, Yorkshire, on Monday, March 31, 1834, and that it be called the Grand National Moral Union of the Useful and Productive Classes of Great Britain and Ireland."

Adjourned till Easter Monday next.

The following resolutions were passed during Congress:—

1st. That this Congress appoint Messrs. Owen, Pare, and Styles as a Travelling Committee, with power to add to their numbers, and to act in co-operation with the Provisional Committee.

2d. That a Provisional Committee be now appointed, of individuals friendly to our cause, for the specific purpose of aiding and assisting the Travelling Committee just appointed, and of propagating the principles of the New System in every possible manner, and for organizing the real Co-operators throughout the United Kingdom, in order that by our numbers and concentration we may assume that important station in society, which shall enable us with more effect and celerity to create that public opinion, by which alone we can ever expect to carry our principles into effect.

3d. That the following ladies and gentlemen be nominated to such Committee, with liberty to call to their assistance as many other individuals as may be found willing to aid them in their undertaking: Mr. Owen; Mrs. Wheeler, Mrs. Brooks; Messrs. Brooks, Collins, Lamage, Henderson, O'Neil, Saul, and Tapley; Mrs. Grosfeld; Messrs. Austin, McKeale, Smith, Warden, Hatchard, Dampsey, and Fryer; Misses Green and Hudson; Messrs. Baum and Halliwell; the Misses Pearsons; Messrs. Rogers, Turner, Detrozier, Alger, Wood, and Mears; Miss Rogers; Messrs. Ellis, J. Horne, Carter, Braby, Harris, Jenkinson, and Gray.

4th. That this Congress appoint Mr. Turner as Secretary *pro tem.*, for the purpose of calling the Committee together appointed to carry into effect the organization of the Travelling Committee.

5th. That this Congress cannot separate, without expressions of their deep sense of the severe loss which the cause of Co-operation has experienced, by the death, since the last Congress, of our highly-valued brother, Thomas Hirst, of Huddersfield, who sacrificed his life in his missionary services in the cause. And that this Congress also sincerely condole with the widow and children thus prematurely deprived of their protector and supporter; and therefore earnestly recommend their situation to the attention of all co-operative societies in the kingdom.

6th. That if the substance of the resolutions passed and to be passed at the public meeting cannot be inserted in daily papers as matters of important public intelligence, that the Secretaries of Congress be instructed to advertise them in such papers as they deem necessary to give the utmost publicity to them.

7th. That the thanks of this Congress are evidently due, and are hereby fully accorded, to the proprietors of the *True Sun* and the *Morning Advertiser* newspapers, for the kindness and liberality which have induced them to give a report of the proceedings of the Congress, which will be found in this day's and Wednesday's paper.

8th. That this Congress cannot separate without expressing their grateful sense of the important

services rendered to the co-operative cause during his life, by our late much-respected friend, W. Thompson, of Cork, and also the gratification which they feel, that, when he could no longer be personally serviceable thereto, that he has set a most consistent and important example to his co-operative brethren, by leaving the bulk of his property to carry forward that cause which he had most at heart, and thus making even his death conduce to that end to which he had devoted his life.

9th. That the following gentlemen be formed into a Committee, with power to add to their numbers, for the purpose of aiding the Trustees in acquiring the property left us by Mr. Thompson: Messrs. Warden and Austin of London, Pare and Bishop of Birmingham, Barnes and Whitehead of Norwich, Wood of Worcester, and C. Wood of Huddersfield.

10th. That this Congress express their cordial thanks to Messrs. Jago and Pare, for their very valuable services in Ireland. And that a Committee be appointed for raising subscriptions to enable them to continue their exertions to maintain the validity of Mr. Thompson's will.

11th. That a subscription be raised after the lectures, to defray the expenses of this Congress.

12th. That, if the funds will permit, the Secretaries of Congress publish as extensively as possible the proceedings of this Congress.

Mr. Carpenter's letter was read, upon which the following resolution was unanimously passed:

13th. That the following persons be appointed a Sub-Committee, with power to add to their numbers, to devise the best means of liquidating the claim made by Mr. Carpenter on the last London Congress, and that the Secretary inform Mr. Carpenter of the arrangement. Messrs. Austin, Styles, Warden, Horne, and Gray.

14th. That the thanks of this Congress are eminently due, and are hereby given to Messrs. Marshall, Clegg, and Condy, of Manchester, for their strenuous exertions in Manchester and elsewhere, for the promotion of the principles of co-operation and labour exchange.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, No. 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, on MONDAY, Oct. 21st.

The extended Musical Department will be under the very efficient direction of Messrs. Collins and Stevens, and the Dancing under that of Mr. Coleman, of the King's Theatre. The Concert to commence at Eight o'clock. In the course of the Evening the whole Company will take Tea and Coffee together.

Tickets, including Tea, &c., 1s. 6d., or 1s. Cash and one Hour Note each. Person, to be had of the Committee and at the Institution.

A FESTIVAL will shortly be held, the proceeds of which will go to defray the charges of Congress.

Mr. Detrozier will lecture on Tuesday evening.

LECTURES, &c., NEXT WEEK.

Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square. Sunday morning, at 11, by the Rev. J. E. Smith; and evening, at 7, by Mr. Owen.

Sunday afternoon, at 3, the members of the Social Community.

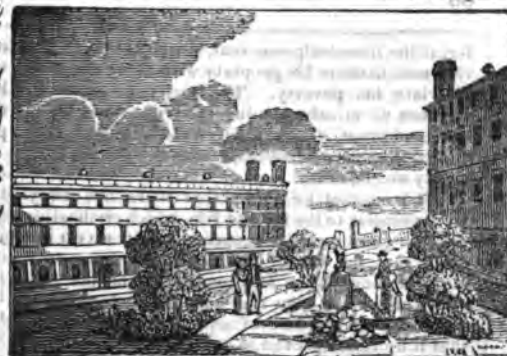
Wednesday evening, Social Community.—Question: "Can political equality exist in conjunction with physical inequality?"

Thursday evening at half-past 7, the Trades' Delegates.

Friday afternoon, at 4, the Ladies' Association.

Printed and published by B. D. COVINGS, 18, Dale-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields.

Sold also by Strange, Paternoster-row; Parkin, Old Compton-street; Watson, Windmill-street, Finsbury-square; Cleave, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street; and at the Reformer Office, 22, Drury-court, Strand.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING.

Mr. Smith lectured on "CIVILIZATION."

It has often been a matter of wonder to many how one or more tribes of men have advanced so rapidly in the improvement of their minds, and the cultivation of the arts, whilst the remaining tribes have to all appearance stood stock-still where nature first gave them being; but if we regard the subject in a moral and social point of view, we shall discover that all nations of the world have progressed alike; that the savage is not behind the civilian, and the civilian has no reason to boast himself over the savage. Improvement is to be estimated solely by the amount of happiness which is procured; discoveries in science, and invention of arts, are not to be regarded as proofs of the progress of the human mind, unless these discoveries and inventions have a beneficial tendency upon the mind itself. If there is more happiness experienced in cotton factories, and coal mines, and iron foundries, at writing-desks, or wholesale and retail warehouses, in the senate, or at the bar, than the savage enjoys in the green fields, with his bow and arrow, and his faithful dog, and his light, careless, roving mind, which neither fears the wits of lawyers, nor the visits of tax-gatherers, nor the importunities of creditors, nor the caprices of masters and employers, then we may safely say that civilization is an improvement upon the savage life, and that man has verily progressed in the cultivation of his nature; but experience does not corroborate the truth of this supposition. It is of no weight as an argument in favour of civilization, to inform us that we, who have experienced the pleasures and benefits of civilized life, look down with a species of contempt upon savages as an inferior race of beings: they also look with similar scorn upon us, and have no more desire to exchange the freedom of nature for the restrictions of art, than we have to exchange the artificial life of the city for the freedom of nature. This prejudice is merely the effect of custom and education; the amount of happiness is probably pretty nearly equal in both, for both states are imperfect: the savage enjoys the freedom of nature, without the refinement and

the luxurious enjoyments of art; and the civilian enjoys the advantages of art under such severe restrictions as to destroy all their zest. Hence it is impossible to determine which of the two has made the greatest progress; for the civilized world, by advancing, have lost their liberty, and become slaves; and the savage world, by standing still, have preserved their liberty, and are free; neither has the one party any cause of exultation or triumph over the other party; the savage cannot glory over the civilian, nor the civilian over the savage. The civilian has more power than the savage, and is more than his match in the field of battle; but it singularly happens that this superiority of power which civilized nations possess, has been employed against themselves, in aggrandizing their own misery, in adding strength to their own chains, and increasing their own burdens. Here, then, the savage has good reason to laugh at this boasted superiority of power, since the want of this power in the savage state is the security of liberty.

There are, no doubt, many inconveniences attending a savage life; there is often a difficulty of procuring food, and sometimes cases occur of starvation, and death from hunger and insufficient nourishment; but this is an evil which is not peculiar to savage life; we have enough of that amongst ourselves to humble our pride and silence our boasting. And I question much, if the active search of a naked savage for daily sustenance to his wife and family, is attended with half the anxiety and fear of want which is experienced by the trading, the working, or the gambling population of Europe, and these comprehend the greatest proportion of what are called civilians; neither are the murders, the violences, the depredations and accidents peculiar to savages, any more to be feared than the robberies, the roguery, the swindling, the frauds and impositions of civilization. The savage is never ruined, and he consequently never fears ruin; he does not know what it is; he has always his own resources within himself; but the civilian is frequently utterly reduced to beggary and starvation even in the midst of plenty; and knowing the possibility of such a destiny awaiting him, he lives under everlasting alarms, and not unfrequently destroys his own existence, to relieve himself from the apprehension of future evil.

In respect to moral qualities, the savage has greatly the advantage of the civilian. Love and friendship and good faith amongst savages, are much more sacred than amongst civilized nations. The hospitality of savages is proverbial: he that has eaten salt with a wandering Arab is his friend for ever; and their private friendships are much stronger than those of civilized nations, for they are more disinterested, and never likely to be ruffled by pecuniary transactions. Money is a sad test of friendship in this state of refinement and polish in which we live. We never know a man's true character until we have had some pecuniary transactions with him; and we cannot well form alliances of friendship, without some time or other engaging in some joint-stock money connexion. Hence the friendships of civilized life are very insecure; they are always in danger of being cooled or extinguished. Not so with the savage; his friendships are lasting, because they are disinterested, and cannot be corrupted by the influence of trade and commerce. "The little property," says Dr. Falconer, "which savage nations possess, has, I apprehend, a great effect in strengthening the ardour of friendship and affection. This attachment is not here disgraced by interested motives, nor is regard exacted for services in the same way, with a pecuniary recompense. The object is freely chosen, and considered merely with a view to the pleasure arising to themselves from the connexion, not as to any expectation of advantage to be derived from it. Hence gifts or presents amongst them were not considered, as with us, to be matters of obligation; if either of the two, the giver was the person obliged. Hence the mind, free from a mercenary commerce and traffic of affection, fixes its regard on the personal qualities alone, and in so doing forms a connexion more intimate and more durable than the studied attention which the inhabitants of civilized nations exact from each other with the idea of gratitude." The same author remarks that another cause of the superior and stronger attachment of savages is the equality of rank and fortune which prevails amongst them. Inequality destroys friendship, which can exist only amongst equals; true friendship makes the happiness of the object of attachment its own. Hence no friendship can subsist between a poor man and a rich man.

for, if the friendship was real, it would induce the rich man to share his property with his friend, and alleviate his poverty. The rarity of such an instance of attachment in our civilized world, is one good proof, if any proof were required, that civilization has destroyed friendship by destroying liberty and equality.

Yet it cannot be denied that there are many vices peculiar to the savage life, which civilization has in a great measure suppressed; for we do not affirm that the savage life is superior; we only mean to show, by a fair comparison of the two states of society, that man has merely been passing from one extreme of evil into another, and that if he has improved in some respects his mind and his person, and increased the number of his enjoyments by the change, he has also, to balance the account, corrupted his heart, burdened himself with a grievous yoke of bondage, and created as many new tortures as he has discovered new pleasures. Man has evidently increased his knowledge, and improved his intellectual faculties by civilization; he has evidently improved his person, he is more cleanly, better clothed, better housed, and better fed; if he happens to be so fortunate as to rise into that rank in the graduated scale of comfort where he can obtain possession of the privileges of civilized life. But a great proportion of our poor are worse clothed, worse fed, less cleanly, and less healthy in their persons, than the most rude and uncultivated savages, and, perhaps, more ignorant. We have four millions of paupers amongst us, that is, about one-fifth of the population; it is not to be supposed that these are better circumstanced than savages; and the greater proportion of our working men have neither the means nor the opportunity to attend to the decoration of their persons, so that they live in a state approaching as nearly as possible, in point of personal comfort at least, to the condition of savage life: they are surrounded by means of receiving instruction, but they cannot possess these means, and their time is not their own; the knowledge, therefore, which exists in civilized life, is to many of them a dead letter; they cannot read it; it is a light shining in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not; whatever advantages belong to civilization are enjoyed chiefly by the higher classes, and even these are not so very far in advance of savages as they imagine. They are not free; they live in an artificial state, under severe restrictions, which cramp their natural feelings and corrupt their hearts; the family pride, jealousies, enmities, and conflicting interests, which disturb their peace, would be subjects of amusement to a savage, who cares for none of those things; but those things are all-important to the gentleman; they absorb his thoughts, they extinguish his sympathies, they harden his heart against the sufferings of his fellow-countrymen. And whilst the rude, illiterate savage frankly shares the fruits of his day's excursion with his nearest neighbour, the polished gentleman is carousing at his dinner-table, regalling his palate with the most exquisite delicacies and the most expensive dishes, whilst his liveried footman is driving away, with threats and reproaches, the poor starving mother and her helpless children, who importune for a bit of stale bread to appease their hunger. Yet, this is the man who has made an advance upon savage life, who has left the untutored Indian far behind him in the career of mental improvement, and who sometimes wonders why Providence should have been so bountiful to civilized nations, and so sparing of his favours to the unlettered savages! But he never wonders how he himself, who has so much at his own disposal, has not a heart to give it away. Whatever advance he has made in procuring to himself the delicacies and luxuries of life, he has made no advance in moral feeling. The poor despised savage is his superior in this respect, and will yet teach a lesson to civilized gentlemen, by which they may both improve their

circumstances and reform their hearts. The savages are as far advanced as we are; all mankind have been progressing alike, and we must meet them half way, if we wish to perfect the system of political and social union.

Civilization has none of those original principles of justice which belong to the savage state; with it there is neither liberty nor equality; and the appropriation of property and power by individuals or juntas of individuals destroys the fundamental principles of justice. But if civilization be destitute of justice, it has its wealth; the savage state is poor, but just; the civilized state is unjust, but rich: unite the justice of the savage state to the riches of the civilized state, and you produce a new and perfect state of society, compounded of the first and the last condition of human society during the reign of evil; by which union you destroy evil for ever. This is the redemption of man; it is a retreat to a state of nature, taking along with him all the advantages he has derived from his sad experience. These advantages are very great, if we knew how to make use of them: but knowledge of the sciences and proficiency in the arts of life are but poor compensations for the loss of liberty, equality, social friendship, and all the other endearing features of a state of nature. What pleasure can it convey to a well-organized mind to live in such a den of iniquity as this populous, overgrown city, where each individual, like a roaming shark, is going about seeking for prey, and pouncing upon it whenever he can find it, regardless of consequences to others, provided he himself is secure; it is really worse in many respects than the savage state, for the savage does not prey upon his fellow-man—that is the practice of the barbarian; but here man preys upon man, and man has nothing to fear but from his own species. We could not live in a state of greater alarm, were we surrounded by wolves and hyenas; the danger is not more appalling to the savage in the midst of such enemies, than to us is the fear of want, and all its attendant consequences; which fear may be realized upon the greater proportion of our population, so precarious is the life which is led by civilized men; add to this the everlasting vexations arising from money matters, the frauds which are practised upon us, the losses which we sustain in trade, the law-suits in which we are involved, either to recover a hopeless debt from another, or to repel a claim upon ourselves; the writs, the attorney's demands, the arrests, the prison,—all these, and a thousand other evils, are unknown to the savage; and if they do not befall the greater proportion of civilians, the greater proportion are annoyed with the dread possibility of one day becoming their victims. Besides these there is a string of evils of another description, upon which our medical quack-doctors feed and fatten most luxuriously. The exceeding poverty on the one hand, caused by the appropriation of wealth by individuals, and the unnatural state of secluded and unsocial life which is caused by the separation of the sexes, besides the revolting and demoralizing traffic which is carried on in the article of love, to compensate for the restraint which the law in a fit of piety has thought proper to put upon respectable women, as they are called; all these causes combined, and working for centuries with dire and increasing virulence, have generated such a swarm of diseases as would astonish a simple savage, who knows but of one or two, which his mother can cure with the juice of a herb. Our lawyers are increasing fast; every year is adding to the list of attorneys, barristers, and solicitors; and our medical gentry are equally prolific. Nothing thrives so well in civilized countries as that which fattens upon human misery, for nothing is so prolific as misery. The greater proportion of this misery might be destroyed in twelve months; for lawyers there is no manner of use in a rational system of society; and for medical attendants there would be very little occasion, for the greater proportion of diseases are produced by the extremes of poverty on the one hand, and of sensuality, idleness, and profligacy on the other; all of which we would annihilate by the word of command. Our hospitals are all filled by the helpless poor, whose diseases are most frequently induced by destitution and privation; our lanes and

alleys are infested with corrupt and noxious exhalations from bodies which are almost putrid from want of nourishment; and the licentiousness of restrained and illegal sensuality has spread far and wide the baneful effects of a meddling system, which presumes to prescribe laws and limits to the gratification of natural and innocent desires: the blood of most of our population is diseased; scrofulous and venereal taints impair the health and mar the beauty of the complexion; weak eyes, defective hearing, disordered nerves, hypochondria, melancholy, madness,—an endless list of demons; all these are the ministering angels of civilization, from whose dread presence the savage life is fortunately free.

A PEEP INTO OLD SOCIETY;

Or, an Inquiry into the Real Causes of the increasing Difficulties, and consequent Distress, of the Working Classes, under the Competitive System.

NO. II.

When the most liberal, the most benevolent, and the most enlightened men England has ever placed at the helm of her public affairs, allow any partial evils to continue and to increase, it must be attributed to a want of correct information, or to some mistaken notions, but never to indifference, and still less to intentional misrule; for, so far as they have been tried, that in which they have been wanting is much more the result of the very odd circumstances which have formed their character, and compelled their faith, than of any mental deficiency; and let it not be forgotten that no set of men have ever had a more difficult and more arduous task to perform.

Was the misery of a nation on the increase, at the same time that its wealth was on the decrease, no one could be at a loss to account for the cause, since, under such circumstances, one of these positions would be the natural consequence of the other.

It must now be admitted by all—and fortunately it is so admitted—that although in England individual misery and pauperism have regularly increased within the last thirty years, our national wealth and prosperity (so far as it can be measured by the price of our funds and by the amount of imports and exports) have also been regularly and rapidly increasing.

The question, then, is simply this—Why do our paupers increase, notwithstanding the increase of our national wealth and prosperity? Surely this is an inquiry of some importance for political philosophy, and well worthy the attention of all observing and reflecting minds, since no one can deny that a long continuance of such annual increase of distress, pauperism, and crime, must absorb in the end, in a very unsatisfactory manner, all the advantages we may derive on the whole, as a nation, from the annual increase of our wealth and prosperity.

Why, then, is it so? The answer, I believe, must be looked for in the great changes gradually brought on by time, in almost the whole of our social economy, as well as in the fact of such changes having been overlooked in their consequences by the short-sighted policy of modern governments; for I fearlessly assert that the real causes will not be found in any casual or temporary circumstance.

I believe them to be much deeper than it seems to be generally admitted, or even hinted at; be it from ignorance or self-interest, those who should be best informed on these subjects would seem to maintain a culpable silence, and the few legislators of the day who have ventured an opinion on this very important question have, I beg leave to say, wandered far and wide from the truth.

All civil, political, and religious institutions have changed; most of the systems which have ruled and guided mankind have had their beginning, their maturity, and their end; who, then, will dare to affirm that competition in products, as a system, must be everlasting? Manufactures, trades, and commerce, have alternately obeyed and governed the wants and fashions of every age, under the

competitive system; whilst the mind of man, guided by experience, bent upon investigation, encouraged by discovery, and rewarded by its inventions, has been much more developed, age after age, so as to obtain a greater and greater command over Nature's secrets—and most of those secrets discovered by men in humble life,—and has thereby become entitled to a greater and greater share of the abundance of Nature's plentiful gifts. Competition, however useful in the infancy of all capital, skill, and industry, and how-ever necessary for a while, to consolidate, as it were, the maturity of their mutual assistance and equitable combination, seems in the end to have the anomalous and cruel tendency of excluding manual labour from a due participation in those abundant rewards, since it is but too evident that a great majority of the producers of all former wealth have not been able to ameliorate their condition, so as to keep pace with the rapid improvement in all things—in morals and manners, by which they are more or less surrounded.

Is it, then, necessary to remind society that, amidst the inevitable mutability of things in human society, there is one in human nature which has ever changed? The heart of man is now what it has been in all ages; not progressive as are the faculties of the mind, the feelings of the heart vary but in degree, according to the control of surrounding circumstances; and had the ruling powers of the earth, but more particularly the governments of modern Europe, paid a little more attention to the indirect influence of the progressive changes in things upon the unchangeable human heart,—influence exercised through the totally altered position between man and man, in modern society, from what it was before time (that irrevocable innovator) had brought about such changes, I believe they would have caused less public anxiety, and would have been exposed to less justifiable impatience, or less perturbation among the governed. For, mark this:

When the monopoly of intelligence and learning has ceased to be recognized by modern legislation as the right only of the very few, I do not hesitate to contend that no other monopoly whatever can be long maintained with security, for knowledge gives the power of judging; and the most painful effort of acquired reason being that of submitting to mistaken authority, difficulties must increase under those governments who do not keep pace with the knowledge they allow to be diffused; because, in proportion as the mind is more cultivated, the feelings of the heart increase in degrees of intensity. Intellectual moral opposition supercedes physical resistance, and the executive power is disarmed by an invisible force.

Among the many changes which have transformed a great part of modern Europe, in a very different state of society from that of former times, impartial reflection must admit that the most important investigations for the present, are the new sources of wealth more or less unconnected with manual labour, if not even opposed in some instances, to the general accumulation of the small profits of individual industry—new sources of wealth, which, offering more profits to the capitalist, with better security than was ever before obtained through any direct assistance given to manual labour. This natural and sound basis of all former wealth, is now, not only comparatively neglected, but must, by the mere tendency of things, become more and more neglected, in proportion as the new elements of such easy-acquired wealth, under the present system, become more and more improved.

I believe the relative position of capital and labour to be no longer what it was when the laws and regulations, still in force, were successively enacted, and intended at the time to remain permanently good and wholesome laws, to maintain the peace and welfare of all the classes of the same community; if so, national justice is at fault.

So long as no product could be created and dis-

tributed for the wants of society but through the exertions, and therefore with adequate remuneration to manual labour, or so long as no capital could be made productive but with the assistance and reward of manual labour, the laws and regulations affecting both were good and sufficient to maintain order, peace, and mutual goodwill among all classes; because, then, increased wants and increased luxuries could only be gratified by a corresponding increase of manual labour. Moderate exertions among the industrious classes met with moderate rewards, whilst great and persevering exertions were always certain to meet with their due remuneration.

In such a simple and natural state of things, want, being the result only of laziness or dissipation, called for no pity or commiseration, as having no just claim to any relief. The eternal principle of national justice could not then be violated, for there will always be a due sense of that tacit justice, which, by the same reason that no laws need be made to establish or to enforce it, no contradictory obsolete laws can ever expect to eradicate it from the human heart, or even long to oppose it with impunity.

The principal of those modern sources from which the wealth of the capitalist is now so easily and so regularly increased, and which I believe to be the main causes which explain at once both our increase of national prosperity and individual misery, are,

1st. The new discoveries and inventions in machinery, and its rapidity of production.

2d. The consequent monopoly of capital in manufacture, trades, and even retail dealings (those large establishments called butchers' shops).

3rd. The enormous abuse made of the borrowing and funding system, on the plan of perpetual annuities raised by indirect taxation.

The two first leaving large returns in full security, without remuneration to manual labour proportionate to the quantity of products; and the third—the funding system (which I deem the most baneful, impolitic, and grinding source of wealth that expediency could ever have imagined, or power enforced)—deriving its sure and easy income from the pledged and hard-earned profits still left within reach of contending individual labour and industry. Therefore, the tendency of things as they now are, the evil indirect influence of our present system of manufacture and finance, is undoubtedly to render manual labour less and less available as a marketable commodity, in proportion as the more fortunate classes of the community must obtain an ever-increasing facility of procuring cheaper and cheaper all the comforts and luxuries of life, through the increasing monopoly of capital.

The so-much-boasted political economy of Adam Smith, now too highly valued, I believe, by his followers, was no doubt in his time a great step in advance, but so far only as the economy of capital was concerned. It did not, and it could not then, embrace the economy of the working classes in their subsequent and present state of desperate competition, having now to contend, on the one side, against the abuses of the financial system, through which modern governments have become the first and powerful competitors for capital, and on the other, against the rapidity of products through the power of machinery by steam.

These new sources of wealth have naturally rendered the greater part of our capitalists total strangers to the aid and encouragement formerly required and obtained by manual labour, they do not want now the direct co-operation of the working man; nay, the new (and to them far preferable) means through which they are now enabled to accumulate riches for themselves alone, are so easy, so secure, and so very fascinating, that it is deemed wiser to raise annually eight or nine millions under the name of poor-rates, and to distribute the same in money and provisions among the unemployed paupers (merely to keep them

alive in idleness, and consequent depression of spirits) rather than to advance them any capital at a probable loss—I might say at a certain loss under existing circumstances, comparatively to the old custom, since now, the products by machinery, the monopoly of capital in retail dealings, and the numerous public securities, both at home and abroad, hold out far better returns to our monied men, than any advance of capital to individual skill (however well managed) can ever promise, under our present code of laws and regulations, in the competitive system.

I have said that competition was necessary and good in the infancy of all capital and industry; at what time, then, can it be said to have begun to exercise any evil influence upon the producers of wealth? Without any pretensions to great accuracy in fixing the period when the new elements of wealth forced upon society began to be felt (although not generally understood), I think it may be admitted that, until the middle or two-thirds of the last century, all went on pretty well in Europe, under that sort of habitual tacit convention between capital and labour which gradually enabled both to acquire more and more importance, forming the sound basis of practical society, being a natural and moral link between the monied man and the working man, or in other words, between rich and poor; and I maintain it, that one of the most dangerous mistakes that can be made by any government is that of overlooking the great changes made by time in that most important of all social links—changes which have rendered the old habits of industry for many of our working classes totally at variance with the present new fabric of society, although with the best possible disposition of mind and body.

Under this impression, I think it futile to entertain any sanguine hopes of progressive improvement or real amelioration in the condition of the distressed working classes of the country, from the present or any other reformed Parliament, so long as such a reform must remain confined, in many respects, to a mere change of legislators, instead of bringing with it legally more radical changes in our commercial restrictions, in our financial basis, in our fiscal system, and, above all, in our agricultural repartition.*

Whether I have fixed the era of evil in the system of competition too early or too late, it matters little to this inquiry; the most important point to consider well is the fact that, of all differences now admitted to exist between the position or disposition of the labouring classes in past and pre-

* In the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1831, it has been stated that "the following practical questions could not be resisted, if ever the Reform Bill should pass into law:—"

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| 1. Corn laws, | 9. W. & E. Ind. colonies, |
| 2. Tithes, | 10. Army and navy, |
| 3. Church establishment, | 11. Primogeniture, |
| 4. Every branch of taxation, | 12. Division of property, |
| 5. Cash payments, | 13. Act of Union (Ireland) |
| 6. Equitable adjustment, | 14. Election by ballot, |
| 7. Public credit, | 15. Universal suffrage, |
| 8. Slave question, | 16. Hereditary peerage, |
| | 17. Hereditary monarch. |

Did the *Quarterly* mean to insinuate, by such a declaration, that each and all of the above, being actually the result of a corrupt system of representation, they must each and all be given up and altered, if corruption could ever be removed? or did the *Quarterly* intend merely to frighten all those who felt inclined to vote for the Reform Bill? Be that as it may, it is my decided opinion that the most radical changes in each and all of the above "practical questions," could not ameliorate the alterations which have gradually been made by the new source of wealth, in the relative position of capital to manual labour, to which I attribute the increased distress of the working classes.

sent times, none require more serious consideration than the difference between the actual number of labourers, and the quantum of productive labour to be performed, in the one and the other periods.

In former ages, when a much thinner population were attached to the same surface of square miles, there must have been, generally speaking, far more labour to be done, than labourers at once able and willing, could be obtained to perform it; thus we read that, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, severe laws were enacted, and cruel regulations enforced, to induce habits of industry among the lower orders; and certainly there could then be no injustice in compelling the able-bodied vagabond to work, whose habits of idleness and plunder were dangerous to the peace of the community; whereas, in our time, there are, comparatively speaking, no idle vagabonds, no organized bands of plunderers, no unwillingness to work manifested by the lower orders. The great and awful difficulty of the present time is, on the contrary, where and how to find out new sources of productive labour for the working people, who cannot in justice be blameable if they apply for relief when they can find no employment at all.

This characteristic difference in the latter years, from any former era, as regards the individual benefit to be derived from industry and labour, appears to me far more serious, in a civil and political point of view, than it is allowed to be the case by those who, little disposed, or afraid, to inquire too deeply into any subject, seem confident that better times may come without a total change of our social system, and who repeat inconsiderately that it has always been more or less as it is—that there is nothing alarming to any interests in the present state of society—and that there is no doubt of things adjusting themselves. Singular apathy! For my part, I sincerely believe that we are in a state of impending transition from old to new social elements, and the importance I attach to it proceeds from the great difficulty I have of admitting that landed property, as acquired and settled before and at the time of the reformation, when our population was only between five and six millions (with more labour to be done, than labourers could be found to perform), can long remain as it is undisturbed by the legislature, when the population has increased to seventeen millions, with an excess of able-bodied and willing labourers, over and above any quantum of productive labour to employ them profitably to themselves. Now, these important changes appear to me so intimately connected with the present subject of inquiry, that I do not fear to incur the reproach of repetition in endeavouring to show further their inevitable consequences.

Three hundred years have now elapsed since a great reformation among the religious order had a powerful influence upon the faith and opinions of society, and also particularly upon landed property; and I beg leave to ask, whether another sort of reformation has not already begun among the industrious orders of society, whose importance as producers of wealth must, in time, I believe, bring about some social system better adapted than the present to their comforts and happiness, although, it is to be hoped, without disturbing those of the other classes?

Men and things went on formerly hand in hand, under a social economy well adapted to more natural, or less artificial circumstances; but no sooner was the capitalist enticed to look for lucrative returns elsewhere than in the direct encouragement of industry;—no sooner did he see his wealth rapidly increase, in full security, by different means than those requiring the skill and labour of others;—than did the number of unemployed artisans and labourers begin to be heard of, as annually becoming paupers, and numerous charitable institutions, friendly societies, and parish rates begin to be established for their relief, also annually increasing. Yet manual labour continued for a period to be much wanted; the

evils of competition came on but gradually, and we still hear, now and then, of bad times and good times for the labourer, according to the less or greater demand of the dealer and consumers; but legislation always too slow, should not wait for the agony of mind which must result from conflicting old notions and new wants. "Nature is too powerful to be long resisted." Had a more sagacious legislature, foreseen the effects of all the changes brought about by time, we should never have heard of revolutions among mankind; and the most painful reflection the mind can dwell upon is, the difficulty and tardiness with which the best governments seem to derive any real advantage from the experience of the past.

I do not deny all the great and good results nations have derived in modern times from the new element of wealth from machinery, as to the rapidity and cheapness of products; from the funding system on to the improvement in finances; I only contend, that something of great magnitude remains to be accomplished, before national happiness and security can accompany our national wealth and prosperity. So long as one square acre of arable land is allowed to remain unproductive, and one single labourer maintained in idleness, the fault lies in the system.

I do not deny that, with the new sources of wealth, manufactures, trade, and commerce, have gradually assumed in Europe a more imposing attitude; it is true, that riches increasing more and more rapidly, they have given to the middle classes of society that degree of consistency which has exercised a beneficial influence, unknown to former ages; but allow me to ask, is it not equally true, at the same time, that all governments, as if to provoke the envy of each other, have considerably increased their establishment, and consequently their expenditure, without any fear or hesitation in departing, as they have done, from the real principle of NATIONAL UTILITY.

Taxation, which formerly pressed more directly upon the rich alone, began to be levied upon trade, afterwards indirectly upon all products, and finally upon almost every description of food. Such appear to me to be the facts, which, accompanying our national prosperity, have prevented adequate remuneration for labour, and still prevent the labourers among the productive classes from rising in the scale of improvement, amelioration, and comforts, in any thing like due proportion to the extraordinary advance made in comfort and luxuries by the higher order of the same community. I do not even deny the facts which prove the increasing intelligence and improving condition of most of the people during the last thirty years; but the more they improve in intelligence, the more comparisons will be made, and the present question is, whether the disparity between the working classes and those above them is not now far greater than ever has been the case at any former period in this or any other country?

Taking, therefore, an enlarged view of the subject, and going further back, it cannot easily be denied, I believe, that in proportion as the middle classes of society have benefited largely by the abolition of the feudal system (so far as it has been abolished), the working classes and the poor have nearly lost all security for their free maintenance even so far, in too many instances, as to have to regret the privilege (still retained by cattle) of being regularly well-fed and well-sheltered by their masters.

Do not talk to me of over-population, so often alluded to by the short-sighted, by the indifferent, and by the selfish, for I am one of those who believe that mankind is but emerging from infancy, and that Europe, nay even the world, will maintain in future ages, (under a very different and more equitable system of laws and regulations,) ten times, nay, a hundred times, more human beings in good circumstances and happy, than it now does of depressed families in bad or indifferent circumstances; neither talk to me of that

other evasion and excuse of a vacillating, temporising legislation, mis-called over-production; for I believe also that in a well-regulated community nothing should be called overplus, so long as a single individual of our species could actually be in want of any one of the necessities of a comfortable existence.

The present population, and present products of Great Britain, must, to the national course of improvement and civilisation, continue to increase more and more rapidly every year; therefore, to think of explaining political and civil difficulties on such grounds, would be departing from sound legislation; worse than that, it would be to stigmatise all improvements in the arts and sciences, and a futile accusation against the irresistible laws of nature. No, Sir, the diverging causes from comparative ease and happiness of the greater number, while the partial civilisation, comforts, and luxuries of the lesser number are so easily increased, will be found, upon reflection, to be the natural consequences of our ancient laws and regulations respecting the distribution of profits and the rights of property, which are the result of all kinds of skill, industry, and labour, being suffered to remain as they stood when the relative positions of capital to labour were totally different from what time has gradually brought them to be.

So far I have endeavoured to explain my opinion on the present state of things. My object has been to show that society, as a whole, with all its new elements of increasing riches and products, is now so disjointed in its organisation, that our national wealth and prosperity may continue for ages to increase under the present system of desperate competition, without the most remote possibility of such symptoms of prosperity as are taken from our public credit, or from the annual increase of our imports and exports, at any time affording any hopes of a corresponding increase of comfort to the working classes.

In fine, the great and long-continued game of competition in producing cheap, in order to sell cheaper than all others, has decidedly been won by machinery against the working man, and the other great game of competition for capital between industry and modern finances, has most decidedly been won also against the working man by our borrowing and funding system, which affords a paramount security, supported by the executive power.

What then remains to be done by all the active, intelligent, and well-disposed of the working classes, who, having lost those great and long contested social games, find no longer any lucrative employment? Precisely what they are now doing; their only or safest refuge is in the formation of communities on the plan of exchange labour, under a new social system, where the accumulation of wealth will be for the general good and happiness of all its members; and, if I am not mistaken in my views of the link-breaking tendency of the system of the old society, those among the well-disposed who have begun already the new social system, must shortly see their members rapidly increase.

As for the idle or evil-disposed, if any, I would rather advise them to continue members of the old society, where, by some strange oversight, a premium in solid food appears to be given to moral degradation and crime, in the following scale; such at least as I find it in the very striking document, said to have been drawn up by Mr. Chadwick.*

Scale of average weekly allowance is solid food:—	os.
To agricultural labourers	122
To able-bodied paupers	151
To the soldier	168
To the suspected thief (Lancaster)	181
To ditto ditto (Worcester)	203
To the convicted thief	229
To the transported thief	330

* See Companion to the Newspapers, for July, page 110.

Must it be credited that, in many of our gaols, criminals have a greater allowance of food than that given to paupers, and that paupers in their turn are often better fed than independent labourers. If so, these melancholy facts may also tend to explain why moral degradation has annually increased, notwithstanding the increase of our national wealth and prosperity, and of our too partial civilization.

To conclude this short and very imperfect inquiry, I believe I may assert that our national happiness, internal peace, and security, so long as those who derive exclusive advantages from our wealth, public credit, and machinery continue, regardless of the consequences of a legislative cecity, which has too long left unnoticed the real causes of the manifold symptoms of increasing distress, want, and suffering.

V. C. L.

July, 1833.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A. B. would oblige us by giving his address, as private communications cannot with propriety be publicly answered.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCT. 20.

We call the attention of our readers to an important article of V. C. L., to whose valuable services we are indebted for the financial table which we published last week, and by whose assistance we hope, by and by, to unravel many of the dark mysteries of legislation. The people have hitherto been kept sadly in the dark upon all important political subjects; this has been owing, principally, to the fetters which have bound the press, and limited the sphere of its circulation. We also attribute the ignorance of the people, in a great measure, to the ignorance of their instructors, the political economists, whose absurd prejudices, generated by the education of the old world, have always taught them to regard legislation as a sort of infinite mystery, in which there was no possibility of effecting a great good on the one hand, without producing a corresponding evil on the other. In this they certainly are correct, in as far as respects the old legislation; but it happens, unfortunately for their credit, as patriots and philanthropists, that they have always thought proper, when they meant to do good, to bestow that good upon those whose eyes were already standing out with fat, whilst the corresponding mischief alighted on the shoulders of those unfortunate hacks who have all the drudgery of life to perform, and who, consequently, being more hardy and leather-skinned, are better able to support the evil, which, according to the science of political economy, must fall upon some one. Who so able to bear oppression as hard-wrought, tough-skinned, coarse-fed mechanics? Having settled this point to the satisfaction of the lordlings, and justified the political economists, according to their own style of reasoning, it would be an easy matter to turn tail upon them, and show them that it would only be doing an act of justice to them to turn society upside down, and make an exchange of condition between the hardy mechanic and the effeminate idler:

it might cure the nervous distempers of many of our gentry, invigorate their constitutions, and restore their impaired health, to pinch their stomachs for a season, and give them hard labour to boot. But as we do not mean to treat them so rudely, but make good friends and neighbours of the proudest and the haughtiest of the gods, we shall say no more upon that *blackguard* subject, (an epithet, which our polite gentry frequently apply to our new system of justice—for in the old world injustice only is respectable, it alone being rich and powerful,) but return to the first cause of the ignorance of the people upon political subjects, namely, the imprisonment of the public press.

The demand for political information has been greater than the supply—for the only supply that was granted was loaded with an impost, which told the poor man that it came with a grudge, for it was more than his scanty means could afford. Hence, the sphere of the public press has been chiefly confined to the upper classes, whose comfortable circumstances are not the most suitable element for inspiring that lofty genius of political justice, which sacrifices the ungenerous pride of the few to the happiness of the whole. The press, however, of late years, notwithstanding the impediments thrown in the way, has gradually been extending the sphere of its operation, but with much less celerity than if it had not been compelled by the legislature to walk upon clogs. In this country we have only about 300 newspapers, whilst in the United States of America, where the press is free, there are 800. This, considering the proportion of inhabitants, gives four times the amount of newspapers to the United States that we have in Britain. The multiplication of newspapers in this country, however, has been going on very rapidly of late. In 1821 there were only 166 in Great Britain; in 1832 there were 294. In ten years the number has nearly doubled; and it is owing, no doubt, partly to this circumstance, that the people within these last ten years have made such rapid advancement in political knowledge, that their rulers now very well know that they cannot long resist the tide of innovation. Were the press fully emancipated, the flood would be tremendous. There is scarcely any great political Act of Parliament from which we expect more important consequences than the repeal of the newspaper tax. This deed the lawgivers must commit; they must do it in their own defence. The unstamped have already defeated them, and established an opposition which is daily growing in importance, supported by talent and extensive political information, and spreading its baneful influence over the whole kingdom. This spirit of opposition is not confined to London, or the provincial towns of England; Scotland has long ago embarked in the desperate course, *The Loyal Reformer's Gazette* of Glasgow has been defying the Stamp-office for two years; and the ability with which it is conducted has called forth the sincere expression of admiration from the stamped them-

selves. This Gazette flies in thousands amongst the working men, and even the middle classes, of the north-west of Britain, and the aristocracy and clergy are obliged at times to peep into its pages, for the birch-rod is applied to their characters, and they cannot prevent a sidelong glance at the castigator. Still, however, the unstamped, though free of impost, and undisfigured with the mark of the beast, labours under considerable disadvantages. The means are limited; the facility of circulation is hindered by unavoidable circumstances; and a daily free press which would spread its wings over the land, is, under the present impositions and restrictions of government, almost impossible. Much good, therefore, as the free press has done, there is yet much to be done. Want of circulation is the want of union; the unstamped of London are entirely ignorant of the proceedings of their brethren in Scotland; thus the strength is as yet divided, but that division must soon cease; it will either cease by the repeal of the stamp duty, or by a grand national effort of the unstamped themselves; the result will be the same, and then, alas for old John Bull and the glorious British Constitution, the offspring of ancestral wisdom, and the admiration of sages and gentlemen!

The unstamped are all in some respects the friends of our new view of society, although they do not make it their standard doctrine; perhaps they think it expedient to batter the old building a little more, before they begin to carry bricks for the new. This is probably very fortunate for us; these services are essential for the progress of our principles; but we are happy to think we are now very ably supported by two very clever and spirited productions, the *Man* and the *Pioneer*; we hope the former shall soon find a "woman" to comfort him, and help him to defend the cause of justice and of love. "It is not good for the *Man* to be alone." We do wish to marry the poor soul—but a free woman would smile upon such a gallant, and make his eye-balls dance.

CALCULATION BY MACHINERY.—Of all the machines which have been constructed in modern times, the calculating machine is doubtless the most extraordinary. Pieces of mechanism, for performing particular arithmetical operations, have been long ago constructed; but these bear no comparison, either in ingenuity or in magnitude, to the grand design conceived, and nearly executed, by Mr. Babbage. Great as the power of mechanism is known to be, yet we venture to say that many of the most intelligent of our readers will scarcely admit it to be possible that astronomical and navigation tables can be accurately computed by machinery; that the machine can itself correct the errors which it may commit; and that the results of its calculations, when absolutely free from error, can be printed off without the aid of human hands, or the operation of human intelligence. All this, however, Mr. Babbage's machine can do; and as I have had the advantage of seeing its construction with Mr. Babbage himself, I am able to make the above statement on personal observation. The calculating machine, now (1833) constructing

under the superintendence of the inventor, has been executed at the expense of the British Government, and is of course their property. It consists essentially of two parts—a calculating part, and a printing part; both of which are necessary to the fulfilment of Mr. Babbage's views; for the whole advantage would be lost if the computations made by the machine were copied by human hands, and transferred to types by the common process. The greater part of the calculating machinery is already constructed, and exhibits workmanship of such extraordinary skill and beauty, that nothing approaching to it has been witnessed. In order to execute it, particularly those parts of the apparatus which are dissimilar to any used in ordinary mechanical constructions, tools and machinery of great expense and complexity have been invented and constructed, and, in many instances, contrivances of singular ingenuity have been resorted to, which cannot fail to prove extensively useful in various branches of the mechanical arts.—BREWSTER'S *Natural Magic*, 1833.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—It becomes your philanthropic paper, as the organ of religious liberty, not to let this opportunity pass, without mentioning in its columns the melancholy loss which the world at large, and India in particular, have just experienced, by the death of the Rajah Rammohun Roy, the learned Indian prince. This really noble man was the author of several works on religion; and was, perhaps, the most competent judge in matters of theology, as far as a deep knowledge in learned languages can enable one to be, being master of ten different languages: Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Bengali, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and English. But for more particulars I refer you to the *Athenaeum* of the 5th October, which contains a letter from this eminent and extraordinary man. I am only quoting here, from that paper, such parts as are best adapted to the character of the *Crisis*.

"The energy of his mind was then chiefly directed to religion. Here, his talents and activity were displayed in their full vigour. He had long ago rejected the corrupt systems of the Brahmins; and exposed the pretended revelations of Mohammed, and defied their followers in the field of controversy. He proved, by deep research into the Hindu Scriptures, that the ancient doctrines of the Veds were pure Theism; and that, in so far, they agreed with the religion of the Koran, whose author, as being the abolisher of the idolatry of the ancient Arabs, he looked upon as one of the greatest men that ever lived, and an eminent benefactor to mankind. The Rajah then directed his attention to the Christian Scriptures, which, to trace them to their source, he studied in the original; the Old Testament with a Jewish Rabbi, and the new with Christian divines. After long and minute investigation, he came to the conclusion, that they also contained the doctrine of pure Theism; and one of his Christian instructors, the Rev. William Adam, a man of talent, learning, and piety, who went over the same ground with him, came to the same decision, and from having been a Baptist missionary, became a Unitarian preacher. Thenceforward, the Rajah gave his whole support to the views of this sect. He compiled and printed an abstract of the moral precepts of the Gospel, apart from its miracles and doctrines, which he published under the title of 'The Precepts of Jesus, a Guide to Peace and Happiness.' This drew on him the censure of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, who loudly condemned his Unitarian principles.

"He thence published first, second, and final

appeal to the public, in defence of 'The Precepts,' and of the doctrine of Christian Unitarianism, in reply, rejoinder, and replication to the missionaries, with a view to establish the position, that the trinity, atonement, and some other tenets of the orthodox divines, are not founded on, or found in the Scriptures. During this period the whole powers of his mind were directed to the vindication of the doctrine of the unity of God. In this, he maintained, the sacred books of Hindus and Mussulmans, Jews and Christians, agreed; and that all apparent deviations from it were modern corruptions. He propagated it day and night, by word and writing, with the zeal of an apostle and the self-devotion of a martyr. He was ever ready to maintain it against all gainsayers: from the believer in thirty-three millions of gods to the denier of one; for both extremes, are common in the East."

It is useless to add, being a matter of course, that the great modern Indian reformer was persecuted for his sincerity, but above all, for the *not-to-be-forgotten wrong of being reasonable and consistent*, he was disinherited by his father, and deserted by his friends and relations; but his noble revenge against the injustice of his blind countrymen was his incessant labour for improving the laws of his country when subsequently placed in power; and his causing the abominable practice of burning widows to be abolished.

The death of so useful and worthy a member of the great family will be deplored by all good men; but his spirit is not consigned to the tomb, it lives in his works, and in the heart of the righteous; and his son, a very interesting and clever young man, now in England, told me repeatedly that his opinions in politics and religion were exactly the same as his father's; it is therefore a consolation to find he has left a son desirous of imitating so admirable an example as that of this great Eastern luminary.

I am, Sir,
Most respectfully, yours, C. L.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—The *Times* of to day, speaking of the turn-out in the builders' department, calls it an absurd and mischievous turn-out. Where the absurdity exists in the conduct of men who take proper means to insist upon their rights, I am at a loss to conceive; and I presume that that which is just in itself, which is beneficial to the community at large, and which will be a means of improving the moral character, cannot be mischievous. It appears to me that all coalitions of the productive classes embrace these three principles, at all events the one spoken of does in a very eminent degree. There is much justice contained in the apophthegm, "The labourer is worthy of his hire;" and we do not stretch the principle when we affirm also that the labourer has a right (in justice) to put a value upon the work of his own hands. That the public most be benefited is evident, because by these coalitions they will enjoy in the end the fruits of labour properly directed, and as regards the moral point of view, perhaps there is no species of the deteriorating network of society, that has entrained and degraded the human character so much as the master and man system. From the king to the peasant all are masters and men; and to such an extent has this been carried, that there does not exist an individual who can say, honestly, his "soul is his own." He is obliged, from circumstances, direct or indirect, to strangle his own sentiments, that he may conform to the sentiments of those above him. Until this kind of severity is removed, and the out-goings of the mind are free and unshackled as the light of day, man can never attain to that elevation, which is contemplated by the philanthropists of the age.

Yours very truly,
H. R. B.
October 10, 1833.

SECOND MONTHLY MEETING Of the National Equitable Labour Exchange Association, Monday, October 14.

Mr. Owen in the chair.

Mr. Owen said, this was the regular monthly meeting of the Association, in accordance with their laws and constitution, to receive the report of the Committee of Management, of the proceedings during the last month, and also a statement of the finances, and the amount of business done. The Secretary then read the following Report:—

"MONDAY, OCTOBER 14th, 1833.

"Your committee have great satisfaction in being able to meet you at the conclusion of the second month of their operations, with a report of their proceedings, which they think must be satisfactory to every well-wisher of the producing classes. They are happy to state that the most complete success has attended every branch of their Exchange. That the deposits exhibit a steady and, as they think, a healthy increase, great care having been taken to prevent an issue on any goods except such as are really useful, it being the opinion of your committee that nothing is so well calculated to enhance the value of the labour note as the careful exclusion of frivolous, useless, or doubtful goods, except on sale or return. Each succeeding week's experience shows the soundness of this conclusion, as the character of the deposits is manifestly improving in quality, in regard to their usefulness. And as a still more important means by which to insure a full and regular supply of the most useful and valuable property, your committee have used all the means entrusted to their charge to keep up a good supply of provisions; but your committee cannot conceal the fact, that this has not been effected without great difficulties and most heavy drains from the cash funds of the Association. And they more particularly draw your attention to this circumstance, in order that every well-wisher to the cause may see the paramount necessity of his own personal exertions in every possible way to support this, the most important branch of their operations. Your committee have not been unmindful of this subject; they know how much depends on keeping up a constant and plentiful supply of this great necessary; they, therefore, have opened a grocery store for cash, which, if they may augur for the future from the success of this department to the present period, promises the most effectual aid in meeting the heavy demands from the other provision department; they also have great satisfaction in stating, that they have, through the instrumentality of Mr. Jago, of Ireland, opened a communication, by which they will be able to obtain a constant supply of such provisions as are peculiarly the production of that country, and on much more advantageous terms than they can be procured on here. On the whole, your committee have the best grounds for believing that they will be able to keep this important branch of the Exchange in its present satisfactory condition, if they meet with that support from the association which the interests of the Exchange so imperatively demand."

"Your committee beg also to announce that an exchange of goods has been effected with the Birmingham Branch of the National Equitable Exchange to the amount of nearly 100*l*., without at all inconveniencing our operations at home; and they have no doubt, when the whole of the goods are received and brought into the stores, they will be found to be of such a character as will give great, general, and unmixed satisfaction to all classes of depositors, and that the business thus commenced will proceed to the mutual satisfaction and advantage of both Exchanges."

"Your committee have great pleasure also in congratulating the association on the great increase that has attended the lectures and festivals during the past month, and although some portion of that increase may be fairly attributed to the improved arrangements which have occupied the

serious consideration of your committee; yet they are fully assured that by far the greater part of such success is to be accounted for by the high and extraordinary talent and unremitting exertions of our kind and highly-esteemed lecturers.

"Your committee have in contemplation various improvements, which will come into operation on the next Festival, which they hope will give increased satisfaction and regularity to these novel and pleasurable meetings: and your committee confidently call on their friends to assist them in giving effect to these regulations.

"Your committee have also to announce the establishment of a new department, in connexion with this Exchange, called the Musical Department, which promises to be most beneficial and effective in cultivating amongst us a taste for that most delightful science, and in rendering our Festivals, Lectures, and Public Meetings, attractive and intellectual. Your committee cannot in justice let this opportunity pass without bearing testimony to the great assistance that has been rendered to this department of our Institution by the generous and disinterested exertions of Mr. Stevens, as conductor, and Mr. Collins, as leader, of the orchestral department, and the numerous and efficient professional and amateur friends, who by their talents and assiduity have contributed to place this branch of our arrangements in its present flourishing condition; and your committee have great pleasure in stating that the Committee of Management of the Musical Department have arrangements in progress that cannot fail in placing that department in a state of efficiency equal to any other establishment in the country.

"Your committee have now to request your sanction to some alterations they have found it expedient to make in the internal arrangements of the Exchange. To meet the increased business, it has been found necessary to make some additions to the numbers employed on the establishment, principally in the appointment of Mr. Crow in the grocery department, and Mr. Peel as secretary to the committee and general assistant in the Exchange. These appointments have, of course, only been made temporarily, and now await your approval. Your committee, in order to render the services of every individual employed as effective as possible, have appointed a sub-committee from among themselves, to examine into the duties of each particular department, in order that no additional services may be engaged that are not absolutely essential to the interests of the association, your committee being fully aware how necessary it is for the success of our operations, to keep a watchful eye over our resources and expenditure. Your committee, having no other interest in view but that of the association in general, are of opinion that the exertions of themselves, and also of the officers of the establishment, are likely to be beneficial in proportion to the liberality and confidence manifested towards them by the members of the association, collectively and individually; and in order to deserve, and consequently obtain, that confidence and liberality, they are determined that nothing like concealment or mystification shall characterize any of their proceedings. They therefore, in conjunction with their indefatigable accountant, Mr. Alger, have been, and are still, busily engaged in so simplifying and arranging the accounts, as shall give satisfaction to the most fastidious. Your committee beg to direct your attention to the three documents which accompany this report; which documents, when they shall have received your approval, will be posted in the Exchange; and as an earnest of these intentions, your committee are resolved to effect such further improvement, in every department of the Exchange, as time and circumstances may dictate, and look forward with an increased hope that each succeeding month will bring with it fresh grounds for satisfaction.

And, in conclusion, your committee beg to draw your attention to a most important letter, received from Mr. Pare, in Dublin, which from the interesting nature of its contents, in the opinion of your committee, demands the immediate and most serious attention of every real friend and well-wisher to the advancement of Equitable Labour Exchange. Your committee regret that the limited extent of our means, compared with the demands continually pressing upon them, render it imprudent to advise any grant from the funds of the association in furtherance of the objects contemplated in that letter; but they cannot for one moment doubt that the amount necessary to defray the expenses of our benefactors, in their exertions in our cause, will be raised without difficulty by the spontaneous and individual efforts of the members of this association and other friends of the system. They therefore, most earnestly recommend to your consideration the Resolutions passed this day in a special meeting of your committee, convened for the purpose of taking this subject into consideration."

He then moved its adoption, which was seconded by Mr. Carter.

Mr. Abrahams wished, before the question was put, to ask a question relative to a report that had been in circulation, that the officers of the Institution were not allowed to take part in the discussions of the Committee.

Mr. Warden answered, that it was not true that the officers were not allowed to take part in the discussions of the Committee. A resolution allowing them that privilege had passed in the Committee, in which he had been left in a minority. Mr. Warden then contended that the officers, inasmuch as they were the servants of the Institution, ought not to be allowed a voice in making the law, or in any business which might come before the Committee, unless their opinion was required by the Committee. He read the names of the delegates from the miscellaneous department, showing who voted for and against this proposition. He thought his constituents ought to be in possession of this knowledge, that they might know how to dispose of their votes on the next election.

Mr. Gray supported the arguments and opinions of Mr. Warden on this question.

Mr. Abrahams contended that it was inconsistent with our principles to exclude any men, and especially the officers, from giving their opinions and advice on any question involving the interest of the Association. He thought it would be highly detrimental to throw any obstacle in the way of the officers. Their officers had been chosen from a conviction that they possessed talent and zeal, and it would be the greatest folly, by such exclusive measures, to deprive the Association of the benefit to be derived from their knowledge and experience.

Mr. Peel explained, that by allowing the officers a voice in the Committee, it was not in contemplation that they should vote, but only give their opinions; that was all they were contending for.

Mr. Owen, in putting the question, that this report be received, made some excellent observations on the propriety of a good feeling subsisting between the officers of the Institution and the Committee, and he thought the Committee would be wrong in throwing difficulties in the way of a free interchange of knowledge and experience with the officers, who he thought were so eminently qualified to give it. He suggested that the most strenuous exertions should be made to arrange the matter in an amicable manner between them.

The report was then passed unanimously.

Mr. Warden then, at the request of Mr. Owen, read a letter from Mr. Pare, in Dublin. The Committee had had a special meeting on this letter, and had passed the following resolutions, which

they recommended to the meeting for their adoption:—

Resolved—"That it is desirable that a fund be raised for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the travelling committee, during their exertions in our cause in Dublin.

"That it appears to this meeting, that the best means by which this fund can be raised is by a voluntary contribution among the friends to the cause."

These resolutions having been both unanimously adopted,

Mr. Owen stated, that the business of the meeting was now concluded, and he expressed his great satisfaction at the progress that had been made, and recommended them to go and persevere in the course they had so well begun; but, above all things, to avoid unkind, uncharitable, and party feelings. The interest of all was the interest of each, consequently no man could have an interest separate from that of the whole body. He said he should leave London on Thursday for Dublin, where he expected to make a deep and beneficial impression; the march of events was most rapid, and required corresponding alacrity and decision on our part. In every quarter of the country the old system gave certain indications of going to pieces; we, my friends, said Mr. Owen, must be at our posts to direct the vessel in the approaching storm.—The meeting adjourned.

Subscriptions for defraying the expenses of the Travelling Committee:—Mr. Balls, 1l.; Prior, 2s; Brooks, 10s; Miss Green, 1s; Miss Rogers, 1s; Mr. Hoare, 2s; Handy, 2s; Peel, 2s; Carter, 5s; Warner, 5s; J. Dixon, 5s; T. Dixon, 5s; Blake, 5s; A. Horne, 5s; Robins, 2s; Mrs. Brooks, 2s; Mr. Turner, 3s; Alger, 5s; Norman, 2s; Tilby, 2s; Jarvis, 2s; Miss A. Pearson, 2l.; W. N. Turner, 2s; Warden, 5s; Nichols, 5s; Braby, 5s 6d; Haines, 5s; Friedlander, 5l.; Gunter, 1l.; Dempsey, 5s; Miss C. Pearson, 2l.; Mr. Tipper, 1s; Price, 1s; Sundry subscriptions at door, 4s 10d; Mr. Beynon, 6d; Henderson, 5s; Timmings, 6d; M'Kenzie, 5s; Vank, 2s; Simkin, 1s; Hall, 1s; Inman, 2s; Postker, 2s; Meadow, 1s; Harris, 1s; French, 1s; Wilkes, 3s; Smelt, 1s; Milton, 1s; Bankhead, 1s; G. Carter, 1s; Pendlil, 1s.—Total 17l. 12s. 4d. Subscriptions for this fund are received by Mr. Dixon, the Secretary, at the Institution, and by Mr. Austin, Treasurer, 14, Charlotte-street.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Having a request made to us by deputation, on Sunday afternoon, Oct. 20th, from the Rev. R. Osgood, to discuss the following question, viz., What plan shall be adopted for aiding the poor and industrious classes? It was unanimously adopted, and ordered for discussion on Wednesday, Oct. 30, when we expect the presence of several religious friends, who will take part in the proceedings.

B. PORTBURY,
Secretary to the Social Community.
Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

National Equitable Labour Exchange,
Oct. 1833.

The regulation of the 27th August last, is again opened to the holders of the old notes, and will remain open till Monday, the 28th instant.

By order of the Committee,
J. DIXON, Secretary.

. According to the above-named regulations, twenty hours' notes of the new Association are issuable for fourteen hours of the old and three shillings cash; and so in proportion for any other amount.

Police.

MARLBOROUGH-STREET.—A lady, the wife of a wealthy upholsterer at the West End, was charged with stealing a fur boa. She entered a shop in Oxford-street, and asked to look at some fur boas, which were produced; she departed, however, without purchasing. The shopman who waited on her missed one of the boas, pursued and overtook her, and found it round her neck. She implored for mercy, protesting her high respectability, but to him in vain; he gave her in custody. At her first examination, she confessed the fact, and earnestly begged for forgiveness. The Magistrate remanded her, evidently with a view to a compromise, which was effected; for, being brought up on the following day, no prosecutor appeared, and she was, of course, discharged. On both days she displayed the deepest distress of mental emotion.—The glaring injustice of this conduct, on the part of the magistrate, is but too evident. Had this theft been committed by a poor woman, who does not perceive that the law would instantly have consigned her to a dungeon, and shortly to banishment for life? There would have been no postponement, no remanding of the prisoner; but the whole affair would have been transacted with a reckless and appalling promptitude. The fact is, that money, especially in England, is the sovereign arbiter of the destinies of man; it is alike the test of merit, the palm of reward, the universal talisman, which whoever possesses may, with partial exceptions, commit the grossest crimes with impunity. And while wealth, with the artificial distinction it bestows, continues to be the object of universal homage, every principle will be sacrificed to gain or keep it. This greatly relieves the conduct of this unfortunate class of criminals, for they are as much the victims of vanity as others are of poverty; and it is a solemn query, whether is she more pitiable or less culpable? The whole community is infected with a rage for luxury and extravagance, far beyond the means of their legitimate attainment; hence, in many cases, the deficiency is supplied by trick and robbery. Those of one class ape the manners and appearance of their superiors—the servant of her mistress, the man of five hundred pounds a year the man of one thousand pounds, and so on to the end of the chapter. And this with females is especially the case, with whom, indeed, generally speaking, dress, with its adjuncts, is the *primum mobile*—the exciting motive, of all their actions, the engrossing subject of their thoughts and feelings. To exhibit dresses, jewels, trinkets, &c., and to discuss their cost and merits, constitute the chief feature of a female visit. Thus the natural vanity (natural, I mean, for a defective education, and the whole course of events,) is inflamed, and they are determined to vie with others at any cost; and they too frequently barter for the baubles of the jeweller that costliest of gems—CHASTITY. To return however to theft, which I am fully convinced prevails amongst the respectable classes to a frightful extent. If any one supposes it confined to the cases detailed in the newspapers, he is woefully mistaken, for I have heard of fifty instances in private for one I have read. I was informed by one of the most wealthy and every way respectable tradesmen in Bath, that such instances were frequent, even in the highest ranks, and that he was quite sure that the cases he had seen or heard from his brother-tradesmen would fill a volume. This conver-

sation was excited by the fact of a lady of title having a few days previously stolen a *SL*—note from the plate at church, it being a collection for a public charity. She was detected, and the note, which was found upon her (in her sleeve), was identified by a gentleman, who swore that he gave it as his subscription; yet, in despite of this clear and decisive evidence, she was liberated; and such was the insolence and pride of birth, that threats of prosecution were liberally bestowed on the newspapers if they dared to publish the name of the party; and such is the servility of man, when his interest is concerned, they complied in every instance. All this is to be referred to the prevalent lust of display; and there are few persons engaged in the routine of fashionable pursuits to whom *SL* would prove an incumbrance, while there are thousands to whom it would be an important acquisition. No one fairly embarked in the vortex of dissipation can predict on what rock he shall be shipwrecked, or, to drop the metaphor, no one once entered upon a course of extravagance can possibly ascertain what crimes a lavish expenditure may tempt him to commit. It is, therefore, the imperative duty of all who are interested in the welfare of their fellow-men, to exhibit and enforce, both by precept and example, a simplicity of dress and appearance, and to restrain their expenses within just bounds, remembering that every unnecessary display excites the desire of imitation, and that he who creates the causes of vice, shares the crime, and largely participates the guilt. All crime, indeed, whether private or public, general or particular, is the product of society itself; the criminals themselves are the forlorn hope, whom untoward circumstances have compelled to more desperate courses than their comrades. The case before us is pregnant with instruction, and in selecting it for comment I have endeavoured to show that every criminal is pitiable, from whatever motive, and that he is so in proportion to his crime; for the injury he inflicts on society is in exact proportion to the injury he has received from it. The common exclamation is, "this woman richly deserves hanging;" but not so, she deserves only the sincerest sympathy, for her ignorance, her vanity, her vice; and the agony of mind she evinced during her examinations was more than commensurate to her crime, ignoble as it was, and fully showed, theory apart, that, under circumstances which should be secured to all, she would have advanced and exalted humanity. This was my purpose, and if I have in any degree succeeded, I am contented to be called a visionary. W.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

VERY RESPECTED FRIEND OWEN.—I very much wish to live the remainder of my days and to die in a community; and should like to have a little corner in the first that is formed.

The terms I am to come in upon I hope we shall be able to agree about, either so much per annum, or so much per month. I am now almost 63 years of age, but having been accustomed to activity, I shall always wish to do what I can whilst I am able. I was born and brought up a Sectarian; of course, like all the rest, I considered myself in the only right way, till I came to maturer years, and began to read and think for myself. The inconsistencies and absurdities then puzzled my brain to that degree, that I was almost obliged to give it up for a fabulous story. They then styled me an Infidel or Deist, because I could not believe what I could not comprehend.

But now I am amply repaid when I see the Chris-

tian Millennium being ushered into the world by those very people whom they have been so uncharitably and ungraciously designating Infidels.

The great day of charity and happiness is now beginning to dawn upon us; and I hope yet to live to see it near its meridian splendour.

There is nothing in this world that I would wish to be young again for, but to see your exalted and heavenly plans carried into full effect. Then the consummation of earthly bliss will be complete. The world will be happy for ever. The lion will lie down with the lamb.

I am, dear Sir, yours in true sincerity, and brotherly affection,

D. GILL.

Mr. Dettosier will lecture on Tuesday evening.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT—ENDING OCT. 13

Deposits excl.	of Provis. 10,949h. On.	Exchanges:	Stock deliv: 8,408h. 1s.
Income: Cash & Notes.		EXPENDITURE.	
Commission £17 6s. 2½d.		Charges £11 3s. 11½d.	
Rent Sub. . . 3 6 2		Festival . . 16 2 2½	
Lectures . . 18 8 11		Lectures . . 1 10 0	
Festival . . 51 10 0		Wages . . 98 0 0	
Provisions 125 17 4½		Provisions 98 14 7	
	216 8 8½		147 10 9
	147 10 0		

68 17 11½ Profit for the Week.
Total Stock on hand . . . 49,399h. 1s.
Notes now in circulation . . . 33,834 1

Excess of Stock to meet the Notes 16,475 0
Audited by the Managing Committee,
JAMES WILKS, Chairman.

SELECT DAY SCHOOL.—A Lady, a friend to the Rational System, and herself desirous of becoming a Co-operator, wishes to devote her time to the instruction of the Daughters of respectable Co-operators, under 12 years of age. Besides the usual elemental Branches of a liberal Education, she is competent to teach the French and German languages, and Music, without the aid of Masters; and, from her being herself a Parent, she is fully qualified to undertake, and will conscientiously fulfil, the duties that she imposes on herself.

An Evening School upon diminished terms, in which only Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, is taught, will be held at the Lady's own Residence, from 6 o'clock till 8, for such Children as are occupied during the day. Applications for further particulars to be addressed by Letter, post-paid, to F. G., at Mr. Cousins's, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn.

Just published, price 1s.

AN ANSWER TO DR. PRIESTLEY ON THE EXISTENCE OF A GOD. By a Philosophical Unbeliever.

John Brooks, 421, Oxford-street.

THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION will take place on Monday Evening, the 11th of November, for receiving the Quarterly Report of Proceedings and Business of the Association, and for Nominating the Officers for the ensuing Three Months.

WM. PEELE, Sec. to Committee.

Just Published,

THE SOCIAL ORACLE Book Almanac, price Two Pence.

Lectures, &c., the same as last week.

Printed and published by B. D. COUSINS, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

Mr. Smith lectured in the morning on the subject of "WAR," but we cannot afford room for an abstract.

SUNDAY EVENING.

Mr. Smith lectured on the "Influence of Heat and Cold upon the Moral, Intellectual, and Physical Constitution of Man." He first spoke of their influence upon complexion and form, and said that the present individual system of society, which prevailed over all the world, tended very much to increase the natural distinctions created by climate, inasmuch as it confined particular races of men to the same spot of earth, and thus subjected them for many generations to the same influence of atmospheric temperature. In our new state of society these distinctions will be lessened; and there will be an equal distribution of colour, form, manners, and customs, as well as equal distribution of property.

The Lecturer also observed that heat is the source of passion. Hence all the inhabitants of hot climates are of an amorous, jealous, revengeful disposition. In the individual system, love is necessarily converted into jealousy; and jealousy is a passion which is not only generative of many other cruel propensities, but is peculiarly unfavourable to the interests of women; hence, in all hot climates, women are strictly guarded by their hundred-eyed tyrants, and all freedom of sexual intercourse is interdicted. Cold subdues the passions, and creates indifference and insensibility. These are equally unfavourable to the peace of society and the interests of women; for although women have always their personal liberty in cold climates, they are treated as inferiors, and most commonly with very great cruelty. In temperate climates we should expect a virtuous medium between the two influences; but the bad organization of society has only combined the vicious properties of each. Women are personally free, but morally bound; and this moral imprisonment is equally effective as the walls of a seraglio. They are treated with apparent respect as objects of passion, but degraded, by the assumed superiority of man, as mere tools for pleasure, and invested with a frivolity and levity of character, by the influence of custom

and education, which must secure their bondage for ever, unless a general divorce takes place between the sexes, and each individual be declared independent. Then love will reign in every climate. The jealousy of the south will be converted into an innocent and generous passion, and the monogamy, or chastity, of the north will pair the human race, by an equal distribution of love, and a liberty of choice.

It is in conformity with the general character of these two agents of nature, namely, heat and cold, that history ascribes the original establishment of all arbitrary or absolute monarchy to the inhabitants of warm climates. The Orientalists, or those nations who line the southern extremities of Asia, as well as all the African nations, (Carthage and Cyrene perhaps alone excepted,) have, from time immemorial, been under the influence of sovereign despots. This circumstance is easily accounted for by the effects of heat upon the mental and bodily constitution. Heat invariably produces indolence; its influence is oppressive, it creates inactivity of mind and body, so that a very powerful stimulus becomes necessary to excite to action. This stimulus is originally found in the passions. But these passions, as we have already observed, are always abused under a system of inequality. Love degenerates into jealousy and cruelty; emulation into envy; and victory is used as a favourable opportunity for enslaving the many, to feed the luxurious indolence of the few. Monarchy is more suited to an indolent than to an active people. In it there is no law, no intricate forms of process and litigation; all depends upon the will or caprice of the individual; and the inhabitants seem by nature so indolent that they would rather take their chance of a good or a bad disposition in their chief rulers, than actively engage in the management of public concerns. The same system prevails in private as in public; the slave is not more submissive to his domestic master, than that master is to his sovereign lord; fear is the only stimulus which can make them act, for the heat enervates their strength to such a degree, that sloth becomes the natural character of the people, and they feel convinced, from personal experience no doubt, that nothing but despotism could continue the vigorous and healthy movements of society; for this reason, liberty has

never flourished in a hot climate; there have been many insurrections amongst the people; but these insurrections merely originated in personal dislike of individuals, and not of the system of government; for they have invariably preserved the old standard model of absolutism, and dethroned one tyrant merely to exalt another.

The effects of cold are of a much more popular character. Cold braces the nerves, and invigorates the constitution; it renders men more active, more strong, more brave, more generous. Cold, therefore, is always favourable to liberty, unless it becomes excessive, when it destroys sensibility, and makes men regardless of the progress of despotism. "In hot climates," says Montesquieu, the spirit is subdued by the fear of the future; in cold climates, it is not even roused by a sense of present evil." But even when tyranny prevails in cold climates it is not of such an absolute and oppressive character as in hot ones. There is more activity on the part of both prince and people, and this creates a new species of government, unknown in hot climates, in which the people, or part of them, take a share, and become coadjutors of the prince. Montesquieu, in his "Spirit of Laws," says that this is invariably the case; that in the despotic governments of the East the sovereign always commits the management of affairs to his prime minister, and takes no management himself; whereas, even in Russia, which is the most despotic of all cold countries, the princes invariably take an active share in the management of public concerns.

There are many important facts which may be adduced to prove that cold is by nature the mother of liberty;* but that liberty has hitherto, we are sorry to say, only assumed the outward name, and somewhat of the family likeness of liberty, whilst it is entirely destitute of the true spirit; however it is an attempt or step in progress, and one which I doubt not will soon point the way to genuine freedom. Oriental and southern nations have always been despotic, as we have already observed, and the laws of these nations had no other existence but in the will or caprice of the prince or the judge; this is the natural effect of the indolence, the pride,

* In all temperate climates cold prevails during one half of the year. In hot climates there is little or no cold.

and the jealousy produced by heat. Law-suits are there settled very summarily, and very frequently both parties are bastinadoed, and the injured individual denied redress, even when the case is decided in his favour. Punishments are also very summary and very severe; but these punishments are inflicted not so much as acts of public justice, as from a principle of revenge. The prince or the judge regards the offence as a personal injury done to himself. Hence the most trifling offences are sometimes punished with death, especially if the offender be a plebeian; but when he belongs to a more noble stock, we are told by travellers that the Persian executioners strip the noble offender of his robes, and inflict the punishment upon his clothes, which the poor rustic must endure upon his naked back. To cold climates we are indebted for popular judgment and trial by jury. Tacitus informs us that the ancient Germans tried criminal offences by the great council of the nation, in which every free individual had a seat. Afterwards, however, when the states became larger and more populous, this mode of trial was changed for another, which is more lasting in operation, and less burdensome to the people; that mode of trial still continues in use amongst us. Stiernhook attributes the invention of trial by jury to Regner, a king of Sweden. There is a very peculiar difference to be observed between hot and cold climates, in respect to the infliction of punishments; in hot climates, offences are regarded as personal injuries to the princes, and punishments are, therefore, merely retaliation; this arises from that cowardice and meanness of character, which distinguishes the inhabitants of warm or tropical climates; but in cold climates they have generally been regarded as compensations on the part of one individual to another for injury inflicted or loss sustained. Hence we find, in the laws of ancient Gothic Kings, different fines established by law for the commission of certain crimes, so much for destroying an eye or an ear, so much for the slitting of a nose; these members seemed merely to be marketable articles, and a man with plenty of money in his pocket might have a nose or an ear by paying for it.* In the same manner they estimated the injuries done to women: if a man uncovered a woman's head, he paid fifty sous, according to the old Danish laws; if he uncovered her leg to the knee, he paid double; and from the knee upward, double still, and so on. It seems, says Montesquieu, that they measured these affronts to women as we measure a figure in geometry. From this cool spirit of calculation, so characteristic of the climate in which it originated, arose the more modern and chivalric custom of demanding satisfaction by private combat. This is a species of compensation, which was much more effectual in accomplishing the ends of justice than the pecuniary fine. Yet even here, notwithstanding the intentions of our forefathers were good, the ends of justice were eluded; the strong vanquished the weak, and the issue of the battle depended on the strength or dexterity of the arm, as the issue of law-suits with us depends upon the weight of the purse. A remedy, however, was sought even for this defect, and the party challenged was permitted to send a deputy if he thought himself unqualified to withstand the opposition alone; but even here the evil was not cured, for a deputy, who would risk his life for another, must either be a more disinterested and generous friend than is usually to be found

* The king himself was only more secure than his subjects by a greater fine or wergeld being demanded for his murder.

"If one man kills another, and is known to have done it, and refuses to make amends (compensate privately), there shall be given out of his manbote (or fine) to the lord, ten shillings, &c."

"If one wounds another, and refuses to make amends in the first place, let him pay his wergeld, &c.—*Laws of William the Conqueror.*

above once in an age, or he must be hired by a heavier purse than the poor man's penury could supply. But it is needless to attempt to point out the defects of law; it is a mass of tyranny and confusion throughout; and it is hard to say whether the arbitrary despotism of warm climates is less iniquitous, or less equitable in the administration of justice, than the juridical trials of the regions of frost and snow. They are both defective, but it is evident that the two extremes of heat and cold have produced two corresponding extremes of absolute individual tyranny on the one hand, and oligarchy or hereditary tyranny on the other; and thus in the temperate regions we find a mixture of the two different extremes, a kind of mongrel-breed between monarchy and republicanism, sometimes showing the features of both, but always abused and corrupted by that root of all evil—the system of individual property; by the annihilation of which, both original sin and all actual transgressions might be banished from human nature, and human society.

The same general truth still holds good of the influence of heat and cold upon the fate of literature and science. Heat is the element of passion, it is the active source of all those emotions which we call fancy, sensibility, enthusiasm, &c., and, consequently, we naturally expect to find in hot climates the arts of poetry and music, and the practice of religious devotion, prosecuted with enthusiasm; every thing, in fine, which can interest the affections or create that sort of sluggish repose in which, according to many oriental nations, the joys of paradise consist. But the genius of heat is not confined to poetry alone; we are indebted to it for the rudiments of all the arts and sciences; the first idea of almost every branch of study which we prosecute came originally from hot climates; but still it is equally true that that perseverance and industry which is necessary to bring these arts and sciences to perfection, belong to the colder regions. Cold is the region of progress and of production. The oriental world is quite stationary, it is scarcely further advanced in the cultivation of mind than it was two thousand years ago: it seems merely capable of a sort of vivid flash of genius and premature talent, which immediately sink again into the characteristic stillness and serenity of the climate. This is also the character of the individuals who inhabit these climates; genius appears very early in children, and as speedily disappears; it is a flash in the pan, which takes place almost in infancy, brings forth its fruit at once, and then becomes insipid and stationary. This has also been the fate of the nations themselves. Their prime is gone, they were in their glory thousands of years ago; whilst the western and northern climes are still progressing, and perfecting the original ideas of the East and the South. Every invention and discovery requires to go northward to receive its final polish. Cold is the sphere of production, the womb of intellect, which organizes the original suggestions of sunnier climes; hence it very properly represents the female sex, who are destined by nature to finish the work of creation which man has begun. Even war itself, notwithstanding the indolence of the inhabitants of warm climates, is indebted for its origin as a science to them. The northern nations, the more warlike, more robust, and active, were always inferior to the southern in the use of arms, and in the scientific disposition of their forces, they were indebted to the inhabitants of the south for that very superiority by which they finally subdued them. Mr. Gibbon very properly accounts it a mark of very great imprudence in the Romans, and what contributed greatly to the downfall of the empire, to take the northern nations into pay, and instruct them in the use of their arms and discipline. When they had united these, says he, to their own native ferocity and courage, they became irresistible.

It is evident that the two extremes of cold and heat improve by approaching each other, that the

originality all belongs to the heat, and the capacity for improvement seems to come originally from the cold: cold climates have produced almost no new inventions. Even agriculture was unknown to the ancient Germans and inhabitants of the shores of the Baltic, although they were a people who, in many other respects, were far in advance of savage life. Tacitus informs us that they had not even a word in their language to denote the season of gathering in the fruit. The sowing and reaping of corn were unknown to the Huns and the Alans—those nations who invaded the Roman empire, and became the progenitors of modern Europeans. But if these northern nations had no original genius in them, they had virtue of another kind; they had bodily strength and mental vigour, they had capacity for receiving the instruction of warmer climates, and making a better application of it than their predecessors had done. We know not how much we are indebted to the influx of barbarous northern nations upon the Roman empire; the Romans had already become stationary like the orientals; they had expended their genius, their productive powers were decaying, when the hardy sons of the Polar regions re-invigorated the bodily and mental character of the population of Europe, and are now perfecting the arts which they found in a state of infancy or stagnation. The imagination belongs to the heat, the judgment to the cold; hence, in common conversation, we say of a man of deliberation and prudence, that he is a cool man, or in other words, a man of sound judgment. Of the imaginative and the sensitive, those who are guided by their feelings, their affections, and their passions, we say, according to the same principle of analogy, that they are of a warm temperament; but all new ideas begin with imagination, and end with judgment. Judgment has no originality, it comes from the north; its province is to prune the exuberance of fancy, to winnow the grain from the chaff, and perfect the original suggestion of its helpmate.

After this, Mr. Smith made an application of these general facts to our new doctrine of equality and social intercourse, and showed that, by the opening up of a free intercourse between nations and individuals, and amalgamating the different tribes of men together, the social system would necessarily combine the virtues of every variety of clime, remove the invidious distinctions which now exist between the different tribes of men, preserving all the original ingredients, but so balancing them with their corresponding opposites, and so diffusing them amongst individuals, instead of amassing them together in nations, as to produce a pleasing and an infinite variety of character, all virtuous.

A PEEP INTO OLD SOCIETY;

Or, Further Causes to which may be attributed the Distress of the Poorer Orders of Society, as well as the Increasing Difficulties of the Working Classes in the Competitive System.

NO. III.

SIR,—I have endeavoured to show, in my last communication (see p. 67), that modern sources of wealth, such as machinery, finance, and monopoly of capital, although they had been, and still were, the means of increasing what is denominated our national prosperity, had unfortunately and unavoidably the evil tendency of depriving more and more the manual labour of our industrious classes of any thing like adequate reward and remuneration.

There is another source of wealth to this country, which avails but little to the industrious classes, that I have omitted to mention; I allude to the slave trade, and to the products from slave labour; what proves, in fact, the increase of West India property, but that a corresponding increase of human suffering has been inflicted on our black population? What is it, but the result of a greater

exertion of the driver's whip, in the laceration of human flesh!

The slave-dealer may double his capital; the West India merchant may receive at times more produce than usual; yet, again, the condition of those who have contributed to such wealth is any thing but improved; but mark here the difference between products through slave labour in our colonies, and products through machinery at home; in the former case, the misery inflicted remains abroad; the evil consequences are not here actually felt; a knowledge that such things exist may leave a painful impression on the mind; but not being for us matter of fact—that is, not affecting in the least our personal comfort and convenience, we see in it no justifiable cause for discontent or perturbation; moreover, the slave must be fed and kept under cover, his family must be provided for by the master, as our farmers in their own interest do for their cattle; this is of itself an important, though old question, now at last nearly settled. I merely mention it in this essay, as being one of the sources of great wealth not derived from any adequate remuneration to free labour, yet one on which much more capital has been employed during the last thirty years, than was ever expended at any former period.

The misery inflicted being far distant from us, as I have observed, the effect of receiving the product here has been good (besides being so much more wealth acquired) in so far as it has afforded so much more means of assisting our unemployed paupers at home; in so far, also, as it enters into compensation for that part of the produce of our agricultural labour, which is annually spent abroad by our absentee landlords; and I do not hesitate to join issue with those who assert that, were it not for the help given by West India property, England would have suffered still more than she does from all her contending moral and mechanical notions about the present relative position of capital and industry; rent, profits, and wages, now become so many painful and intricate anomalies.

Now, Sir, having spoken of machinery, of invention, of monopoly, of finance, and of the slave trade, as tending to explain how wealth may increase without any adequate remuneration to manual labour; let us see whether there is not, besides those principal causes, many other changes and improvements, of a general nature, which have gradually altered the position of the poorer classes of society, by depriving them of the manifold means by which formerly such classes (far less numerous) contrived somehow or other to get their living.

I am of opinion that, in such an investigation as the present, all means of subsistence, whether honest or dishonest, must be taken into account, because the question being merely—how could they live formerly, and how can they live at present? does not imply the moral consideration of right or wrong.

1. Then I believe that the modern severity of our game laws must have contributed, in an eminent degree, to increase the difficulties of a great part of our peasantry, who, no doubt, before such laws were enforced, enjoyed a much greater share of the fowls of the air, and of the beasts of the forests, than it is possible for them to do since more strict regulations have been invented to forbid any kind of field sports. In the name of common sense, is it not most painful to reflect that any human being should be excluded from partaking of the game, fowls, and fish of the land that gave him birth, in order to secure them by laws for the use of those to whom wealth and power have opened, besides, the market of the whole world? Had law, I say, prescribed the very reverse, it would be but human justice.

2. I believe also that most of the inclosures of common lands and waters have gradually deprived thousands of poor families in the country of the daily resources, freely enjoyed by their ancestors,

in turning out their cattle or their geese on the commons, in cutting grass and wood, or in digging turf for their fires, as the same might be wanted. Fishing from ponds and rivers was also formerly more freely allowed to the surrounding population, and these supplied food and fuel to many families, now totally debarr'd and shut out from such natural resources by the effect of the inclosure Bills passed every session.* I do not mean to deny the private advantages of many of those inclosures, which have induced the legislature to sanction about two thousand five hundred such bills during the last forty years. What I contend for is, that the welfare, comforts, and the happiness of mankind in general, are so intimately and so seriously connected with all that land and water supply for the food of man, that to enact any restrictions in their free use becomes at all times one of the most delicate subjects of legislation; but more particularly so at periods like the present, when, through the indirect influence of other important causes, the number of able-bodied men increases, and productive manual labour must be expected to diminish annually as the application of machinery becomes more general.

The system of large farms and of inclosures is, no doubt, considered as so many local improvements. But I confess that all this appears to me to have been done, as if the poorer families thereby displaced and deprived of their usual free habits of procuring a livelihood, could have retired quietly at the word of command to some other planet, ready to afford them subsistence and shelter.

Half measures and hasty measures are always dangerous in legislation. I believe that, in passing year after year so many inclosure bills, the combined effects of increasing machinery and population have not been duly considered;† and the well-known fact that shooting, fishing, and gleanings were formerly acknowledged as the natural right of the people, has been strangely overlooked.

3. I have said above, that in the present enquiry all means of subsistence, whether honest or dishonest, right or wrong, should, in justice to the subject, be duly considered. Now, Sir, *thieving, robbery, and plunder* have greatly diminished, from what they were in former times; property of every description is every where much better secured to the owners than ever it was in past ages; and all who are possessed of property must rejoice that such is the case. Yet it cannot be denied, that formerly a considerable number of poor families contrived somehow or other to escape detection, and procure a dishonest, but a comfortable, living by thieving, robbing, and plundering.‡ Now, however, every

thing is so well guarded by watchmen, patrols, and police, that to obtain in our days an adequate living by any dishonest means is almost impossible. So much the better, I allow; no reasonable man can wish that it should be otherwise, in the present state of society. But then, I hold again, that such a complex whole, as is society at large, can bear no modification in any of its component parts without a reaction taking place in all the others; and that in order that all our improvement in morals, manners, education, and greater security to all kinds of property, may be a permanent good, they should be accompanied by greater facility of diffusion, and by a more rational system of repartition of all the products; whereas the very reverse has been the case; for monopoly and restriction in all things have been deemed, at the same time, as so many other great improvements of our social economy. Sir, I must believe them to be such for private advantage only,—not for promoting the public good; nor the public peace.

Other dishonest means of making money have been greatly reduced, if not yet totally extinguished—I mean those derived from bribery and corruption, at almost each and all of our parliamentary elections. Good, I say, and all moral beings, lovers of rectitude, should equally rejoice at the abolition of such high and low demoralizing practices. Yet, as no one can deny that above 200,000*l.* were on such occasions, in some way or other, handed down to circulate among those whose wants and habits reduced them to accept, or even to demand the bribe, before they could think of giving their vote; therefore, purity of election, as all other moral and civil improvements, tends naturally to increase the difficulties of life among those neglected classes, who have been allowed too long the enjoyment of such dishonest, unconstitutional resources.

I believe, also, that our present difficulties would have been felt much earlier had not twenty-three years of a most obstinate warfare preceded the eighteen years of consecutive peace; during a quarter of a century, it may be said, that our *press-gangs* and *recruiting-parties* every where diminished the number of able-bodied men, to be replaced by those who had no profitable employment; and however painful it may be to the feelings of some, that war should be desired by others, yet there is no doubt that, under the competitive system, the *press-gangs* and *recruiting-parties* have operated during twenty-three years as a safety-valve against the excess of competition; and the same having ceased thus to operate,* in the inverse ratio to the increase of population, it is indubitable that it must now be taken into account, as tending to increase the pressure exercised upon manual labour, in competition with the great monopolies of machinery, finance, and realized capital.

Now, Sir, I believe that many other instances of less general, but of equally applicable nature, might be adduced in support of the views I entertain on this very important subject; and as I am not writing a moral essay, but merely pointing out the different ways to which the poorer part of society were driven by hard circumstances to procure a living, I must not omit the trade carried

ciations and threats of confederates, from executing justice on the offenders." For more proof of the great number of persons living by theft in town and country, up to the year 1755 and 1760, see *Companion to the Newspapers*, Nos. 4, 5, 6.

* ARMY AND NAVY.

		GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.	
Years.	Men.	Years.	Population.
1791 . . .	200,000	1791 . . .	14,263,220
1801 . . .	470,958	1801 . . .	16,338,102
1811 . . .	640,500	1811 . . .	18,547,720
1821 . . .	319,300	1821 . . .	21,193,724
1831 . . .	277,017	1831 . . .	24,271,763

* See table, No. 1, p. 57, vol. iii. Also *Crisis*, No. 20, p. 157, vol. ii.

† Of late this seems to have been felt; for, by the 1 and 2 Will. IV. c. 42, s. 15, Oct. 1831—"Land not exceeding fifty acres may be hired for the employment of the poor, and the remaining waste may be inclosed to be cultivated by poor and industrious inhabitants." And by the same Act, c. 59, dated Oct. 20, 1831,—"Overseers may inclose, with consent of Treasury, Crown Lands lying near their parishes, for the purpose of cultivation for the poor." What is this but an attempt to restore to distress that which, being taken without compensation, created that very distress?—yet, better late than never.

‡ Is a statement, preserved by *Styrry*, (written 1526,) it appears "that the fifth part of the felonies committed were not brought to trial. That there were at least 300 or 400 able-bodied vagabonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine,—met in troops to the number of 60, and committed spoil on the inhabitants. That if all collected together, they would form a strong army; and that the magistrates were awed, by the asso-

on by the numerous body of smugglers on our coast, whose occupation (nothing less than criminal in itself) being, however, against existing laws, must have been considerably reduced since the preventive service has been established against their interest. The revenue, I allow, must be protected; nevertheless the preventive service must have reduced the profit, and therefore increased the difficulties of life for many families.

All the labour done by the poor at the public expense in workhouses, in hospitals, in penitentiaries, and by the tread-mills, have a tendency to lower prices, to reduce the supply by the trade, and to increase competition. And although it is better for the poor to be thus employed, yet in this inquiry nothing, if possible, should be omitted*.

What shall I say of those occasional bazaar, where our noble dames, displaying their arms of alabaster, their shoulders so beautifully rounded, the rosy cheeks and life-absorbing eyes, enter also into competition with all sorts of fancy work; who, siren-like, know so well how to allure and decoy the admiring purse-holders, that those days of charms exhibiting are days of gloom to the neighbouring trade.—“Nothing doing here, Sir, (says the shop-girl,) the ladies' show is open.”

Sir, no one is to be blamed; yet it might be said that the slow but irrevocable changes made by time in human affairs have not been watched as they should have been, when peace succeeded to so many years of political and financial convulsions as have characterized the end of the last and the beginning of the present century; for all the different subjects to which I have alluded tend to show more or less the causes of increasing difficulties among our labourers, artisans, and working classes in general are not of a transitory nature,—as is still maintained by some; but on the contrary, that they are inherent in the imperfect and very incomplete system of our modern civilization.

“Were the benefits of civilization (says Duchatel) to be but partial, and not universal, it would be only a bitter mockery and cruel injustice;”—then, may I be allowed to ask, whether civilization with us has not left behind unnoticed most of those classes who formerly deriving their livelihood, partly from the immorality of former days (as compared with the present)—partly from the very deficiency of all improvements—and partly also through the irregular and culpable conduct of more modern and even very recent times—are now, *bongré, malgré*, compelled to be more honest, to get their living by legal means only, and when they cannot, to be clothed, fed, and sheltered at the public expense? no doubt the answer will be that they have been neglected, and that all the changes noticed above, together with the unwarrantable abuse of our poor-law system, are more than sufficient to account for the increase of pauperism and of criminals for crime during the last thirty years.

It is on the situation and prospects of those forlorn classes, that a domestic legislation should bestow still more time and more reflection than I believe is generally thought necessary:—no ordinary capacity can do any good;—the mind wanted, is one familiar with enlarged views, that would grasp in earnest with any subject however intricate and comprehensive. My reasons for expressing such an opinion, are founded on the convictions that, without raising those classes in the social scale, civilization will never be completely safe, as a source of security and happiness for those already in advance, because, first—the number of those classes must gradually go on increasing—and secondly, because I deem it next to impossible that each coming year should not bring with it more inventions to produce by machinery more competition, more monopoly of capital, more borrowing and funding, more inclosure of land and water, more efforts to secure all property, more

improvement in the manners, habits, and preservation of life; more work done in poor-houses, hospitals, and penitentiaries, more charity bazars; consequently less profits by thieving and robbing, less bribery and corruption, less quarrels among nations, therefore less press-gangs and recruiting, and less profits by smuggling; in short, that all irregular and dishonest means of livelihood will be still more successfully counteracted, and gradually disappear from society; whilst the individual means of procuring any productive labour must also gradually diminish in the competitive system. What, then, are the prospects of society under such circumstances? dangers for the present, still fraught with greater dangers for the future.

Sept. 1833.

V. C. L.

(To be Continued.)

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Concordia in our next; also Joseph Nicholson, whose interesting letter respecting the Sheffield grinders, we are sorry we could not introduce into the present number. James Tucker and J. H. we hope to set in *justa-position* to each other in our next. We receive Plato's poetry favourably; but we can give very little encouragement to the fine arts: we must be contented with dull prose in our little periodical, until we are seated under our vines and fig-trees, and then we shall chant divinely.

We are obliged to J. S. for his scraps, or flowers, as he calls them, and we shall smell them occasionally. There is one, however, which we cannot refrain from applying to the nose of those of our readers who read our Notices to Correspondents. He says that Aristotle believed only three things: “What he saw with his eyes, what he touched with his hand, and what he comprehended in argument.” Did the Prince of Philosophers not believe what he smelt with his nose? J. S.'s few flowers would have been a sorry present to such a fastidious infidel, and our new organ would have met with very little encouragement from his assinine ears. We have a great deal more faith than Aristotle: we believe all that we smell, all that we taste, and all that we hear; that is, we believe we hear it. Aristotle was a tyrant; he enslaved the world for more than a thousand years, and we are very glad to hear that he was out of his senses.—Reformerator we have not yet read.

The Crisis

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOV. 2.

THERE is not much stir at present, except among the tax-gatherers. This is their harvest-time; they have generally two crops a-year, like the Egyptians; but they seem to be meeting with considerable difficulties in collecting the produce. This resistance is likely to lead to some decisive results. These obnoxious house and window taxes must be repealed; the people always gain the victory when they are determined to conquer. Yet these are not the taxes which press most grievously upon the poor; the burden is borne by the middle classes principally. It therefore seems an act of selfishness on the part of the middle-classes to raise such an outcry against this tribute, whilst a perfect calm is maintained respecting duties of a more unmerciful kind, which press severely on every portion, and more especially the poorer portion of the community. However, there

is much to be said in their justification: the direct taxes being levied in an open and undisguised manner, are the most exposed and accessible points of attack, and therefore we consider that it is in perfect consistency with a benevolent interest in the fate of the poor first to attempt a breach where it is most easily effected. The opposition to the indirect taxes will then proceed with greater unity.

There are two modes of resistance—a respectable or legal, and a disreputable, or illegal. Many of our rich merchants and tradesmen contrive to evade these taxes, by sleeping from home, that is, they do business in town, keep servants, cooks, &c., and enjoy all the comforts of domesticity; they then ride out to their cottages in the suburbs to spend the night, by which means they resist the above taxes indirectly; for they are not chargeable with them, unless they sleep on the premises. The poor tradesman, who cannot afford to make use of this finesse, has no other remedy but direct resistance. Which of the two parties is the King's most loyal subject? The one who is subject to seizure.

Direct resistance is certainly much more honourable and manly, and our countrymen seem resolved to prosecute it. On Monday last, a meeting of Delegates from all the Associations for the Abolition of the House and Window Tax, met at the British Coffee-house, Cockspur-street, Haymarket,—Dr. Wade in the chair; when several resolutions were passed, to organize the different associations in a firm union, for the purpose of supporting all those who suffered by resistance. Subscriptions were proposed; Mr. Savage gave a sovereign, and immediately fifteen or sixteen sovereigns followed; others gave their names for a sovereign each; and many smaller contributions were made. Mr. Birch was elected Secretary; and when one member proposed a Vice-secretary, in case of Mr. Birch's imprisonment, “Oh, no,” was the reply, “we shall visit him in prison, and he shall do our work there.” This is formidable for the Whigs. The sovereignty of the people is no visionary doctrine. The people have even now the greater power, only it is passive, because they are not in possession of the name and implements of royalty; but the crown and the sceptre might soon be theirs, if they were resolute and united; they might soon have all taxes to themselves, and thus abolish taxation for ever. Our new views of society have already pointed out the way, and so certain is this mode of redemption which we recommend, that we can scarcely refrain from feeling indignant at the apathy and sluggishness of our working population, who waste their time in drinking, and clamouring and railing against their rulers, whilst they will not stir a step, even to lend their name, and their countenance in support of an infallible plan of deliverance. We have little patience with those who act this unmanly and inconsistent part; yet these are often the most abusive in their invectives, and the most uncharitable: they not only in common with others vent all

* Since the year 1830, the several articles of clothing for the Bethlehem Hospital, supplied before by contract, have been made by the inmates of the house of occupation belonging to Bridewell hospital. See Tables of Revenue and Commerce, lately published by authority, 1833, page 161, part I.

the venom of their tongues upon legislators, but are equally intemperate in their abuse of the people, as a mean, degenerate race of slaves, who are willing to submit to any species of indignity. Can they expect others to act, whilst they are idle? Have other men not as good an excuse as themselves, for keeping aloof from all public associations for the relief of the oppressed? No man has a right to complain of oppression now, who does not lend his aid in attempting to shake it off; we will not pity the fate of those who are free to join themselves in union with their fellow-workmen, yet refrain, from mere idleness and inactivity, to promote the cause by the subscription of their names or their trifling weekly contributions. We shall merely laugh at their calamity, and mock when their fear cometh on them. We mean to be very cruel both to men and women; they require to be brought under the lash. Let others rail against kings and tyrants, who think these creatures worth besmearing with abuse; we mean to rail against working men and producing women, and they shall merely meet with our sympathy and love in proportion as they show an active zeal in the cause of mankind. If they are inactive, we lay the whole burden of sin upon their shoulders; and charge them, and not the aristocracy, with the miseries of society, for we are certain that by one single combined effort they could redeem the world; whereas the aristocracy, even though they were willing, could not effect this happy change without the consent or co-operation of the people. Here, then, the matter stands—the people can deliver themselves in spite of the aristocracy, the aristocracy cannot deliver the people in spite of themselves.

The people have hitherto been spoiled, they are as fond of flattery as the great, and they have slattered it up in troughfuls from the columns of the popular journals; but all the effect which these luxurious dishes have produced, has been only a chorus of grunting and squeaking, which still grates the ears of the sons of union, and prevents the voice of reason and sobriety from being heard, and its counsel followed. Would to God that some tyrant would arise, strong as Hercules, and furious as Hecate! a woman would suit as well as a man, for she is a very fury when excited—to bastinado the soles, and prick the sides of our indolent countrymen. Would to God that evil would multiply, and the judgments of hell become more and more alarming! for nothing will rouse them from their sleep of vassalage, till tyranny has spued out the last secretion of its liver upon them, and starvation and death have beckoned them to follow to the land of shadows. Say they that matters cannot be worse than they are? aye, ten times worse. Have you been reduced to the sad necessity of feeding upon vermin, setting traps for rats in the common sewers, or picking up the worms on a dewy morning and evening, as your brethren in the celestial empire are reported to do? if not, you may yet do it; and your haggard looks and feeble pulse will

cry shame on your sluggish and unsocial spirit, which preferred bondage to liberty, and venom of speech to resolute and combined action. We shall abuse the women by and by, they richly deserve it. 'Tis all in love.

A meeting of the Miscellaneous Department of the Equitable Labour Exchange was held at the Institution, on Monday evening last, Mr. Hundy in the chair, when the following resolutions were unanimously passed, after the minutes of the last meeting were confirmed. In order to give the connexion and full sense of Monday evening's resolutions, it is necessary to give one that was passed on the previous meeting, this meeting being a continuance of it:—"As one of the means for the more effectually organizing the Miscellaneous Department, and to make it efficient in rendering the utmost support to the Exchange, it is necessary immediate arrangements should be made for the formation of a general fund, to be divided into three departments—viz. of leather, woollen and linen cloths, and timber."

Resolved—"That a committee of twelve members be appointed, pursuant to the resolutions of last meeting, for the purpose of effectually carrying them into effect, and for the complete organization of this department;" when the following gentlemen were appointed to this committee:—Messrs Marshall, Dowell, Langham, Kitchen, Kerawill, Hunter, Elbowm, Hewitt, Mountford, Dearle, Burton, and Parker.

Resolved—"That the committee appointed to prepare a plan of organization for this department be requested to call, by advertisement in the *Crisis* and by notices posted in the Exchange, a meeting of this department when their report shall be ready."

Resolved—"That the secretary be instructed to obtain, for the use of this department, a list of the names, addresses, and trades of its members."

W. R. WOOD, Secretary.

Notice.—The members of this department will greatly aid the committee by immediately entering their names, trades, and addresses in a book for that purpose now lying at the Institution.

COURT MORALITY.

"Ellen Smith and Ann Robinson, two females of ill-fame, were indicted for stealing from the person of William Page Smith, Esq., in August, four 10*l.* Bank of England notes in a brothel. Upon the prisoners being arraigned, the Court was informed that Mr. William Page Smith was not in attendance. The Common Serjeant—"The prisoners can demand being put upon their trials." The Counsel of the prisoners said it was their wish to be tried.—Several witnesses were called, who proved changing the notes in question. The Common Serjeant—"There is no evidence against them, and they must be acquitted." The Common Serjeant then informed the two prisoners that they had the most extraordinary escape he ever remembered. Had the prosecutor been in attendance, the case would have been fully proved. They were then discharged, the property found on them being returned, and the recognizances of the prosecutor estreated. In about half an hour after they were discharged, Mr. Smith entered the Court, and said he was unable to attend sooner, as he had to send a letter to a German correspondent. Under those circumstances, he trusted his recognizances would not be estreated, as he had already lost 40*l.* The Court informed Mr. Smith that, by his not attending, two common thieves had been let loose again, and it could only attend to his application upon an affidavit. Mr. Smith retired, evidently astonished at the course which the case had taken."

[Query.—Which is the greater sin, to break the seventh commandment or the eighth? The

pious Justice Park is of opinion, that the seventh commandment is a mere imposition, because gentlemen are prone to make a breach in it; but to break the eighth commandment, to which gentlemen are under no temptation, is a most scandalous offence against God and man. What a pity the two girls escaped, for this will actually deter other gentlemen from visiting such scenes of pleasure. It is as bad as a tax upon property, I declare. Mr. Smith retired, *evidently astonished* at the course which the case had taken.—Ed.]

CRUMBS OF COMFORT TO THE COMFORT LESS; OR ALL THINGS TO ALL PEOPLE!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—After the explanations concerning the Bible given so ably at your Institution by the Rev. Mr. Smith, I shall no longer treat that book as I have hitherto done. The above gentleman's unanswerable challenge to the Bishop of London, must convince all unfettered minds that *mysticism, sophistry, and hypocrisy*, must shortly fly before truth! and that the folly, delusion, or impudence of ignorance, must soon make way for reason. The fact of Mr. Smith's letter remaining unanswered, is one strong proof that they already dread facing it.

The Bible is indeed a wonderful book; for it is "all things to all people," and offers crumbs of comfort to the comfortless of every description. Does it not afford consolation to the sad, and amusement to the mirthful? Is it not comprehensible to the dull, and at the same time incomprehensible to every one of ready comprehension? Is it not intellectual to the non-intellectual, and non-intellectual to the intelligent? Does it not appear beautiful to those who are mentally blind, and at the same time most deformed to all who have acute mental vision? Is it not mysterious to the lovers of the marvellous, and insipid to all possessing plain sense? Is it not bewitching to some, and disgusting to others. Divine to many, and profane to a few? Is it not sense to the senseless, and senseless to the sensible? Is it not reasonable to the lovers of faith, and faithless to the lovers of reason? Does it not fill full of hope the unthinking, whilst the thinking place no hope in it? Is it not prophetic to visionaries, and visionary to the non-prophetic? I have however said sufficient to show that this marvellous and wonderful book is, indeed, "all things to all people;" and is therefore divinely astonishing; and being so, we may expect it will for ever remain a memento to the wise, as well as to the unwise!

A RATIONALIST.

Brighton, 27th Oct. 1833.

The *True Sun* calculates that a saving, to the amount of 150,709*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, might be made to the public on the articles of military clothing and necessaries alone. In the British army there are 140 regiments, five of these are clothed by contract, namely, two regiments of Life Guards, the Blues, the Ceylon Rifle Corps, and the Malta Fencibles; the remaining 135 are clothed by the Colonels, each of which, according to our contemporary, has a clear profit of 783*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* upon the clothing of his regiment. The Duke of Wellington, who is also a knight of the thimble and goose, enjoys a profit of 2,955*l.* on the three battalions of Guards: and in lieu of profits of clothing to 132 Colonels, who, poor souls, are apparently thrown out of employment in the tailoring department of their duty, there is an allowance of 550*l.* each, making in all 72,600*l.* Mr. R. H. Cox, the army agent, has stated this to be the average amount of profit; we may safely give him credit for not shooting a long bow; there can be little doubt that he is within the mark. They say it takes nine tailors to make a man—it must take as many Colonels and Field-marshal. But we must be cautious, lest these knights should demand satisfaction, and run their NEEDLES into us.

EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

LETTER II.

The chief difficulties in the way of carrying into practice the principles of equitable labour exchange have been the want of *raw material* and of *provisions*; but these difficulties are only effects of other causes, the principal of which are the want of union amongst the producers, and of the right appropriation of the *capital* of the Exchange.

In my former letter on this subject, I gave it as my opinion that *money capital* would be necessary for some time successfully to carry out the principles of the Labour Exchange, inasmuch as on this must depend the supply of provisions and raw material, without which the progress of the Exchange must be greatly impeded; and *union* amongst the producers of wealth is no less necessary to enable them effectually to avail themselves of the advantages presented to them by the Labour Exchange.

The money capital, then, being obtained from parties anxious above all things to establish the principles of labour exchange, I would appropriate this capital in the following way:—

1st. To lay in a stock of material, such as woollen cloth, linen, cotton, leather, timber, the iron, &c. &c., purchased at the best markets for ready money.

2d. To pay to the depositors, *in cash*, when they bring in their deposits, the value of the *materials* in each article, so that what they exchange for notes shall be their *labour only*.

3d. To obtain from the best markets, on the best terms, a full supply of the best provisions, so that all the necessities of life may be amply supplied to the depositors in the Exchange.

So much for the appropriation of the money capital. Then, as regards the union of the producers, which I think is of more importance than any thing else, I should say, let those who are members of the Trades' Unions, or others who think proper to become depositors in the Exchange, form themselves into *producing associations*, the more numerous the better; but each trade divided into sections, say of sixty in each section; then, for the sake of example,* let it be supposed that there is a section of shoemakers consisting of sixty members, and that each of these is accustomed to earn thirty shillings per week, and that they each actually did earn last week thirty shillings. These sixty agree to subscribe 10s. each, for the purpose of employing ten of their number to work for the Exchange; in this way they will raise thirty pounds; of this they will lay out fifteen pounds in leather, &c., and with the remaining fifteen pounds they will pay the ten exchange workmen thirty shillings each for their week's work. At the end of the week the goods will be deposited, and the value received part in cash and part in notes; that is, the amount of the *material* in cash, and of the *labour* in notes; and as, in this instance, I have supposed the material and labour to be equal in amount, there will be fifteen pounds to receive in cash, and six hundred hours in notes; these notes will then be divided amongst the whole section, or sixty members, which will give ten hours to each; and the fifteen pounds in cash will be used to purchase material for the ten to work up the next week. Then, the next week, each of the sixty will subscribe 5s., which will again pay the ten workmen thirty shillings each, and at the end of the week each of the sixty will again re-

* It is not intended by this example to give an accurate statement of the amount earned weekly by shoemakers, or of the relative proportion of labour and material in the article which they manufacture; but round numbers are given, and a particular trade selected, merely to explain, as familiarly as possible, the way in which any number of workmen, of any trade, may unite to produce goods for the Exchange without difficulty or inconvenience.

ceive ten hour notes. In this way then, after the first week, the whole sixty will be receiving twenty-five shillings per week in cash, and ten hours in notes, and they will regularly supply the Exchange with thirty pounds' worth of shoes per week; and this mode of supply can easily be carried out to a very great extent by shoemakers, tailors, cabinet-makers, &c.

Then, as it regards provisions: these having, as I have said, been purchased of the very best description, at the best markets, for ready money, and the depositors, by the proposed plan, having only one-sixth of their weekly earnings in notes, part of which also they will expend for other goods in the Exchange, they can very well afford to pay three-fourths, or even seven-eighths, if necessary, of the value of their provisions in cash. At this rate, most unquestionably, they can be supplied with provisions in any quantity, better and cheaper than they can possibly procure them at any other market.

According to this plan then, one-sixth of the whole manufacturing population may immediately be set to work for themselves, and for their fellow-producers, and they will thus instantly withdraw from the competitive market one-sixth of their entire number; at the same time that they will supply the whole of the producers with a great variety of necessities and comforts which most of them are now greatly in want of; and it will be easily seen that, as the slack season in the various trades comes on, they could gradually find work in the same way for all that were thrown out of employment, prevent the reduction of wages, and indeed, enable those remaining in the competitive market to make such terms with their employers as they shall think best. Then I should propose that all the profits derived from the Exchange, after the necessary expenses were paid, should be devoted to the purpose of rearing or purchasing land, and enabling the agricultural population to unite in the same way, and thus to aid their manufacturing brethren in rescuing all the productive and useful classes from the degradation and misery in which they are at present involved; and if the manufacturing population generally can be induced to set upon the plan here proposed, in less than *six months* they might set to work on the land a very large number of agriculturists and horticulturists, and thus supply their Exchanges with every description of produce, gradually provide the means to educate all their children, furnish permanent beneficial employment for all, and finally, all pass over the *bridge* to that happier state where competition and the desire of individual accumulation shall give place to social union and universal enjoyment.

The above is a very brief outline of the plan by which I think the chief difficulties arising from the want of union amongst the producers may be easily removed, and money capital be advantageously appropriated in the establishment of an *Equitable Labour Exchange*; for those that have hitherto been formed can scarcely be regarded as equitable, inasmuch as there is a great deal *less labour* and *more material*, in some of the articles deposited than in others, and for which therefore the producer must have paid *more cash*; but for which, when he brings them to the Exchange, he receives all notes, and in return for these he probably obtains articles in which there is much *more labour* and much *less material*, and for which, therefore, the producer has paid much *less cash*; though the labour and material of which, reckoned together, may be valued at the same amount. Until material, therefore, and every thing else, can be obtained for notes, the above plan, as far as I can perceive, is the only *equitable* mode of procedure.

[Hereafter then, I think, all the Exchanges should be formed in this way; and the managers of those which are already in existence will do well to direct their arrangements in such a way that as soon as possible they may fall into this plan, as to

me it seems exceedingly desirable that all the Exchanges which are founded on public principles, and not for individual benefit, should be conducted as nearly as possible on the same plan, that a feeling of mutual confidence may be created, and that they may assist each other to the utmost extent, as members of one body. Nor will it be at all difficult to adopt this plan; the trades already united can very soon furnish the means to purchase a stock of material, if they will only set about it in right earnest, and this they should now do immediately; we have often seen what immense sums they have raised when a *strike* has taken place, and they have only now to adopt the same course to prevent all future strikes, as the regulation of wages will henceforward rest entirely with themselves.

It is of the greatest importance to all the Exchanges to supply the depositors with the raw material, which, if purchased at the best markets in large quantities, may be retailed to them on better terms than they can procure it elsewhere, and will yet enable the managers rapidly to accumulate the means to carry out the other parts of the plan in the most equitable way; in the mean time, the sections of each trade may set any portion of their number to work for the Exchange as easily one way as the other. If they determine to employ one-sixth of their numbers in this way, the difference will be that they will have to subscribe *one-third* of their weekly earnings in cash, instead of *one-sixth*, in order to pay for the material as well as the labour from week to week, in the same way as, according to the more equitable plan, they will have to do the first week only. This third they will receive back again in notes; but then, as clothing of all kinds, and indeed almost every thing else, except the raw material and provisions, may be had at the Exchange for all notes; these notes will, to the extent that the depositors require those things, be just as good as cash, and they will still, therefore, have at least three-fourths cash left to provide them with provisions. In this way then, if I am not greatly mistaken, the Labour Exchange, instead of merely affording temporary aid to the distressed, like a large pawnbroking concern, will speedily be proved to be a truly national and equitable establishment, by means of which the industrious and useful classes, producers and distributors, united in due proportions, with their capital, industry, skill, and labour, concentrated and directed to one object, may effectually emancipate themselves from all the evils which the system of competition has entailed upon them.

There remains now but one difficulty in the way, which is the want of information, of light upon this particular point; and perhaps the only way to remove this is to direct the attention of all to the subject in the most determinate and persevering way, and by more particularly addressing ourselves to the various Unions. Let missionaries or delegates then be appointed to visit every one of the Trades' Unions and Lodges in the metropolis, in the first instance, and let it distinctly be shown to them how they may immediately employ all their unemployed members, and withdraw from the competitive market all the superabundant producers in every trade, and direct their productive industry in such a way as shall give them all an immediate and constant supply of the necessities and comforts of life, and lead them forward from the wretchedness of competition to the full enjoyment of the social system.

As the producers became enlightened on this subject, the distributors also, who have capital or skill, or both, will soon perceive that there must be a total change of system, and they will therefore gladly aid and assist those upon whom they are dependent for every thing, in bringing about that change, which will greatly benefit all, as speedily as possible. The period is now rapidly approaching, in which those who have been "the first will be the last, and the last will be the first;"

and this must continue during the *state of transition* from the old to the new state of society, when *first* and *last* will be unknown, but where "all for each, and each for all," will banish the desire of distinction, contention, and strife from the world, and union, peace and goodwill shall universally prevail.

From this moment the human race, if they were wise and enlightened on this subject, would cease to have the least *anxiety* about the *production* of wealth; for if the race should increase in number a thousandfold, such are the present enormous and increasing powers of production, that want, or the fear of it, would still be at an immeasurable distance. The important question then now is, not what are our means of production? but what is the *best mode of distribution*? and by *best*, I mean, not the best for the *few*, but for *all*. Competition in distribution is manifestly a great evil; there wants no other proof of this, than that thousands are in want in the midst of the greatest abundance, and we fearlessly affirm that the cause of this is competition. *Competition, then, must cease*; and the means to put an end to it are presented to the industrious and useful classes by the **EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE**. Let them unite, then, in carrying forward this plan, and by degrees all the different Lodges and Unions, although they may each preserve their individual regulations, will find it good to form one *grand union*, which shall so concentrate and influence all their proceedings, that no discord shall be found amongst them; but every arrangement will manifestly tend to promote the general good, until at length one interest and one object, and that the welfare of all, shall animate every human being; thence shall they become the "city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid;" but, "conspicuous as the brightness of a star," it shall attract the gaze and the admiration of the world! "Like some tall cliff that lifts its awful form, Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm; Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,

Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

That these, our fervent hopes, may now be speedily realized, is the earnest desire of
Oct., 1833. S. AUSTIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

MR. EDITOR,—I am induced to forward the following, as it exhibits circumstances of the two extremes of human society, or what are now termed civilized and savage life; the inference and application to be obtained therefrom, will be found in the *Crisis* of last week, in the lecture of Mr. Smith.

I was attending the Sessions for the East Riding of Yorkshire, when the following occurrence took place. A prisoner, by the name of Joseph Lee, who was advised to plead Not Guilty to an indictment charging him with felony, was tried according to the usual form, and found guilty, and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and kept to hard labour, on the hearing of which he put in an application to the court, to the following effect:—"That he most humbly begged that the Court would transport him, as it was with the hope that that would have been the punishment annexed to the offence which he had been found guilty of, which alone prompted him to commit it; that however not being the case, he begged to inform their Worship, that he was tried and convicted of a similar felony in the county of Gloucester last year, in the same hope that those magistrates would have awarded him transportation; he now trusted that their Worship would deem the two felonies together sufficient to merit that punishment; if not, as soon, or perhaps before, the term of his imprisonment had expired, he would commit something that should entitle him to that punishment."

The worthy Chairman, an M.P., assured the convict that he had formed a very erroneous notion

of transportation, as that punishment was now rendered most severe, and that those who were now subject to it, were obliged to slave, and be put on the footing of the brute beast.

To this the convict replied, that no slavery could be worse than that he had already witnessed in this country, and he was perfectly satisfied to be put upon the same footing as the brute beast, which he knew he should be, either by being transported or not; but if transported, he should secure food, clothing, and shelter; and if not, it would be most likely that he should not be able to get them at all!!!

On my return to town, which was by a steam vessel, I was thrown in with fourteen of the crew of Captain Ross, two of whom (the mate and steward) were very communicative, as well as intelligent men. After having detailed their sufferings, their discoveries, &c. &c., they told me that they fell in with a tribe of the natives, (whom they called the "Yax,") who had never before seen any of the human family but themselves, and they (the natives) had thought there were no other of the same species in the world. This, however, they were soon satisfied was not the case, for they were extremely anxious to be united and considered upon an equality with the crew, and they very soon became familiar and constant visitors. My informants told me that they appeared cheerful and happy, particularly when they had got a store of food; that the males and females were upon an equality; that on some occasions a male and female appeared to be united, but there was no other ceremony than the free will and affection of each to constitute this union; that sometimes one female would be affianced to two males, and at other times two females would be united to one male, but there was not promiscuous intercourse between the sexes. On all occasions they were very particular to have the parties so uniting, of good constitutions and robust frames; but disease was not observed amongst them to that extent which it is in a similar number of civilized society. The children were considered and adopted as the offspring of the tribe, to whom, male and female, they were all particularly affectionate and kind. In answer to other questions which I put to them, they stated that these people had no idea whatever of any kind of religion, and they wondered much, when our countrymen were engaged on the Sabbath at their religious duties, what they were doing. They however conjectured at last, that they were all engaged on that day in making knives, scissors, &c., to exchange with them for provisions, &c. They stated further, that these natives would cheerfully exchange half a seal, nay, sometimes a whole one, for a piece of iron hoop, as they had by some means discovered the useful quality of that metal, as some of their hunting spears were finished at the extreme point with iron. There appeared to be perfect equality observed throughout the whole tribe, but some were greater proficient in some of their rude arts than others; but that proficiency was rendered for the good of the whole, and never to the individual gain of that party. They stated further, that during the whole time they had intercourse with these people, which was nearly two years, they never on any occasion saw any difference or quarrel amongst them; their language being confined simply to the expression of their wants, they could not apply abusive epithets to each other, if they were so inclined. There did not appear to be either reward or punishment observed amongst them; and all their wealth was shared in common. Upon the whole, my informants told me that these savages, as they are termed, were more united, more affectionate, and more happy, than the majority of their own countrymen. With the above I shall conclude, fearing to trespass too largely upon the valuable columns of your publication.

I remain, dear Sir, Your's respectfully,
Monday, Oct. 28, 1833. R. NERES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—As you advocate the cause of the working-classes, it is very necessary that you should be made acquainted with the steps they are now taking to benefit their condition.

One of the members of the aristocracy, some time since, advised that the working-classes should take their affairs into their own hands. When, however, the fatal advice was given (*fatal to them and their hereditary and exclusive privileges*), it was upon the firm conviction that they the working-classes had neither the means nor the power of managing their own affairs. The advice was, therefore, a malicious taunt and a downright mockery.

The working-man has, however, completely proved the fallacy of their selfish arguments; he has, in good earnest, set about the managing of his own affairs, which is of necessity, for the present, confined to the mere exchanging his labour with others, and supplying himself with the necessities and comforts of life.

The working-men of London, Birmingham, Manchester, and several other large towns, are making arrangements for the exchanging of their labour with each other, without the intervention of money; the non-producer will, in consequence, be deprived of the power of bringing his capital to bear against the interest of the labourer.

I have been fed to these remarks, Mr. Editor, from the circumstance of having attended, on last Sunday, a public meeting of the operative boot and shoe-makers, at Bowling Chapel, Whitehorse-street (and such meetings, I have to inform you, are to take place on every future Sunday morning); and I have no doubt, from what has already taken place, but that the whole of this trade will, before long, be united in one body, for the purpose of carrying out this new system of commerce; and, should other trades follow their example, society will be instantly made to consist of but two classes, as the middle-classes must of necessity disappear. The aristocracy, the fundholder, and the non-producers generally, will then be no longer suffered to revel in wealth and power, which, by the laws of Nature and common justice, belongs only to those who produce it.

I remain, Sir, yours, &c.
London, Oct. 28, 1833. AN UNIONIST.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE, THE INCIPIENT COMMUNITY, AND THE SOCIAL OR LAND COMMUNITY.

MY FRIENDS,—Let me ask you what are you about? you let me repeat the question, What are you about? Union ought to be our object and sole view, and we are split into sections and parties. Charity and kind feelings ought to be amongst us, and bitterness and contentious prevail; surely, this is not the way to understand the principles of the Rational System; this is not the way to convince the world that we are successfully taking "our affairs into our own hands." There are the friends of the "National Equitable Labour Exchange," the friends of the "Incipient Community," and the friends of "The Social or Land Community," but nowhere do I see the friends of the "Great National Union of the Industrious Classes," (except in the country). This great object is frittered away in the pursuit of the many little petty measures that are from time to time brought forward by individuals who, happy would it be were their knowledge of the true principles and confidence in Mr. Owen equal to their zeal. I therefore invite the advocates of each party to a friendly controversy on the practicability or non-practicability of their measures, and if the editor of the *Crisis* will favour us with the insertion of a few weekly letters on the subject, I hope to show that, by attempting too much, we can accomplish nothing. Yours, sincerely,
Poland-street, Oct. 23, 1833. UNITY.

Poet's Corner.

PALMYRA.

Sad city of the silent place!
Queen of the dreary wilderness!
No voice of life, no passing sound,
Disturbs the deathlike calm around;
Save the wild desert-dweller's roar,
Which tells "the reign of man is o'er;"
Or winds that through the portals sigh,
Upon their night-course flitting by.
The broken arch of triumph rears
Its gray head through the mist of years;
But whose are now the dreams of fame?
The promise of a deathless name?
Alas! The deep delusion's gone,
And all—except the mouldering stone!
The wreath that deck'd the victor's hair
Hath, like his glory, wither'd there!
While Time's immortal garlands twine
O'er Desolation's mournful shrine!
Ages of dreamless sleep have fled
O'er beauty's dark and desert bed;
And in the domes where once she smiled,
The whispering woods are waving wild!
The prince's court is Jackal's lair;
He peeps through time's blank windows there.
Broken the lute, and all unstrung;
Perish'd the strains the minstrel sung;
And names and deeds alike are lost—
Alike are swallow'd up in dust!
The moss of ages in their pall,
And dull oblivion hides them all!
Yet there—though now no mortal eye
Looks forth upon the earth and sky—
The evening star steals out as mild,
Above the fons and mighty wild,
As when young lovers hail'd its light,
Far in the dark-blue fields of night;
And dew-as brightly gem the ground,
As when a garden smiled around!
There,—where the remnants of the past
Shed deeper sadness o'er the waste,—
Where Melancholy breathes her spell
And chroniclers of ruin dwell,—
Go, read thy fate, thou thing of clay,
In wrecks of ages roll'd away!
Read it—in this dread book of doom,—
A city, crumbled to a tomb!—*Anonymous.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MAN.

MY DEAR MAN,—You are quite a spirit (not disembodied, I hope), and confoundedly touchy. I was a little suspicious last week that you were in want of something to keep you in good temper, but I did not expect to find so early a proof of my prophetic talent; and I am very much afraid that I shall not be able to administer the proper medicine; it must come from a fairer form and a softer bosom than I am possessed of. When I got to the end of your letter, I imagined that a bee had stung you. "Daub yourself with honey, and you will catch plenty of flies," you say to me. I thought that, perhaps, you had been following this counsel yourself, and instead of flies had caught bees, which had run their bayonets into you; and that you wanted to bring the editor of the *Crisis* into a similar scrape, upon the principle of equality. But perhaps it was merely a nervous excitement, which is all over now; and in this expectation, I shall not reply to any of the personalities contained in your epistle, but merely state in simple terms the error into which you have fallen. You complain that my editorial pen was drawn across the words "and the *Man*," which were inserted in the resolution of the vote of thanks to the Editors of the *True Sun*, *Morning Advertiser*, and the *Man*. You certainly would have had good reason to complain of this omission, had we given a report of the meeting, since the resolution was passed in your favour on Friday evening; but in the original resolution of Congress, the *Man*

was not mentioned; and it was this resolution that was published in our report of the proceedings of Congress. The public meeting had no more to do with the proceedings of Congress, than the Lord Mayor's show with an election dinner. Now, it happens very unfortunately, for the effect of your fraternal rebuke and counsel to the Editor of the *Crisis*, that we have given no report of the public meetings of Wednesday and Friday evenings. We had not room in our small paper, and we thought our readers had already got a surfeit of proceedings; so there were eight or ten resolutions passed on these two evenings, of which we have made no mention whatever. The resolution of which you speak happened to be passed both in Congress and at the public meeting, but it was passed in Congress as we have printed it; and it was passed in the public meeting as we would have printed it, had we given a report of the public meeting. Your rebuke, therefore, you see, has alighted upon a very tough hide, which retorts it all back upon yourself. But I do it in perfect good will, making ample allowance for precipitancy and feeling on your part, for I suspect, notwithstanding your assertion to the contrary, that you were more under the influence of feeling than reason, when you penned that critique upon your friend and brother in your last postscript. If, therefore, this is the only reason which you can find for charging the Editor of the *Crisis* with incapacity for his office, weigh well the above reply, and see if he cannot justify himself.

I am, my dear Man,

Your friend and brother,

THE CRISIS.

ANOTHER CHURCH-RATE REFUSED.

On Friday evening a Vestry was held at St. Bride's, Fleet-street, when Mr. Sangster, one of the Committee of the City Gas Company, attended, and admitted the liability of the Company to be assessed for their pipes; but he contended that the sum of 500*l.*, at which the Company had been rated, was much too high. After some discussion on this point, the vestry agreed to re-value the Company's pipes and works. Having succeeded so well with the Gas Company, a Resolution was carried that the water-pipes running through the parish should be valued and assessed.—At the same Vestry, a motion to raise a Church-rate of one shilling in the pound, and which would have produced about 1200*l.*, was negatived. In the year 1823, a debt was contracted for the repairing of the church, (the estimate of which repairs was only 900*l.*, while the eventual charge was 5,000*l.*), the remainder of which debt is to be discharged in the year 1837. As church-rates are daily growing more odious, a motion was made which would have the effect of securing at once a fund to extinguish the debt; but Mr. C. Wood, a parishioner, moved an amendment, that the church-warden be allowed to discharge such demands from his ordinary funds; arising from the rent of houses which are the property of the parish. These rents have heretofore been applied to the current expenses of the church; but the parishioners are aware that the rentals have lately increased to 1,600*l.* a-year, and will probably soon reach 1,800*l.*; and they carried Mr. Wood's amendment by a large majority.

[The church vultures will lose a little venison by such resolutions. What a pity the church is falling! the clergy will soon be as poor as the apostles, and then they shall become moral, good, and wise; awful times these!]

A SINGLE GENTLEMAN can be accommodated with a pleasant, airy APARTMENT, in a respectable family, situated in Walworth, at an easy distance from town: Terms extremely moderate. For cards of address, apply 4, Great Wild-street, Lincoln's-Inn-fields.

THE NATIONAL, EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT—ENDING OCT. 19

Deposits excl.	Exchanges:
of Provia. 11,098 <i>h.</i> 3 <i>s.</i>	Stock deliv. 7,964 <i>h.</i> 3 <i>a.</i>
INCOME: <i>Cash & Notes.</i>	EXPENDITURE:
Commission £21 8 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	Charges £. 7 18 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Rent Sub. . . 4 14 7	Rent paid 40 0 0
Lectures . . 16 8 11½	Wages . . 22 3 4
Provisions 38 5 3½	
Groc. 1 mon. 20 17 3	
Coals ditto 3 12 2½	
	70 1 10
105 6 11½	
70 1 10	
35 5 1½	Profit for the Week,
	inc. coals and grocery.
Total Stock on hand	52,433 <i>h.</i> 1 <i>a.</i>
Notes now in circulation	34,724 5

Excess of Stock over the Notes . . 17,718 2

Audited by the Managing Committee,
WM. HOARE, Chairman.

GOETHE'S LOVE OF ORDER.—Every thing that was sent out in writing, the smallest note of invitation, must be written, folded, and sealed with the greatest possible care, neatness, and elegance. Every thing unsymmetrical, the slightest blot or scratch, was intolerable to him. His enjoyment from the sight of the most beautiful engraving was disturbed if he saw it awkwardly handled, or at all crumpled, for all that surrounded him, and all that proceeded from him, must be in unison with the symmetry and clearness of his own perceptions, and nothing must be allowed to trouble the harmony of the impression.—*Mrs. Austin's Characteristics of Goethe.*

THE ATLAS UNSTAMPED SHEET ALMANACK, beautifully Printed on a large Sheet of thick Vellum Paper, containing all the most necessary information appertaining to Almanacks. The ATLAS contains also a Victorious Calendar, containing upwards of 365 Battles gained by British Arms, being a Colquest for each day in the Year—a useful document for reference.

Also the MAN ALMANACK (price 2*d.*) for the Year of the Advent of Human Liberty and the Year of real Christianity 1834.

Also, the London PADDY'S WATCH ALMANACK. Price One Penny.

Also, the SOCIAL ORACLE, a Book Almanack. Price Two pence.

Also, LORD BROUGHAM'S Penny Almanack, for the year 1834.

Printed and Published by Benjamin Franklin, at the Reformer Office, No. 378, Strand, and R. E. Lee, Office of the *Man*, 31, Marylebone-lane; and sold by all the Venders of the Unstamped.

Mr. Detrowier will lecture on Tuesday evening.

LECTURES, &c., NEXT WEEK.

Institution, 14, Charlotten-street, Fitzroy-square Sunday morning, at half-past 11, by the Rev. J. E. Smith, and evening, at 7.

Sunday afternoon, at 3, the members of the Social Community will take tea together.

Wednesday evening, Social Community.—Question: "What plan shall be adopted for aiding the poor and industrious classes?"

Thursday evening at half-past 7, the Trades' Delegates.

Friday afternoon, at 4, the Ladies' Association.

The PIONEER may be had at the *Crisis* Office, every Saturday. Nos. 1 and 2 are being reprinted. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, may now be had.

Printed and published by B. D. COUSINS, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn-fields, and at 378, Strand.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING.

Mr. Smith lectured on "CIRCUMSTANCES—INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE ON RELIGION."

In hot climates men have always considered themselves entitled to as many wives as they chose. The Jews were not restricted to any number. Solomon had a thousand, and the Lord had no objections; nay, the Lord even encouraged the Jews to take their choice of women taken captive in war, keep them as concubines as long as they pleased, and send them away when they no longer enjoyed their society. He went further still; he taught pure Owenism and St. Simonianism to the Jews; for he gave them permission, whenever they were tired of their wives, to send them away and take others. There was no form of law required, the will was sufficient; the two parties were free to seek other partners. I will quote the words verbatim from Deut. xxiv. 1:—"When a man hath taken a wife, and married her; and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her; then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it into her hand, and send her out of the house; and when she is departed out of the house, she may go and be another man's wife." This is now called the Devil's doctrine; but if it be, then it must have been the Devil who spoke to Moses out of the burning mountain. This doctrine was taught in hot climates, because it is favourable to the passions; but for northern or colder climates, another doctrine, from the shivering regions of the north, has been engrafted upon it, and the married pair, if unfortunately married, are condemned to freeze each other with cold looks, until the frost settles on their eyebrows, or death them part. This practice is the result of the chastity and equality which characterizes the north, and, under the present circumstances of society is much to be commended. Only it is evident from the above remarks* that the opposite doctrine has always been taught in hot climates, and even by the Jews themselves; so that those who now advocate the cause of the emancipation of woman, profess principles which are decidedly more

chaste and more just than those of Moses himself, who by the authority of God went much further, in respect to women at least, than either Owen or St. Simon. These changes are entirely to be accounted for by a change of circumstances; there is no particular system or form of manners or customs either good or bad in themselves; but those which conduce to the greatest amount of happiness to the public at large, and the individual in particular, ought to be adopted.

Thus it appears that a change of climate, or a change of circumstances, has converted good into evil and evil into good, or made God and Devil exchange names; you will find the same sort of change produced upon the opinions of mankind respecting rewards and punishments. In hot climates, the people are amorous and indolent; hence we find that the joys of paradise are by them represented as consisting in such indulgences as are accounted luxurious in the present world. The Indian legislator, Foe, taught his followers that the pleasures of heaven consisted in idleness; whilst the punishments of the damned consisted in working laboriously, carrying burdens, felling trees, breaking rocks and stones. The Mahomedan paradise is of a similar nature, with the pleasures of love and nectar superadded. The Jewish paradise is equally gratifying; they sit under the vine and under the fig-tree, or walk for cooling and refreshing breezes by the banks of the crystal streams. The hells of these hot climates are the extreme of heat, without a drop of water to cool the tongue; this was the greatest torture to which a traveller in these regions could be subjected, amid the burning sands of Arabia Deserta, where water is more valuable than nectar itself.

But let us go to the north, the regions of frost and snow, and we find a very different account of the pleasures of heaven and the torments of the damned. The ancient Scythians and Saxons made the pleasures of heaven to consist in fighting and cutting up each other peace-meal. In the Edda, or Runic Bible of the ancient Saxons, two individuals are introduced conversing about the employments of a future state; the one says to the other, "tell me how the heroes divert themselves when they are not drinking," (for northern nations are very much addicted to drunkenness, and hence this was accounted a celestial enjoyment;) the

other replies,—“Every day as soon as they have dressed themselves they take up their arms, and, entering the lists, they fight till they cut each other in pieces. This is their diversion. But no sooner does the hour of repast approach, than they remount their steeds, all safe and whole again, and return to drink in the palace of Odin.” But the hell of these cold climates is the very opposite of the hells that come from the tropics. The hell of these northern nations is extremely cold. It is called Ifurin, the island of the cold land; even in the Gallic language, this is still the name for hell. Thus, you see, we have got two sorts of hell in the world: one is extremely hot, and the other extremely cold; and it would puzzle a Dutchman to tell which is the right one. My advice is, to take them both, and make a mixture of the two; and the extreme heat of the one and the extreme cold of the other being blended together, will make a very comfortable place of residence. This is the advantage of believing all things. You get the best of every thing by making one extreme neutralize another. Of the God and Devil of religion you may make something by uniting them in one, for by uniting them you produce nature; but of either one or other apart, you can make nothing that is good; the one is extremely cold, the other extremely hot; the one will burn you to death, and the other will freeze you to death. Hence, the Bible, in the true spirit of philosophy, makes good and evil-doers of both; it calls God good, but ascribes bad actions to him; it calls the Devil bad, and ascribes good actions to him;—’tis the same thing, and we are often guilty of the same innocent deceit ourselves; we often abuse in kindness, and say soft things when we are angry. But the Bible, notwithstanding, advises us to imitate both God and Devil at times: the Devil is called a serpent, and the Holy Ghost a dove; and it tells us to be wise as serpents and harmless as doves, that is, as wise as the Devil, and as innocent as the Holy Ghost—a very good advice, if we could follow it. Even our tender-hearted helpmates, the ladies, are of opinion at times, notwithstanding their affected delicacy of feeling, that a little, nay, even a great deal, of the Devil is a necessary ingredient to compose a good character. Such a one, they often say, is too good; he would be the better of a little more of the

* Alluding to former parts, not published.

Devil in him. Indeed, if it were not for the Devil, I don't know how we could make any progress at all. Had it not been for the serpent, how should we ever have found wisdom?

The different sects and parties of religion have each a temperature of its own; but the further they depart from originality, the colder they become. All new sects are ardent and enthusiastic; old sects, that have suffered themselves to be corrupted from their original simplicity, are cold as icicles. Hence new sects, like the inhabitants of hot climates, are always originals. There are generally new ideas to be got from them. But they are always hasty, rash, and precipitate, not sufficiently aware of the strength of the prejudices against which they have to fight, and the different temperatures of mind by which their opponents are influenced. This generally retards their progress, by covering them with obloquy, unless there is something so decidedly superior about them as to compensate for all defects. Their zeal is strongest at the first; they begin at the equatorial regions of their mind, and as they proceed northward they become more and more cool, till at last they sink into the common temperature of their predecessors. It is amusing to read of the various institutions of monachism or monkism in the Roman Church. At first, the zeal of the original founders is indescribably keen. The self-denial, the mortification, the penance which they inflicted upon themselves, almost exceed belief; they made vows of perpetual chastity, of perpetual poverty; they swore they would live upon crust and water, and sleep upon straw, or even bars of wood; they kept their vows for many years. Perhaps the first generation were sincere and faithful to their promises; but the people loaded them with presents; they bequeathed lands, and houses, and money to the fraternity, till at last the poor mendicants, rolling in abundance, and tempted beyond measure with the desires of the flesh, began to repent them of their hasty vows, made a truce with the Devil, broke them all, leaped over the ditch and over the walls of the nunneries, corrupted the nuns, scandalized the most holy church by their licentiousness and their arrogance, and retired from public patronage to open the way for a new set of abstersioners, who began with the same species of mortification, and arrived at the same pinnacle of intemperance. Nature must be revenged; they began by exulting the feeling of devotion over the social affections and passions; and before long these passions rebelled against the religious propensity, utterly destroyed it, and commenced a riot in the monasteries and nunneries of the Roman Catholic Church, which has frequently convulsed it from one extremity to the other. The religious frenzy cooled as the animal passions became excited. This also is quite in consistency with the usual character of nature; one fire destroys another. The heat of the sun will put out a common fire, and a large fire in the neighbourhood of a small one will speedily extinguish it. Thus the fire of religious enthusiasm, strong at first, diligently fed by the care and zeal of its partisans, and roused by artificial fuel, was unable at last to cope with the natural fire of the human affections and passions, and after a fierce and afflicting struggle, it at last gave way, exhausted with resistance, leaving the enemy much more power than if the struggle had never taken place. Accordingly, we find from accounts of the nunneries and monasteries of France, Italy, and Spain, published by the Catholics themselves, that the most shameless excesses have been committed in these private asylums, where men and women profess to retire from the pleasures of the flesh, but where in fact they have many more opportunities of indulging in all the pleasures of sense than they could procure in the outer world. At Provence, in France, when cleansing a fish-pond in the neighbourhood of a nunnery, several bones and half-rotten bodies of children were found; twenty-

seven adults were apprehended on suspicion, but the church soon put a stop to all proceedings against them, to protect the character of the holy sisterhood. Many of the Roman bishops, however, have interested themselves in the cause of decency and of nature. Amongst whom Scipio de Ricci, bishop of Pistoia, is the most eminent and candid, who in the memoirs of his own life, has left to the world a frightful picture of the abuses of which religion has been guilty in those dens of wickedness, where the victims of superstition have been imprisoned from the enjoyment of human society.

It is a thing, however, not to be regretted; for it is a lesson to future generations to avoid the errors into which their ancestors have fallen, in the foolish expectation of pleasing God, and promoting the cause of good morals. It is also a thing to be noted, that those victims of a base and tyrannical superstition were not acting contrary to the dictates of their own consciences, in thus overleaping the boundaries of their rule of life, for there is a secret system of Christianity taught in the monasteries, of which the world knows nothing at all. It is a mystical doctrine, which resolves all the mysteries of the Gospel into love. The death and passion of Christ, the atonement, the resurrection, the ascension, the out-pouring of the Holy Ghost—all are explained in a way never taught in our churches, but known only to the inmates of the monasteries or those who, like them, have zeal and fervour sufficient to enter into the spirit of their system. It is not a deception of a mere cloak to exculpate themselves; it is a real, a genuine system of theology, as I know from personal intercourse with those who have been under its power, and who have confessed that from pure faith and love to God and Jesus Christ, they have indulged in the grossest sensuality, and regarded licentiousness as a virtue. They also bring forth Scripture to defend their conduct, and maintain, like all other sects and parties, that the Bible cannot be expounded otherwise. They abandon all outward form of religion, despise the mummeries and ceremonious worship of the church to which they belong, and confine all their devotion to their own hearts, and to what they call the volap-tuousness of Jesus.

This may be a good lesson to fanatics of every variety; it ought to teach them to descend a little from the elevation to which they have raised themselves, and have a little more intercourse with the opposite extreme of society; they will find there as much good feeling, as many amiable qualities, of every description, as amongst themselves; and perhaps they may learn to appreciate some virtues and some truths of which they have now no conception; in fine, they ought to cool themselves, and see if, in their cool moments, they do not naturally run into another channel of thought, which, for the time being, appears as reasonable as the one of higher temperature. I know, from experience, both states of mind in the extreme, and I know that the convictions of the one party are equally strong as those of the other. Hence I always steer a middle course; I neither dwell in the burning, sultry climate of fanaticism or devotion on the one hand, nor the frigid zone of extra fidelity on the other; I love to dwell in the temperate regions, and give my hand and my heart to both; and as the temperate regions have one half of the year under the influence of heat and the other of cold, so I love to have faith and infidelity on each side of me; the one is my summer, the other is my winter; Nature made them both; therefore I consider that both are good, only we have not as yet learnt to make a good use of them. Heat is good, but it is not good to jump into a furnace; cold is good, and very refreshing and invigorating, but it is not good to go upon a north-west expedition, and perish amid the icebergs. No; keep the middle regions; never try to go to extremes; destroy nothing that Nature contains, but try to balance all things.

Every man may know for himself when he has

got into a hot climate. If he is in a high passion, he has perhaps got as far south as the Equator; and if he is without passion altogether, then he has got as far as the Pole; and in either state his mind is unfit for healthy action. Under the influence of passion or feeling alone, man is a fool; without passion at all, he is unfit for action. Some men are in the habit of decrying passion, imagination, and all such stimulating elements of composition. Nothing can be more unreasonable. These are the source of all action; without these there is no activity in man, there is no thought. Judgment is the coldest and most unfeeling thing in the universe. Hence Justice was very beautifully represented by the ancients with a bandage upon her eyes, because she has neither likings nor dislikings. Man is never in a healthy state, unless all the passions of his nature are in employment. There is not a useless or a vicious passion within him. Nature has implanted nothing within him that would not contribute to his happiness, did he employ it aright; and he would employ them all aright, did not laws and superstitious lay a restraint upon some passions, and suppress them to exalt others above them, and thus destroy the equality of the mind. Were this restraint enforced equally upon all, it would do less harm. But it is unequal in its action. Some passions are subdued, others are let alone; and those which are free obtain an undue ascendancy over those which are suppressed, and thus destroy the beauty of the moral character of man. Were all the passions set at liberty, they would shock each other, and keep each other in bounds. Now, when one or two are in prison, an infamous system of monopoly prevails, and dire confusion is the consequence. It is a state of things which may be well represented by the banking systems of England and Scotland. In England, one great monster of a national bank has enjoyed exclusive privileges, to the detriment of all inferior banking establishments throughout the kingdom: the consequence is, that the banking system of England has been a complete failure, and hundreds of the minor banks have been ruined by the exclusive privileges of the great devourer. In Scotland the system is quite the reverse; there, there is no national bank; every bank is free to issue and to act as it pleases. But the different banks of Scotland have a mutual action upon each other; they keep each other in check, so that they dare not be guilty of an over-issue. Hence it happens that the banking system of Scotland is the most perfect monetary system in the world, and there is not a peasant nor a mechanic in Scotland who would not prefer a composed note to a sovereign; in fact, gold is never seen in Scotland. It would be so with the passions, were they all free to act; they would keep each other in check, and preserve the equilibrium of virtue and the moderation and temperance of nature. This is wisdom. Wisdom is nothing else than the balance of the mind, giving each passion and each propensity its true place, putting no unnatural check on any, and exercising no partiality.

Our system is the temperate or middle one, between the two extremes; we hold out the hand of charity to all; we regard every thing in nature as useful, nothing in nature as contemptible. Where can you find another system in the world which is equally temperate, which is not exclusive on some point or other, and unjust in the undue preponderance which it gives to some feeling or precept? We have no precepts, and never will have precepts; we do not even command our followers to love each other, for we know that they must love or hate just as they are compelled by nature; but we endeavour to make all lovely, and by this means we hope to be enabled to compel all men to love each other, without the use of a precept. All moral lessons are useless. Change the system, educate the people, refine them and polish them, feed them and clothe them, and you will find that process to be much more effectual than preaching and sermonizing.

A little after the lecturer had commenced speaking, a most inhuman yelp or bark was heard to proceed from the midst of the audience; every person seemed to take it for granted that a dog had got in amongst us, and all the impression which the noise created was a pleasant and universal smile. By-and-by, however, the sound was heard again, and a little disturbance ensued in the quarter from which it proceeded, and a gentleman requested the lecturer to pause for a short while, as he was suspicious that we had got a visit of the unknown tongues. The lecturer paused, and then proceeded once more; and when he began to show the impossibility of drawing a decided line of distinction between God and Devil, any more than between cold water and hot, the spirit, in a fit of ecstasy perhaps at the clearness of the illustration, or perhaps afraid that he was just about to be detected, and convicted of being one and the same with the Devil himself, gave such a vociferous bark as electrified the whole audience. Immediately there was a rush upon the unfortunate "possessed," and he was pushed down stairs, spirit and all, by an irresistible force. No doubt, he thought it very scandalous that the Holy Ghost should be treated so contemptuously by the prince of darkness, who possessed and instigated the assailants. The lecturer said he was sorry for what had occurred; but yet perhaps it was absolutely necessary, as so large an audience were apt to be thrown into confusion by suffering such characters to be present; but that the individual, who was personally known to him, was, he believed, unable to suppress this violent hiccup, which came suddenly upon him when any thing affected his religious fibres; knowing this, however, it was foolish to make his appearance in public. The individual who uttered this canine sound is a Southcotian, but is quite insulated as a believer, imagining that none of the Southcotians know any thing equal to himself. This bark of his, he says, has as yet no intelligible meaning, but it soon shall have, and shake the world by its power. The circumstance altogether was a very good illustration of the lecturer's doctrine, that what appeared God to one man was the Devil to another, for certainly no one but the demoniac himself could have ascribed "this manifestation" to any thing but an evil influence. There are several of the Southcotians who bark in a similar way. You cannot call it an "unknown tongue," for it is one that we are all familiar with, and suits to a very hair the Turkish designation of a follower of Jesus, "a Christian dog." We would advise our friend to go to Mr. Irving's, where he is more likely to find a kind master than with us; but even Irving, we fear, would put him out, for as apostle has said, "Beware of dogs."

FOR THE CRISIS.

I had a dream which was not all a dream.

BYRON.

What was your dream, my lord?—SHAKESPEARE.

One evening, as my friend and myself were admiring the rich tints of a magnificent setting sun, "And felt our hearts float softly after him Along that western paradise of clouds," we remarked, how variously the same object affected different individuals! "Imagine," said I, "the unhappy being whose life has been declared forfeited by the laws of his country: what must be his sensations, as he beholds, for the last time, the setting of that orb, whose rising will announce the termination of his existence?" "Sad indeed," she replied, "is the picture you have presented. Oh! why cannot all share our present happy feelings? and why must even they be alloyed by the knowledge, that there are thousands who have misery for a constant companion; and to whom the past, the present, and the future, offer only scenes of desolation?" "Because ignorance

rules with an iron sway; because evil, and its necessary attendant, sorrow, are let loose upon earth; because we know not the laws of our nature, and what is necessary to secure happiness; or, wherefore, when all around us is calculated to produce harmony, do we hear only discord? Wherefore, when beauty and grace indescribable abound in the works of nature, do we turn to the deformities of art? Why, when in every bosom there is an inexhaustible fountain of kindness and love, do we prefer the bitter waters of hatred and strife? and, when happiness is within and around us, when each kind emotion we feel, each affectionate attention we receive, proves it, when it sweetly asks to be taken to our hearts, why do we, in our ignorant selfishness, so generally turn away to clasp falsehood and misery?" The inquiry was one deeply interesting to benevolent nature; we pursued it for some time; and when, with the subject still in my mind, I retired to rest, imagination kept awake.

I thought I was travelling through a country which Nature seemed to have fitted for the abode of peace, plenty, and happiness—the hills were clothed with trees of graceful foliage, and along the valleys the silvery stream threaded its winding and fertilizing course; the birds made sweet music among the bushes, while myriads of gay insects danced to the sound; the air felt balmy and healthful; and the soil was of the kind which richly repays the labour of cultivation. At some distance I observed groups of men, employed in various pursuits of husbandry; but, upon approaching them, I was pained to observe that their countenances, instead of expressing content and pleasure, were marked by deep lines of care and anxiety—penury was in their appearance; and famine had set its seal upon their hollow cheeks and wasted frames. I asked what they were sowing? "Thistles," they replied, and added that for some time they had cultivated nettles, in the hope of finding them substantial fare; but being disappointed, some learned men, after having convinced them of their error, had recommended the culture of the former, and that this advice most people were following. "But why not sow corn, when experience shows that it yields the best food?" "Oh, some did sow a little, but they were mostly odd, visionary beings, who were generally laughed at." "But was it not a fact that the produce of their labour was good? was it a visionary thing that they were better fed, enjoyed better health and more comfort than they did who attempted to support themselves upon things ill-adapted to their natures?" "That might be; but they who have a right to know best, order us to sow thistles, therefore we must; and if they shall be found unfit for food, why, then, next year, it will be time enough to try something else." And in the mean time hundreds perished—perished of want, surrounded with the means of procuring abundance!

I proceeded to the metropolis; there, judge of my surprise! though the glorious sun, rising high in the heavens, was diffusing life and light through all nature, the houses were closed as if it had been night; and I found that the inhabitants slept during the day, and then arose to pursue their avocations by the miserable flicker of rushlights; while all who walked the half-illuminated streets were provided with lanterns. "What can be the reason of this?" I exclaimed. "Oh, our ancestors did so before us, and we are not so disrespectful as to dispute their wisdom, or so arrogant as to suppose ourselves wiser than they." "All very well for such of your ancestors as lived in mines, and wise of them to avail themselves of artificial light; but why you, who have only to open your shutters to be enlightened by the sun, should prefer this darkness-visible, is to me incomprehensible." "Very likely," they replied, and added, "but besides this reason, which we have always found unanswerable, many centuries ago some profound naturalists had discovered

that daylight was injurious to the sight, and certainly not intended for it." "But as this custom of sleeping by day is confined to the city, and, even there, to the wealthy, have you not a proof that daylight is not injurious?" "Oh, they did not know; it was too much trouble to enquire; they believed it because they had been taught to believe it." La belle raison! I remarked some children at play, who proposed a game at ball; the parents blew bubbles through pipes, and the children, after vainly attempting to catch them for their purpose, burst into tears of disappointment, in spite of the experience which might have led them to expect this result. "Why not give them leather balls filled with wool or air?" I inquired. "Oh, they have always had the soap-bubbles, and they must be contented." There was one peculiarity in the domestic arrangements that, I am afraid, moved my indignation, and this was the narrow, little-minded nature of their opinions respecting the women, whom, be it known, I found much more agreeable and right-principled than the men. While these might go where they pleased, there were barriers placed at regulated distances, beyond which those might not pass; there were even some fruits which the men devoured eagerly, but which the women were taught to believe were poisonous if they eat them. I attempted to expose this monstrous deception. Ardently did I seek an opportunity of arousing these interesting beings to a sense of their privileges and powers; but, rendered fearful by tyranny, whenever I touched upon the subject they fled. Once, indeed, when men were boasting of their freedom, I believe I drew upon myself much ill-will by asking in public, in the words of a modern poet—

"Can man be free when woman is a slave?"

I visited their schools, of which they boasted much; here, instead of presenting to the pupils indispensible and valuable facts, as revealed in nature, an assent to the wild mysteries of former ages was taught and enforced; opinions, the most discordant and irrational, were set before them, which interest or fear inclined them to adopt, or rather to profess; instead of suffering the mind freely and vigorously to set forth in the pursuit of truth, they were taught to dread the result of investigation, and tremble lest the evidence they might find should oblige them to quit the prescribed path. Grieved to perceive the demoralizing effects of this false system, I ventured to observe that, "while the fair page of nature was ever open to them, while truth was written as in characters of fire upon all the operations of her hand, I could not understand why they thus surrounded the plastic and ingenious mind of youth with mystery and error; why they thus chained the energies and power of intellect, which should be as free as air, and as excursive as the wide extent of knowledge." "Oh! such a system as I advocated, must lead to evil; if reason were not restrained by terror and superstition, it must arrive at error; if truth were not distorted or obscured, it would cease to be beautiful and attractive; in short, it was not good to be wise; and the attainment of virtue and happiness must be rendered easy, or none would pursue them!" I suppose I looked bewildered at this extraordinary arrangement of words; for the learned professor who had condescended to utter them, giving me a smile of mingled pity and scorn, departed.

Throughout this ill-fated land, nothing could be better adapted to produce vice and misery than the whole arrangements. The glory and the happiness of the nation called for war; war was made, and thousands were slaughtered; justice demanded the annual hecatomb of human sacrifices, in order that the inconsistent regulations termed laws might be obeyed and respected; and Penury was ready with her victims to answer the call. War—

* Revolt of Islam.

riages were contracted, not to insure the happiness of the parties—not because they were attached by sympathy, congeniality, and affection; ah! no; these had no influence in such unions; the usual inducements were, the hopes of attaining wealth, rank, power; and for these phantoms they stilted that love which can never be purchased, that affection which can never be bribed. Alas! for those who had feelings, or who discovered they had hearts! “And who reigns over these miserable people?” I inquired. “Ignorance,” was the reply. The name dispelled the vision, and I awoke.

CONCORDIA.

“All children shall be early taught a knowledge of the laws of their nature.”—Rational System, Law xii.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. W. will find an answer to his communication in the institution of a school for children and adults, last week, on the premises at Charlotte-street. We shall publish the rules and regulations.

Reformer in our next.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOV. 9.

ALL is confusion over the ball. It is a dire scene of contention between the oppressor and the oppressed. Slaves are striving to get free, and masters trying to enslave. Even the Americans are in alarm, on account of public meetings held for the purpose of abolishing slavery; yet America is called the land of liberty. Liberty is a nickname, and so is justice. Kings and tyrants have still power to persuade or compel fools or victims to shed their blood for them; but fortune seems at present to favour the fair. There is one queen established in Portugal, another in Spain; and who knows how soon we shall be under petticoat government ourselves? A mad princess of the house of Bourbon was asked why the reigns of queens were more prosperous than those of kings? she replied, “under kings, women govern; under queens, men.” If this mad princess was right, and she is more likely to be right, on account of being esteemed mad by fools, there is a good prospect before us; it is a fair prospect, at least. What a prostitution of human intellect is loyalty!—a philosopher bending in reverential humility before a little girl with a diadem on her brow and a doll in her arms!

Trade is miserably dull, and becoming worse and worse daily. The East and West India markets are literally neglected, and great reductions have taken place in their articles of trade. Every species of manufacturing is suffering, and vast numbers of unemployed artisans are either thrown upon the parish, or the very limited bounty of their friends. And who are the friends of the poor man? Not the rich; they drive the beggar from their door; there is more tenderness and sympathy in a poor than in a rich man's heart. Often may be seen the affecting spectacle of one poor starveling receiving alms from another as wretched in appearance as himself; whilst the full-blown puppy passes scornfully by, gives the unfortunate

suppliant a switch with his cane, and damns him to be gone.

Parliament is again prorogued, and will most probably be prorogued once more. We shall have no senatorial debates till February. In the mean time, the people are progressing in their assumption of the legislative power. Resistance is becoming more and more in vogue, and meetings for the purpose of effecting an abolition of the assessed taxes becoming very frequent in all parts of the country. Even the police, whom the public regard as their enemies, are themselves, poor fellows, equally disposed to resistance as others. They are ruled with a rod of iron, and all complaints against the severity of discipline are silenced in the utterance. We regard the police in the same light as we do the military. We pity the men, and the circumstances which compel them to become the servants of oppression; for we believe that their hearts are with the people, and they long for a change in the political world. We pity our oppressors, and are certain that amidst all the insignia of office, and the emblems of power, they have very little enjoyment. It must either be patriotism, avarice, or infatuation, which attaches a minister of state so closely to his office. If it be patriotism, it is of a very blind species; and if it be avarice or infatuation, he makes a sacrifice of all the subordinate passions and affections of his nature, to gratify one lordly tyrant within himself. He also is himself enslaved, and becomes as much in need of a saviour for his mind as the poor man for his purse. There is nothing like equality, and it must prevail within as well as without; a tyrant is himself a slave, whilst he is binding others. There are two kinds of slavery, as well as of taxes—direct and indirect; direct is palpable and outward; indirect is invisible; they must both be annihilated; but the only process by which we can accomplish their destruction, is by following the example of our countrymen in respect to taxes; we must begin with direct slavery, and the deliverance of the mind will follow the emancipation of the body. Matter is the foundation; begin with evils that we see unveiled, and then we shall assail those that work in disguise.

MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENT.

The Committee of this Department of the Depositors of the Labour Exchange, mentioned in last week's *Crisis* as having been formed for the important purpose of organizing that very numerous branch of Depositors, and for other matters connected, as they conceive, with the permanent welfare of the Exchange, have met several times since their appointment. We are pleased to observe that the whole of their resolutions have been passed unanimously, and that their report will shortly be laid before their constituents for their approval.

The objects of the Committee would be materially forwarded by the whole of the rent-collectors and members of this department immediately inserting their names, trades, and addresses in a book for that purpose, now lying at the Institution, in the care of Mr. Dixon.

N. B.—The Miscellaneous Department con-

sists of all those individuals who are rent-payers and depositors, and who are unattached to any of the trade societies connected with the Labour Exchange.

We wish to direct the attention of our co-operative friends to the *Lectures* now being delivered every Tuesday Evening at the Institution, Charlotte-street, by Mr. Detroisier. We would recommend every man and woman, who are desirous of bettering the condition of themselves and their fellow-beings, to attend the truly eloquent and highly instructive lessons delivered by this gentleman. We wish we could see our extensive premises crowded with our fellow-operatives on these occasions, satisfied that they would derive solid advantages as well as entertainment from them.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR.—On the announcement to the readers of the *Crisis* of yesterday, of the greatly lamented death of the late Rajah Rammobun Roy, finding by your Correspondent, in reference to that prince's opinions, that after long and minute investigation of the Christian Scriptures, he came to the conclusion that they contained the doctrine of pure Theism; and that he subsequently gave his whole support to the views of the Unitarians, long considering the doctrines of this sect as a progressive link between common Christianity and pure Theism; and that they were but progressive with the Rajah, appears to me not only from his apparent satisfaction when present at the delivery of one of Mr. Owen's lectures in the Institution in Burton-street, but more especially by his ejaculation in the Indian style of “May your arm prosper!” The Rajah, his son, and Mr. Owen only remained regularly present; but being casually on the spot, and on enquiry finding that Mr. Owen did not recollect those words, and considering them as strongly expressive of the good wishes of the Rajah, I repeat them, lest the purring benediction of so great a man should be unfortunately lost.

I remain respectfully, your constant reader,
JOHN CROOK.

18, Clement's Inn, Oct. 27, 1833.

TURKISH COURTSHIP.—When a Turk feels disposed to get married, he communicates his wishes to his mother, or some near female relative, to whom he gives a description of the kind of woman he would wish to make his wife. The lady applied to then sallies forth, accompanied by a host of female friends to visit every house in the neighbourhood, where young unmarried women are likely to be met with. Those who appear to answer the purpose undergo a thorough examination; their hair is regularly combed to see that it is all their own; their mouths are opened, that it may be seen whether the teeth therein contained are the legitimate property of the jaws in which they appear; almost every part of the body is viewed, to ascertain that it is not disfigured by any deformity; and, finally, they are made to walk up and down the room, to show that they are exempt from lameness. After these examinations, a faithful report is made in the proper quarter. The choice is fixed immediately, and the same messengers are sent back to make proposals. The special bearer of the commission appears shod with slippers of two different colours, and this outward mark indicates at once the errand on which he comes. The other preliminaries are then speedily adjusted, and the nuptial day fixed.

THE ONLY CURE.—Died on Sunday last, in the House of Correction, Kirkdale, Rosannah Farroll, aged 35 years, who had been committed to that gaol 72 times for having been found disorderly in the public streets of Liverpool.—*Manchester Advertiser*

COMMUNITIES;

Addressed to the Advocates for Immediately Establishing Communities.

"If thy brother be in error, caution him; if he be in error a second time, caution him; if he be in error a third time, caution and reason with him: it is better that thou shouldst have trouble, than that he should come to injury."—*Old Christianity.*

There is much talk amongst the advocates of the social system about establishing "communities." But what means do they take to establish them? Truly, no rational means—no successful means. Do they think that meeting and debating once or twice a-week, and subscribing money according to individual desire, or temperament, or circumstances, will establish one rational community? Such means may, perhaps, establish a weak collection of cottage competitors, or (to give a higher name) half-market gardeners, but not one community.* If our worthy, warm, but mistaken friends, really understood Mr. Owen's definition, they would see the impossibility of establishing, at present, any sound and wise arrangements for commencing a "community" out of the chaotic confusion of temperaments and opinions that surround them. To talk of establishing a community while men and women are quite indifferent to, or ignorant of, physical beauty, and consequently unacquainted with the real value or power of moral feelings, is to talk of eating "moonshine." Failures in the attempts of some of the advocates of the system have already taken place, to establish what has been erroneously called "communities," but which, if right names had been given to things, ought to have been called "Societies of Mr. A.'s or B.'s opinions." All attempts to establish "communities" will and must fail unless the mental, moral, and physical powers necessary to insure success are in existence. At present, I distinctly say, such powers cannot be in existence; at least, they cannot exist in and be possessed by individuals, who from infancy to maturity have been surrounded by the consequences of the acting of a great fundamental error, and which consequences these individual are even now suffering under—even now, helping to sow the seeds of human degradation and misery, and who in their time, passed, laughed at, or scorned the finest feelings of friendship and charity. Let not then the friends of the social system mistake their real power and qualities of mind and morals; but pause ere they rush into a wide field of scorn in the old world, by following the warm and vivid vagaries of this or that individual; let them remember they have but one useful guide, which is Nature; that they have taken an elevated position in society,—stepped boldly forward as the teachers of men and women—as the directors and warners of ignorant and wretched masses of human beings! They stand before these masses as the regenerators of an uncharitable world—as rationalists and philosophers. Let them reflect, I say, ere they become a mock and laughter to that world they desire to moralize and unite in a bond of brotherhood, and thus lose the attention and respect so essential to the rapidly extending their great and philanthropic principles. J. H.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—On reading the letter of your correspondent J. M'Dowell, in the *Crisis* of October 12, on the reformation of benefit societies, and a more advantageous employment of their funds, I thought these objects might be promoted by sending you the prospectus of a benefit society, instituted about six weeks ago, which might serve as an example to some of these societies, to employ their funds

* When I use the word *community*, I apply to it the meaning of our great friend, Robert Owen,—“An association of REFINED mental, moral, and physical beings.”

in a similar manner, instead of lending their money to government, at the paltry interest of 3½ or 4 per cent. By this mode, each of these societies would be a nucleus of a future community, forming, gradually and practically, incipient communities on the land; whilst, in the mean time, they would be enabled to accomplish all the objects for which they unite, which they cannot do at present. Some of these societies have sufficient funds already in hand, which, if employed in this way, the members need not contribute another shilling; the working of the capital alone would be sufficient.

For the specious protection pretendedly given them by an act of parliament, from which they derive no pecuniary assistance, (no portion of those enormous taxes wrung from their labour, being appropriated to assist them in their laudable objects,) these societies are compelled to invest their money in the funds. Official dictators are appointed by government to form their laws; and they are subjected to the caprice of every local magistrate. Not a single benefit have they ever derived from this protection; but, on the contrary, have been vexatiously annoyed and injured in all manner of ways, and they are continually applying to parliament for amendments and alterations in their laws.

Now, all the protection, and every other object these societies wish to attain by act of parliament, could be more effectually obtained and secured by a general union of all their societies; each society contributing, according to its means and numbers, to a general fund, electing delegates from every district or county, to meet in the metropolis at stated periods. This would be their own parliament; their affairs would be periodically examined; general laws made for the direction of all the societies; the best advice given for the investments or employ of their funds; and protection afforded to oppressed societies at the expense of the general fund.

But, what would be an infinitely superior union than this, combining all these objects with the welfare of the whole of their fellow-countrymen, is for each and all of those societies immediately to unite with the Trades' Unions, in the formation of that magnificent national organization of all the working men in the country, on the enlightened, comprehensive, and able plan of Mr. Owen, agreed to by the National Congress last week. Every society, of whatever description, having for its object the welfare and happiness of working men, should form a constituent portion of this mighty union, and appoint delegates to meet in the parochial district, county, provincial, and national congresses, in which the affairs of all would be deliberately discussed, and their interests fully protected. But in the present divided and isolated state of all societies, they are too weak, individually, to accomplish any thing, have not sufficient information and knowledge, and frequently counteract and compete with each other. This must be the union of all unions. Let us imitate Nature; she blends her varied and contending elements into the most perfect and beautiful universal union; so, like her, will our grand national union of the industrious and useful classes, however various their opinions and objects, exhibit order, harmony, and wisdom. Then from Britain, as from a centre, union shall extend over the whole earth. Nation after nation shall be born again in rapid succession, until all mankind be united in one great family.

It has been stated by Mr. James Wright, that there are 12,000 Benefit Societies in this country, embodying 2,000,000 members, having capital invested in the funds to the amount of 15,000,000*l.*, a capital amply sufficient, if employed by this national congress of their own representatives, in land and in labour, the sources of all wealth, (being the best, and in fact the only security that can be given for capital,) to banish poverty from every member of all their societies by giving em-

ployment to all, support their sick, educate their children, and superannuate their aged: all the blessings that would be conferred on them, cannot be described. Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither has it entered into any of our minds to conceive, the glorious and happy results that would flow from such a measure. Mr. Wright has devoted many years to promote the interests of benefit societies, and is generally known amongst them; he might, in conjunction with the National Association, induce them to unite. But if those societies turn a deaf ear, and continue to depend on the broken reed of an act of parliament, compelled to lend their money to a horde of bankrupts, who legislate only for property, and for those who monopolize it, individually and collectively entailing misery and starvation on millions, they deserve the fate to which they are fast approaching. May they take warning in time, and employ their capital to raise themselves and their suffering fellow-countrymen from the degradation and poverty in which they are all sunk, to independence, prosperity, and happiness!

JAMES TUCKER,

Secretary to the Friendly and Protective Agricultural Association.

THE FRIENDLY AND PROTECTIVE AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION.

[The objects of this society are to protect and support its members when sick, or out of employment, or under other contingencies of distress, to educate the children of its members, and ultimately to create an independent support for all, on the principles of unity, equality, and security.]

MEANS AND MANAGEMENT.—To raise a capital by subscription, each member to subscribe one shilling weekly; the society to consist of one hundred members.

The funds of the society to be employed in the cultivation of land, in conjunction with such arts and manufactures as may be agreed on by a majority of its members, and to be under the superintendence and direction of the committee.

Members may transfer their shares to such persons as may be approved of by a majority of the members, when the number of members is completed.

EMPLOYMENT OF MEMBERS.—Members out of employment shall be employed by the society. No strangers to be employed to the exclusion of a member.

Members employed, together with their families, shall reside on the land, in the premises of the society, and be boarded by it, being allowed for wearing apparel and incidental expenses such sums as may be agreed on by the committee. Their wives and children shall also be employed in such occupations as are suitable and agreeable to them, for the promotion of the funds, and the interest of themselves and their families.

EDUCATION.—A school shall be established on the premises of the society, for the education of the children of members employed, or such other members or their friends as may desire to send their children; wherein shall be taught, not only the elements of the best moral and intellectual knowledge, but also practical agriculture, and the arts and manufactures of the society, thereby forming habits of industry and skill in the young, and contributing to the interest of the society by their exercise. Children of members employed to be educated at the expense of the funds, others on terms of the committee.

REMARKS.—Land and labour being the sources of all wealth, this association will employ their capital in the wise and judicious union of agriculture and manufactures, confidently assured that the surplus production of their united operations will enable them to accomplish all the objects they have determined on, and stated in the prospectus.

General meetings of the Society will be held on

the first Thursday evening in every month, at the Peacock, Maiden-lane, Covent Garden; the chair will be taken at half-past eight o'clock, when every information will be given.

**LIGHT versus DARKNESS;
OR, THE DEVIL FIGHTING WITH HIS OWN
SHADOW.**

At the Petty Sessions of Newport Pratt, county of Mayo, Ireland, there was a curious affray between two priests, which, we doubt not, will edify the church of truth, and build them up in their most holy faith. A Catholic priest charged the servant of a Protestant priest with quoting the Scriptures against him; the servant had the impudence, when he met his reverence on the highway, to repeat aloud the following passage:—
“Now the spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter days some will depart from the faith, giving heed to spirits of error and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy, and having their consciences seared as with a red-hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them who believe and know the truth.” This passage is formidable to the Catholics, and, therefore, they take it very highly amiss to be insulted by any allusion to it; accordingly the Catholic priest took the physical argument of the law to combat the moral argument of reason; and it appeared in evidence that he had been teaching his pious congregation to do the same with all those who came into their villages or houses talking about religion. “I advised them to put them out with pitchforks, to hunt the dogs after them, and to put them under water for so many minutes” (one to enough, we think). This is what may be called *free discussion* amongst the Christians; that is, making very free with their opponents. The servant very much resented this advice of the priest, and, meeting him on the highway, he reproached him for it. The priest replied, “You ruffian of the world, you impudent puppy, how dare you to speak to me? It is fitter for you to be at home wallowing the pots, than here. If you dare to speak one word about religion, I will bury you in the sink under me.” The people were all in favour of the priest, and were with difficulty prevented from taking personal revenge on Mairs, the defendant, who was ordered by the court to find bail. The Reverend Mr. Stoney appeared for Mairs, who was his servant, and said he should not be in want of bail, for he had acted as a faithful servant of Jesus Christ. He then asked Mr. Hughes, the Catholic priest, where it was recorded of the apostles teaching their followers to murder their fellow-men? Mr. Hughes: I did not tell the people to murder them. Mr. Stoney: You did; and you ordered your unhappy dupes to drown in a bog-hole my relative, a medical man, whose only crime consisted in going about administering medicine to the poor in the year of famine. Mr. Hughes replied that the doctor went about preaching. Mr. Stoney: “No, Sir; whatever he knew about medicine, he knew as little about preaching as yourself, and that is nothing at all.” Mr. Stoney then attacked the bench, and accused them of imitating the Jewish rulers, in combating with the priests against the teachers of the gospel. He thanked God for that day’s opposition. It was plain it was aimed at the gospel, which always flourished best when most opposed.

Thus, it seems, that as long as the present gospel is preached, there must be confusion and strife. It flourishes best in the midst of opposition; and when it meets with no opposition, it becomes corrupt, and begets opposition; thus there is an eternal generation of mischief. Is not this a proof that there is little truth on either side? All this mischief has been occasioned by blind missionary zeal; the one party has been offending itself on the other party; the intention is good, but it is very great imprudence, and a wasting of breath and time, to spend that zeal upon

unwilling minds. We are more and more convinced every day that we live, of the inefficacy of preaching; there is nothing can save the world but action. What is the use of telling a man not to feel pain when he has burnt his hand? cure it; and he needs no telling. Make men virtuous, by making them comfortable in their circumstances, instead of telling them to be virtuous whilst they are miserable. One evil always generates another: poverty is an evil; therefore, to use the Aristotelian mode of reasoning, poverty begets evil; and it is vain to attempt to cure the evils which it generates, before you cure itself; hence, all priestly moralizing and proselytizing are an insult to humanity, for they are totally abstracted from all considerations of temporal prosperity; they teach men to resign themselves to poverty, instead of attempting to cure it.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—In reading your invaluable little work, I find Mr. William Pare’s account of his journey, and arrival at Sheffield. I am sorry I had not the pleasure of seeing that indefatigable friend of the working classes, as I am certain I could have introduced him where he would have had demonstrative proofs, and have been told a true and honest tale, far, very far, different from what he heard from either the master-cutter or the secretary of council of the board of trade. No wonder that government should be inattentive to our petitions and our prayers, while they receive such garbled answers to their inquiries as are likely to be communicated to them by their half-informed emissaries. If that gentleman, like Mr. Pare, had visited our lanes and back-yards, or gone into our workshops and inquired of the men themselves, he might soon have discovered that 4*l.* a week for a man with the assistance of a boy was any thing but a just average; consequently any report founded on such like vague and partial assertions is highly delusive, and calculated to mislead, instead of giving that information which of all others is most useful and requisite to be known by government, viz., the true state of the industrious classes throughout the country. How, in the name of common sense, can ministers pretend to legislate well for us, when they only know one side of the question? Why do they rest satisfied with a factor’s or a master’s story? Why do they not visit by their secretaries or what not, our houses and our smithies? Oh, if they wished to govern wisely or desired to let even-handed justice have her way, they would see the propriety of allowing the poor man an opportunity of telling his own “unvarnished tale,” and in his own way and manner hear him state his grievances, how and where they originate, and what their effects; if they would do this, they would see such scenes of woe, and hear such tales of misery, as would harrow up their very souls, if indeed they were not previously steeled and calloused against the wants and privations of their fellow-creatures. Alas! with such information as they possess, they are totally unable, if they wished, to remedy the evil. How is it possible? They do not in reality know any thing of our true state and condition. A skilful surgeon probes the wound, and seeks the evil where it lies.

As I have had the presumption to find fault in open terms with the statement of the secretary of the council of the board of trade, it would be unjust and very unfair if I did not, as far as I am able, give a clear and candid account of matters as they really do stand; therefore, I shall now state, not my own opinion only, but plain matter of fact, which no man shall be able to controvert. I know there are individuals, who, with the assistance of a boy, may possibly earn their 4*l.* per week but such men (grinders), are subject to very great expenses in tools and have to pay for wheel-rent from 8*l.* to 18*l.* a-year. Besides the continual risk of life and limb, a grinder is never safe; the stones frequently break, and

through their velocity carry every thing before them; it is no uncommon sight to see a grinder carried on a board to his home, or to the infirmary. If such men ought not to be well paid, who ought? The grinders are certainly better paid than any other class in this town; but, classing all the various kinds of grinders together, the general average of their earnings does not amount to more than 30*s.* per week. Some masters find tools and wheel-room, for which they deduct one-third from the workman’s wages; so that, in the whole, it may be perceived that even this best-paid class have not any great superfluity.

But there is another, and by far the most numerous class, whose case seems beneath the notice of the master-cutter, or the secretary of the council, &c., because, forsooth, it would not answer the purposes of these gentry to publish to the world how many hundreds and thousands there are in this town who are not getting more than 15*s.* per week, and for that too compelled to work 12, 14, or even 16 hours a-day. Oh, no, these are too poor to be noticed. What! represent the case of these wretches? why, it would bring a scandal upon the country, and cast reflections on the fair fame of many of our opulent and lordlike masters; government will not thank you for your information; they want to know the riches of the country, and as for its poverty, why, they care not a fig.

The class I have alluded to above, as not earning more than 15*s.* a-week, are the pen, pocket, and table-knife cutters; the greater part of whom work at what is called the foreign trade, and owing to the excessive spirit of competition which exists in the foreign houses, many articles are reduced to half, and some even under half-price in the workmanship. The factors have a practice, which is calculated to keep continually lowering prices: whenever they get an order, all the little manufacturing firms are called on, or sent for, and every art and stratagem resorted to, to induce them to sell below one another; and whoever cuts the lowest, infallibly gets the order. Every sacrifice of this kind falls upon the workman, who is eternally deafened with the cry that there are no profits in trade, and that he must be content, and patient, and willing to work as low as possible, as there is great reason to fear the trade will leave the country. This and such like ploys are constantly used; but what are we to think when we see on every side of our town the splendid palaces of the factors, with their parks, and lawns, and fountains, or see them going to their warehouses on horseback, or in carriages, attended by their footmen in livery? to see all this, and to believe there are no profits in trade, is impossible; we know there are enormous profits, and those profits are wrung from the blood, and bones, and sinews of the labouring man.

Now, Sir, the master-cutter knows what I have stated to be true; he himself is one of those fortunate beings that have risen from almost nothing, to be able to have a country-house, and to build fine houses for his child; he is a factor and manufacturer, and has a large power-factory,—what we call an outlay factory; and he has always been noted for giving low prices; no man knows better than himself how difficult it is for many of his men to obtain more than a bare subsistence; fifteen shillings a-week for fourteen hours a-day, is as much as many of them are able to earn; surely, he does not mean to say these poor creatures are improvident! it would be the height of folly to think so; the smallness of their pitance compels them to be careful, else how could soul and body be kept together? There are numbers who are careless and improvident; but these chiefly are the greatest earners, who, I am sorry to say, depend on their opaquities, and make the worst use of their privileges. It is not the first time the master-cutter has misrepresented the great earnings of the Sheffield mechanics to government; most people recollect the time when the grand combination of masters and factors was formed for the purpose of beating down the men and breaking up their unions. To effect their purpose, they petitioned parliament to break the corporation, that strangers might be sent

for and set to work; and to show the great earnings of the workmen, they made a selection of their work-books (the master-cutter selected six out of not less than 150 of his men), and delegates were sent with them to London, who exhibited them before parliament, and, in consequence, the corporation of Sheffield was thrown open.

If, Sir, you think this rough sketch worthy of insertion in your valuable work, your doing so will give satisfaction to a considerable number of mechanics, anxious for freedom, and to none more so than to your humble servant, JOSEPH NICHOLSON.
South-street, Sheffield-park,
October 21, 1833.

Literature.

The Abergathian Code of Health and Long Life.
Tenth Edition, with Additions. Cousins.
Price 6d.

Were we addressing the idle and luxurious classes, we should have greater reason than at present for noticing the swarm of medical publications which constantly issue from the press. But the persons with whom we are more immediately connected, the industrious and well-disposed of the working classes, are less concerned about *physic* than *food*; they require neither stimulants to provoke an artificial appetite, nor emetics and purgatives to relieve them from plethora. But if the working classes are not tempted with the bounties of a luxurious table, other and equally formidable evils assail them. The poor man, depressed with anxiety and want, possessing only the means of a scanty subsistence, and perhaps afraid even of losing that;—the hard-working, industrious man, exhausted with incessant toil, is too often driven to the ale-house or the gin-shop, to try in vain to recruit his exhausted frame, or to dissipate his anxieties! Land, the natural element and unalienable right of man, is, by the absurd and unrighteous laws of society, placed beyond his reach. Capital falls but seldom to the lot of such; strength of body and energies of mind, are the only property which the present unjust arrangements of society have left them; let them beware how they dissipate this, their only treasure, upon which their own happiness and that of their families depend! To take care of the body, while they cultivate the mind, is the only way to secure and increase their bodily and intellectual resources; but to do this requires the requisite knowledge, and also, that it should lie in a small compass; for the poor working-man has no time to spare in making researches through bulky volumes, although the information to be derived may be of vital importance to his happiness, or his interests. Now, the little tract before us seems precisely adapted to his use, for it contains the essence of the best-directed skill upon the subject. The most valuable experience and remarks of those enlightened medical men who have devoted their faculties to the subject, are here concentrated in a few pages; and we suspect that the moral invasions which creep out in the work, will not be less welcome to the co-operatives, for coming in such modest guise from one of themselves.

We extract the following summary, page 22:—

"Thus, in conclusion, the Abergathian Code of Health and Longevity may, in its principles, be comprised in a nutshell, and consists, as has been stated, in three grand points,

"1. The due regulation of the stomach and bowels, by the use of mild aperient medicine.

"2. Moderation in diet to co-operate with this, and rather in quantity than in respect to quality.

"3. Exercise proportioned to the constitution and circumstances of the individual, taken chiefly in the open air.

"This is the true system for health and longevity; and death will never take place where a proper attention to this system is observed, but by

a gradual decay, or by unforeseen casualties which no precautions can guard against. Thus, on the plan laid down, every one may be justly said to have his health in his own keeping."

The Social Oracle Almanack. Price 2d.
378, Strand.

We recommend to our co-operative friends a very cheap and neat little Almanack for the year 1834, called the *Social Oracle Almanack*, price 2d. with a cover. It contains the usual matter, consisting of holidays, anniversaries of memorable events, times of sun rising and setting, with the ages of the moon, eclipses, &c.; also a hieroglyphic, with a figure raising the cap of liberty, in the foreground, in the middle distance the people chasing away the priests and legislators, as peasants chase poultry from a seed-garden, and the millennium rising in the horizon; the mitre is fallen, the sword is broken, and the serpent is cut in two. We extract the following from the Editor's address to his *Courteous Readers*:—

"The useful producers begin to think—nay, begin to act for themselves; they no longer treat as visionary the doctrines of the greatest philanthropist the world ever produced. The second coming of Christ is arrived. The moral Saviour of the World is among us. The trial of principles has begun: the chaff shall be sifted from the wheat; and the unworthy shall be cast into the gulph of everlasting contempt. The deception of the 'learned ignorant' shall speedily disappear; specious appearances, shadows, the names of things without any knowledge of valuable properties and substances, will not much longer deceive you."

There is a chronological table, a table for the weather, a gardener's calendar, and a synopsis of the Rational and Social System.

DELEGATES' MEETING, OCT. 24.

Mr. Carter in the chair.

The minutes were read and confirmed.

The various delegates brought up their reports.

First Carpenters.—Mr. Turner apologised for not having the report, but would supply the omission next week. He would only say that the section he represented prospered.

Second Carpenters.—Mr. Jordan read the report of their last week's business, which showed a balance of receipts over expenditure in notes of 267 hours; there had been 24 days' labour performed by the society: this labour had been performed by them on the exchange principle, as they received in return bread, butter, and bacon. He also said, that in consideration that the winter was approaching, when the females would not like to come a long distance through bad weather on Saturday to the Store, they had deputed one of their members to perform that office for the whole. He mentioned this, as he thought it might be adopted by other societies living at a distance.

Second Cabinet-makers.—The delegate from this society gave in the report, which showed a cash balance of 7s. 6d. and 1s. notes 205 hours 2s. in favour of the society. Rent paid, 1s. 6d.

First Tailors.—Mr. Brindall brought up the report for the last two months of the business done by this section: he said the reports would in future be brought forward with more regularity, as they had a new committee. He then read the following report, which gave great satisfaction:—

Report of the Business transacted by the First Section of Tailors during the months of August and September:—

RECEIPTS.				Notes.
	£.	s.	d.	
Members' Subscriptions	41	7	0	0
For Sundry Goods	97	16	5	0
By Loan	42	18	5	9
Balance of last Account	0	0	0	139
Sundry Goods deposited	0	0	0	6409 5
	181	19	5	6548 5

EXPENDITURE.				Notes.
	£.	s.	d.	
Material	2143	12	8	0
Wages	10	18	3	0
Commission	8	15	5	0
Rent	4	5	0	0
Sundries	18	0	8	0
Rent in Notes	0	0	0	1654
Wages	0	0	0	3290 2
Sundries	0	0	0	651 4
	185	12	0	5905 0

Total amount received in cash and notes . . . £. s. d.
245 18 10
Total expenditure in ditto . . . 333 4 10

Balance in favour of Society . . . 12 0 0

Amount of cash and notes received during the four preceding months 315 3 0
The two last months have therefore exceeded the four preceding months by . . . 80 11 10

Second Shoemakers.—Mr. Jemphris read the report of the last week's business. The week's contributions were 14s. 6d.; the week's receipts in cash and notes 3l. 12s. 1d.; expenditure, 2l. 13s. 11½d.; rent, 8s. 4d.; number of members, 73. He said that their society had succeeded in effecting a reduction 8½ per cent. in the price of their shoes, not by acting on the labour prices, but by a reduction of their expenses. But they would be obliged, as a compensation, to receive one-third cash on orders, which would place them on an equality with other societies, as they had never, from the commencement, demanded cash for any orders executed by them.

Third Shoemakers.—The delegate brought up the report of this society:—Commission, 14s. 6d.; labour performed, 40h. 3s.; received for goods, 37h.; rent collected, 1s. 11d.; number of members, 80.

Second Tailors.—The delegate gave in the account of the week's business:—Subscriptions, 17. 4s.; rent, 1s. 2d.; work executed during the week, 108h.; increase in number of members, 3.

Mr. Kerrill announced the formation of a society of straw-bonnet-makers and bleachers, and complained of the impositions practised on the association by depositors of straw-bonnets, which, he contended, would be prevented by a proper person to value such goods.

Mr. Norman gave in a report of the provision-store, and promised a full report of the whole business done from the commencement.

A Gentleman complained of the absence of any report from a deputation who were appointed some weeks ago to wait on Hivery-lane weavers.

Messrs. Wood and Jordan explained. The deputies would confer together, and endeavour to produce a report at some future period.

Female Society.—Miss Green read the report from this society. The total amount of receipts in cash and notes, including a donation of 10s., was 4l. 5s. 3d.; ditto expenditure, 4l. 10s. 10d.; commission, 2s. 4d.

The Secretary made an appeal to the friends on behalf of Mrs. Davies, who, from comparative comfort, had been, by a series of unexpected and uncontrollable circumstances, reduced to the utmost necessity. She was desirous of joining her husband in America, if she could obtain the necessary funds. A subscription was immediately opened, when 11s. 10½d. was collected.

The Secretary also announced the receipt of 5l. towards the trades' fund, by a gentleman.

The meeting adjourned.

DELEGATES' MEETING, OCTOBER 31.

Mr. Benthead in the chair.

The minutes of last week's proceedings confirmed.

First Section of Boot and Shoemakers.—Mr.

Franklin read the report from this section, acknowledging the receipt of a communication from the committee of management, relative to the proposed alteration in the arrangements of the provision department, and the resolution of that section to support the same, believing it to be for the benefit of the Association. Their account is as follows, from September 25th, to October 30th, 1833:—

Sept. 25, in hand . . . £ 1 5 11	Material . . £28 0 0
Contribs. . . 20 1 1	Commission . 1 14 3
Cash taken . 11 2 11	Penny Rent . 2 1 2
	Rent for Kitchen . . . 0 12 6
£ 32 16 11	£ 32 16 11

Number of Members, 100.

There has, during the above period, been received and paid notes to the amount of 1,910 hours 2 sixths.

Second Section of Shoemakers.—Mr. *Wills* read the following report:—Contributions, 15s.

Expenditure for material . . . £0 17 11
Labour performed . 30h. . 3s. = 0 15 3
Paid for commission 0 4 2
£1 17 5

Receipts—for goods . 110h. = £2 15 0
Rent 0 1 8
£2 16 8

Number of Members, 75.

Third Section of Shoemakers.—The delegate from this section stated they were going on prosperously; but their members were not at first fully acquainted with the principles; hence arose some little misunderstanding, which was happily disappearing before their advance in co-operative knowledge. Their number amounted to 54.

First Cabinet-makers.—Mr. *Norman* had no report. They had orders that they could not execute for want of men. Any men in want of employment should apply at the Community Coffee-house, John-street, on Tuesday evening.

Industrious Females.—Miss *Green* read the report from this society, from October the 18th to the 25th, 1833.

Receipts, cash £1 7 0	Exp. cash £1 2 5½
Notes, 161h. 2s. 4 0 8	Notes 85h. 5s. 2 2 4
£5 7 8	£3 4 9½

Mr. *Norman* gave in a report of the whole business done in the provision department, from the commencement, and showed that this department had produced the greatest amount of profits of any of the departments; the profits appearing in the shape of notes. Alluding to the proposed alterations in this department, he hoped they would be found beneficial to the Institution.

Some disappointment was manifested at the absence of the weekly report of the Exchange business. The Secretary explained that the publication of that report in the *Crisis*, and the posting in the Exchange, was considered by the Committee in perfect accordance with the constitution. But as there appeared a strong feeling on the part of some individuals to have these reports read at these meetings, he was sure the Committee could not for one moment desire to withhold them. He unhesitatingly promised to furnish the reports on the future meetings of the Delegates.

Mr. *Prior* considered these meetings of considerable importance, and was in favour of the utmost publicity being given to the proceedings of the Exchange, and for these reasons approved of producing the reports. He also alluded to a plan for furnishing materials for the Exchange, and making the note what it professed and ought to be, a *labour note*, and not a labour and material note, as it is at present. This plan will be found in the *Crisis* of Saturday last, and he only now alluded to it, because he thought it deserving the deepest consideration. After some remarks from Messrs. *Jennison*, *Sinkin*, *Hoare*, and *Mote*, the meeting adjourned.

THE BIRMINGHAM BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

DEAR SIR,—I wait upon you again officially to hand you our account of the four weeks' transactions, since our statement in your gazette, of October 15. We have not done so much business in amount as on the two former occasions; but this we can easily explain, by informing our readers the cause arises from our not having been enabled to supply our depositors with provisions and raw materials; these difficulties, however, we are happy to say, are fast disappearing, as we have the last two weeks met the views of our association, in a measure, so far as regards good meat for half cash and half notes, and which has already had a tendency to increase the exertions of the industrious classes; and we have not a shadow of doubt that the Birmingham Exchange will be very successful in her operations, and, ere long, be in such a condition as will defy all her opponents to crush her energies. We intend to show a bold front, and we are confident a few more branches in various parts of the country will so secure the basis of equitable labour exchange, that no power will be able to shake its superstructure. Union and determination on the part of the producers will secure that result, which shall raise them in the scale of independence, which the old system never has or can ever have in its power to bestow.

I am, dear Sir, for the Birmingham Branch of the National Equitable Labour Exchange,
CHARLES WEST, Sec.

Birmingham, Oct. 25, 1833.

Statement of the last four weeks' business done in the Birmingham Branch of the National Equitable Labour Exchange.

Week ending	Deposits.	Exchanges.
Sept. 28.	6790h. 3s.	5655h. 3s.
Oct. 5.	4952 5	4733 4
Oct. 12.	9945 2	6629 4
Oct. 19.	10693 0	6491 4
	32381 4	23410 3
Expenditure. £. s. d.	Receipts. £. s. d.	
4 weeks' sundry expenses . . 11 7 9	By Cash Commissions . . 60 14 6	
4 weeks' salaries . . 54 9 0	By Depositors' Tickets . . 4 6 0	
Rent . . . 2 16 0	By profit on provision-store, in notes and cash . . 86 11 0	
Fixtures and fittings . . 5 15 4		
	74 6 1	
Balance . . 77 3 5		151 11 6
	151 11 6	

THE FIRST SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the NATIONAL UNIONISTS, will be held at the Bloomsbury Institution, 8, Theobald's-road, Red Lion square.—The opening of this Institution, since the late extensive alterations, will be celebrated by a subscription Social Festival, on MONDAY, Nov. 11, when Mr. *Lawson* will act as Master of the Ceremonies. The rooms will be open at Eight o'clock, and the Ball will commence at Half past Eight. Tickets, 1s. 6d. each, to be had at Messrs. *Parkiss*, Old Compton-street; *Hetherington*, Kingsgate street; *Cleave*, Shoe-lane; *Watson*, Windmill-street; and at the *Crisis* Office.

A PARTNER WANTED, with 200l. or 300l., in a Lucrative Ready-Money Trade. Attention to the business optional.—Letters, post-paid, to B. D. H., 123, Curtain-road.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT—ENDING OCT. 26

Deposits excl. of Provis. 10,075h. 5s.	Income: Cash & Notes. Commission £18 14s. 11d.	Exchanges: Stock deliv. 9,350h. 2s.	EXPENDITURE. Charges £. 2 14s. 4½d.
Rent Sub. . 2 14 2	Lectures . 15 5 2½	Rent paid 24 0 0	Wages . 24 4 3
Provisions 29 14 7½	Festival . 11 6 10		50 18 7½
	77 15 9		
	50 18 7½		

26 17 1½ Profit for the Week, inc. coals and grocery.

Total Stock on hand . . . 53,168h. 4s.
Notes now in circulation . . . 34,422 5

Excess of Stock over the Notes . 18,745 5
Audited by the Managing Committee,
WARNER, Chairman.

NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE ASSOCIATION.

THE FIRST QUARTERLY MEETING of this Association will take place on Monday next, the 11th of November, 1833, at Seven o'clock in the Evening, to receive the Report of the Committee of Management of the Quarter's Transactions, and for the Election of Officers for the ensuing Three Months.

In 1 vol. 8vo., price 4s. 6d., bds., or in 16 Numbers, price 3d. each.

ANTICHRIST, or Christianity Reformed; being a series of Discourses written and delivered by the Rev. J. E. SMITH, M. A.; in which is demonstrated from the Scriptures, in opposition to the prevailing opinion of the whole religious world, that evil and good are from one source; Devil and God one Spirit; and that the one is merely manifested to make perfect the other.

Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

THE ATLAS UNSTAMPED SHEET ALMANACK, beautifully Printed on a large Sheet of thick Vellum Paper, containing all the most necessary information appertaining to Almanacks. The ATLAS contains also a Victorious Calendar, containing upwards of 365 Battles gained by British Arms, being a Conquest for each day in the Year—a useful document for reference.

Also the MAN ALMANACK (price 2d.) for the Second Year of the Advent of Human Liberty and the Year of real Christianity 1834.

Also, the London PADDY'S WATCH ALMANACK. Price One Penny.

Also, the SOCIAL ORACLE, a Book Almanack. Price Twopence.

Also, LORD BROUGHAM'S Penny Almanack, for the year 1834.

Printed and Published by Benjamin Franklin, at the Reformer Office, No. 378, Strand, and R. E. Lee, Office of the *Man*, 31, Marylebone-lane; and sold by all the Venders of the *Crisis*.

Mr. *Detrozier* will lecture on Tuesday evening.

LECTURES, &c., NEXT WEEK.

Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square
Sunday morning, at half-past 11, by the Rev. J. E. Smith, and evening, at 7.

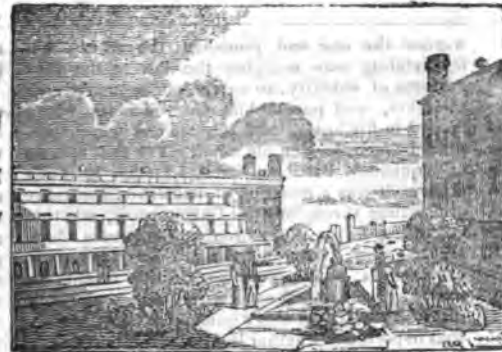
Sunday afternoon, at 3, the members of the Social Community.

Wednesday evening, Social Community.—Question: "What plan shall be adopted for aiding the poor and industrious classes?"

Thursday evening at half-past 7, the Trades' Delegates.

Friday afternoon, at 4, the Ladies' Association.

Printed and published by B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, and at 378, Strand.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORGED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 10.

Mr. Smith lectured on "RIGHT AND WRONG."

Many attempts have been made by moralists of every age to draw a line of distinction between right and wrong; but this is impossible; you may just as well attempt to draw a distinction between heat and cold, or light and darkness; all written laws upon the subject are useless; it must be left entirely to our own feelings. The best rule of direction which we can procure upon the subject is, "to do unto others as we would have them do unto us," or, in other words, "to love our neighbours as ourselves." In keeping these two commandments, we should share our property with each other, and produce perfect equality. These two precepts seem to have been the favourite precepts of the founder of Christianity, but none of his followers have thought proper to follow them; they have assumed the name, but not the character of Christians.

It is evident that that only is right which produces good effects, and that is wrong which produces bad effects. Pain and pleasure are the standards; and if you judge by this standard, you will discover that there is scarcely a single action which is now committed by any individual whatsoever, but is in some respects a bad action. If a man is diligent in business, making a fortune, and rearing a family respectably, he is what is called a good member of society; but his prosperity is robbing the poor, and creating as much misery to others as pleasure to himself and his household. If a man is eating a good dinner, he is doing what may be called a good or an innocent action; but he is satisfying his own appetites, whilst many others, poorer than he, and unsupplied with the means of procuring even a mouthful of bread, are perishing for want. Is a man even doing a generous action, he is creating a feeling of envy in the mind of an observer, who perhaps has a heart, but not the means, to do similar acts of kindness himself. Does a man dress himself in fine, or simply in good clothes, he is doing only a duty to himself and to society; but even that innocent action, as it may be called, is productive of mischief; for there are many others who look upon him with

enmity and dislike, merely because they cannot afford to go like himself. In fine, there is nothing which we can do, not even virtue itself of the highest degree, which is not cursed in its outgoings upon some of our fellow-creatures. Parsons and moralists blame the hearts that are thus affected with jealous and envious feelings at the sight of virtue: I do not. I call their jealousy and their envy virtue itself; it is Nature revolting at the inequality of her own offspring, and regretting that some should have it in their power to do a good action, and that others, whose hearts are equally sympathetic, are deprived of the means; regretting that one of her children should ever be so highly exalted over his brother as to feed better and clothe better than the rest of his species. Envy and jealousy are the stern virtues of nature, which will torture the human breast, and torment society until equality reigns, and then they shall lie down to sleep in everlasting rest.

It is in the heart of man to do good, but he cannot; he is necessarily evil. The clergy say no; the evil is in his heart: well, admit it; it is in his heart and in his head too, for he is all corrupted by the system. But there is good in his heart, if you could only cultivate that good, and give him an opportunity of reducing it to practice. If you feed the poor, they can never feel sad at the sight of one who is better fed than themselves; if you clothe them as well as yourself, they will never feel envy or spite at the sight of your finery; if you merely equal them to yourself, then every action which you afterwards commit will afford them pleasure, and you will be less able to do evil than now you can do good. The evil is in the heart as well as in society, for society has corrupted the heart; but for that reason are we to infer that the heart cannot be changed? When a man has a stomach complaint, does he sit down and repine, and abandon all hope, and say, "Oh, the evil is in my stomach, it cannot be cured?" no; he takes medicine, removes the cause, and becomes well again. Now, there may be many causes of his complaint; it may be indigestion, and this indigestion may be caused by the atmosphere in which he lives. Hence it may be necessary for him to go to the country to breathe purer air; now, would it not be foolish to say, that because the complaint is in his stomach, therefore the air has nothing to do with

it. "Foolish man" the priest would say, "is not the pain in your stomach? there the evil resides; cure your stomach first, and you will breathe pure air afterwards; for it is not the air that corrupts the stomach, but the stomach that corrupts the air." The patient, however, follows the advice of the physician; he takes pure air, and he finds his complaint disappear. Thus men argue with the heart: the priest says, it is not society that corrupts the heart, but the heart that corrupts society: cure the heart first, before you think of correcting the evils of life; in the heart all the corruption dwells. This doctrine has been preached for thousands of years, and simple fools have believed it, and followed the advice; but now they must learn a new system of medicine, and instead of waiting till the heart cures of its own accord, they must do with the disease of the heart as they do with the diseases of the rest of the body—change the air, change the system of society, and they will speedily find, to their astonishment, that the heart will recover, and all its defects disappear. The fall of man is a true doctrine, and the corruption of the human heart is a true doctrine, and original sin is a true doctrine; but all these evils are curable, and will be cured by the simplest of all medicines, a change of circumstances.

As it may be safely said that every thing we do in the present system of things is wrong, so are all the thoughts and intents of men's hearts evil continually as long as they are under the influence of the old world. There is no view of a subject which we can adopt, whether it be right or wrong, but excites in us some uncharitable and unkind feeling towards those who differ from us. If we are right, then we either feel indignant at the obstinacy of those who think otherwise, or they feel indignant at us, which is the same thing; so that whether we take the side of truth or of error, we cause a disturbance and create mischief; hence it may be safely affirmed that we can scarcely think a good thought or do a good action. This evil has entirely arisen from the competitive system; the world of opinion is exactly analogous to the world of action. It is easy enough to suppose that mankind should have perceived a right and a wrong in human actions, and re-

warded the one and punished the other; but it certainly was carrying the law to the very extreme of severity, to enter into a man's very thoughts, and punish him for the ideas which floated in his brain, and the visions which presented themselves to his mind. Yet this species of inquisition has been carried farther than any other. It was a question of immense importance at one time throughout all Christendom, whether or not the Virgin Mary brought forth Jesus Christ without pain; both parties were heretics in each other's eyes, and liable to everlasting damnation, and they persecuted each other with the utmost malignity. It was also a question of most momentous importance whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the father by the son, or from the father and the son, and these two words *and* and *by* caused a fatal division between the Eastern and Western Empires, by which torrents of human blood were shed. These were matters which could not in the least degree affect human conduct, but such an undue importance was attached to them, that they have dyed deep with human blood the pages of history. Now the world cares nothing about them. History is full of contentions of a similar nature, arising from equally foolish and trifling differences of opinion. Every age has been supplying new ones, and they are still arising fresh and furious for attack, as if we had not got enough of contention. And it is evident, from the nature and limited capacity of man, that there must exist a difference of opinion amongst us for ever; there never can be a perfect union of minds, neither is it desirable that there should—variety is necessary for the health and happiness of society. Of course it is impossible for us to draw a line of distinction between right and wrong in opinion; we can only say of two or three general truths that they are right, and of a few opposite errors that they are wrong; but the infinite degrees which are intermediate between these two extremes must be left as a field of contention to mankind for ever.

Then we never can find truth? never; truth is infinite and inapproachable; we can only live between truth and error; but we may live together in the midst of error in such a manner as to make error itself perfectly innocent. If we must wait until we have discovered all truth before we can enjoy social happiness, then we must wait for ever; but we may enjoy much happiness in social fellowship, and yet be grossly mistaken upon many subjects. There is only one method of reconciling error and truth together in such a way as to secure happiness to all, and that is by love. It is not by what is called the intellect that happiness can ever be produced; the intellect may labour and toil incessantly in searching after more and more truth, but it is love only that can enjoy it. What is truth? Without love and friendship, a mere dry crust, without a drop of moisture to wash it down. What profit will it bring to me, or what pleasure can it ever create, to tell me that the sun is a hundred millions of miles from the earth; that the stars are immeasurably distant; that water is composed of two gases, and eight hundred times heavier than atmospheric air; if my breast is to be tortured with conflicting passions, and hatred of my fellow-creatures? There is no pleasure in knowledge, if it be not accompanied by the passions and the affections. Knowledge is power; but what pleasure is there in power? That power may be instrumental in promoting our own misery; and the history of man is a clear proof that knowledge and power have more frequently tended to destroy men's comfort than to promote it. All happiness arises from the affections, and knowledge is only a servant to supply them with nourishment. The whole duty of man is comprised in this single sentence—"Love thy neighbour as thyself." There is no other precept necessary; were men to agree upon this one single point, their redemption is complete; love will complete it, and no-

thing else; knowledge will lend a helping hand, but it is only the servant of love.

But how are we to attain this love? It may be said that it is as difficult to acquire love as knowledge. Not at all; love is got without any trouble; knowledge can only be got by labour; we may all be made to love each other, but we cannot all become wise and learned. And who are the happiest—they who have the greatest share of kind affections, or those who have the greatest share of learning and matter of fact? Is a learned man happier, with a crusty, unsocial temper, than an unlearned man with an amiable temper? No; happiness dwells in the temper; the intellect is its domestic servant; knowledge will promote happiness in a fine disposition, but that fine disposition would itself be happy without the knowledge; could the knowledge be happy without the disposition? No. Nothing is clearer than this—that love is the centre of happiness, and that all the other faculties and attributes of the mind are valuable only in proportion as they minister unto it. Then there cannot be a more important question than this—How are we to create and generate love? To accomplish this would be of more real utility than teaching all the arts and sciences in the universe; we may learn them all, and sit down in misery when our task is over, saying, with Solomon, "All is vanity and vexation of spirit; and there is no profit of a man's labour which he doth under the sun;" if they do not contribute to the growth of love, they are worse than useless. But knowledge never will create love, as long as our present system of inequality continues. Love can only proceed from equality, and equality can be accomplished with a very small stock of knowledge; remove the causes of hatred, and love will grow of its own accord; it is a natural production, and grows as certainly as grass upon a highway which ceases to be trodden of men and horses. Remove the distinctions of rank; remove poverty: feed and clothe the people, lodge them comfortably, and give them an interest in the soil and the manufactures of the country; and see if you do not produce such an abundant crop of the most kindly and generous affections, as will overwhelm you with astonishment; then knowledge will grow of its own accord, for love is the best of all teachers. But if love is a good teacher, he is unteachable. You cannot give lessons in love, as you can in reading, music, and dancing; neither can you force it. It is an obstinate thing; it resists all compulsion; it hates all law, and can live only in perfect liberty and equality; and there is no other way of bringing it forth, but by creating the element in which it exists.

Could you create love amongst mankind, then it matters very little whether you be right or wrong; for every thing would be right and nothing wrong. Did you commit a mistake, love would forgive it and fall into the same mistake with yourself to keep you company; and when you got out, you would rejoice together. There would be no quarrelling, no persecution, no violence; men would reason calmly with each other. If they could not convince, they would change the subject till another opportunity, and enjoy the pleasures of social intercourse. Difference of opinion will become a mere trifle when men are actuated by a kindly feeling, and live under the influence of the affections, and not under the influence of intellect. Intellect is a brawler—it is the Devil. Love is God Almighty, and the only saviour. God is love.

There is one little secret which I mean to reveal before I conclude, and it is a secret which I dare say will come home to the hearts of all, and that is, that there is no better judge of right and wrong, or none at least who can settle differences better, than Love. Love is easily convinced. I have always found him so. Jealousy and hatred are as obstinate as the Devil; but Love will yield at the very first onset: he is no warrior, he is a

man of peace; he believes all things, and makes every thing turn to account for good. If he happens to commit a blunder, it does no harm; it was done in ignorance, and he will do better the next time. Error is sanctified by Love, and becomes perfectly innocent under his guidance; whilst knowledge and science receive ample encouragement, and progress with rapidity under its patronage.

Love is not so much the effect, as the cause of truth,—it creates union of hearts, and union of hearts is the surest step to union of opinion; but no union of hearts can ever exist where there is a division of interest. The destruction of this evil is the first step which we require to take in the reformation of society; all teaching, all preaching, is useless without it. Our energies must be exerted solely to obtain this object, which is the beginning of the new world, and an infallible specific for all the present evils of society. We require no more knowledge than we have, provided we could get rid of our prejudices. An ignorant person is a more useful member of society than one full of matter-of-fact and bigoted illiberal prejudices. Ignorance is often kind, but bigotry is always cruel. Love can live either in ignorance or knowledge, but never in bigotry; bigotry is the grave of Love. Hence there is only one course for us to steer, since we cannot attain to intellectual perfection. Let us cultivate the affections, and use the intellect as a subordinate agent, to provide them with nourishment, but attaching so little moral importance to the opinions of the mind, that no opposition or contradiction shall ever ruffle our temper, or cause an uneasy sensation.

ON MACHINERY, AND THE PROSPECTS OF MAN.

Much has been said during this Session of Parliament about the use and abuse of our factory mills; but the system cannot be changed; nor is it desirable that legislation should go farther than to afford protection to the weak against the strong.

Machinery, hardly yet well understood in its direct and indirect influence upon society, yet in its infancy, but annually increasing by the application of new inventions and discoveries, foretells a wonderful change in the relative condition and future prospects of mankind; but as things now are, what proves the increased quantity of products obtained by the use of our ponderous machinery, but that millions of capital have been invested in the purchase of machines, against the rapid operation of which slow manual labour never can enter into profitable competition; whilst the condition of the few still employed (as compared with the amount of products) is any thing but improved.

It has been stated that the machinery of England alone supplies the wants of society with more products than could be accomplished by two hundred millions of men, working twelve hours a day. I admit that this may be true; but what then? Are not such wonders performed at the expense of the demoralization of a large proportion of our infant population? and that carried so far as to have repeatedly called for the interference of the legislation to prevent (if possible) the over-working of children of eight and ten years of age fourteen and sixteen hours per day? The labour of the parents, no longer required in the same proportion as before, compels them to sacrifice, as it were, their offspring.

Well, Sir, this machinery is undoubtedly a great source of national pride, because it has enabled us for a series of years to undersell our rivals in almost all foreign markets; but what are not its cruel effects at home! True it is that the owners of the ponderous machines make large fortunes without risk, in less time than could formerly be realized under many chances; they can satisfy the wants of society at a much cheaper rate than they could possibly be supplied by any other

means yet known; they are, therefore, quite sure of having the advantage over all other competition. But, Sir, need we be astonished at the regular and rapid increase of pauperism and crime, when the manual labour of the able-bodied man is, through the very force of these circumstances, less and less required each succeeding year to supply a great proportion of the wants of mankind? I have no patience with those who talk so loud about the great benefits derived upon the whole, because wool, cotton, and silk can be made into wearing apparel at one-third or one-fourth their former cost. That advantage is but partial, very partial, of no value to the rich, and of no avail to the pauper: it resolves itself, under the present system, into a question of public revenue and of national competition. Children have been disabled for life by a barbarous, inhuman treatment; they were cast off when so disabled, and a fresh set of children brought into the same sordid action, to undergo the same deplorable fate. The parents, unemployed, live with difficulty on the earnings of their infants; and to see them grow into manhood (if they live through adolescence) becomes a source of regret. How can it be expected that, once fallen into such unnatural circumstances, they can be otherwise than depressed in spirits, dissatisfied, and disloyal? Besides, are they not unmercifully imposed upon from the cradle to the grave in their food, drink, and fuel, by modern indirect taxation? We have reversed the order of nature in mankind; the infant is made to support his able-bodied parents, whilst the working man's large family and the better-fed delinquent paupers contribute the more to increase a revenue depending upon increased consumption.

As to things in general being so much cheaper, they do not last one-fourth the time they did when made by hand-loom, and of what avail is it to a family without a sixpence that shoes and shirts, stockings and cloth, should cost only 5s. and 6s. by machinery, instead of 12s. or 15s. by manual labour? Far better for them was the time of higher prices, when they had the making of them, and could live more comfortably when so employed; those only having some capital or annual income, are really benefited; for, by the great reduction of their expenditure in the necessities of life, they can either accumulate or enjoy some of its comforts and luxuries: thus it is that the strong are made stronger, the weak made weaker, the infant over-worked, and the able-bodied man unemployed—fed in idleness and mental depression, and always in danger of falling into moral delinquency; and because there are now in England between two and three millions of human beings unable by themselves to purchase any thing, at any price, however low, there are some short-sighted people, otherwise well-informed, who dream and tell us that over-population is the sole cause of our present difficulties.

But yet, at the same time, things go on so admirably well with our capitalists, that it is quite puzzling. Some of our wiser men are even so well deluded by the facility and security with which they annually increase their wealth, that they will tell you of a public debt being the great source of prosperity; the fact is, that for them, the tax-gatherer being the trust-worthy collector of their rent, the public debt is actually a source of wealth.

There are also very respectable merchants and manufacturers, who seeing their stores fall, and being incapable, or unwilling, to look into the real causes of increasing pauperism and crime, repeat each other, with a sort of nonchalance that makes one's blood run cold,—*over-production*. Now, Sir, what are we to understand, what to expect, when such uncharitable and selfish doctrines make converts in respectable circles? They seem to confound words and things. Over-production with a decrease of population, would not be a great evil, but might be useless if the surplus could not be exported. Under-production, with a

fast-increasing population, would be the real evil, yet might soon be remedied by increased industry; but when over-production and over-population (as it is called) come together, it shows merely that the dispensing power of all things, good or evil, has increased the supply, as in all natural instances, in the same ratio as the causes exist for increasing demand; and when any portion of society suffers from want, under such very favourable circumstances, it proves nought but the existence of some vicious principle in the mode of creating and distributing our continually increasing products.

This vicious principle is so glaring in its crime-creating effect, in a large portion of the community, and so destructive of the peace, happiness, and security, as well as of the virtue of all classes, rich as well as poor, that one shudders at the consequences of refusing to examine, for the purpose of effectually removing this moral and physical pestilence, the wide-spreading ravages of which threaten to overthrow all that constitute national prosperity in the present system. Why should such a state of things longer continue? Is it that human sympathy is already extinct—that its springs are dried up—its fountain polluted at its source by our foul and inhuman practices—our unrighteous mammon-worship? Is it that the secret charities of life, so beautifully personified by mythology as the Graces, have no longer a local habitation or a name amongst us? or is it that all around is withering, ice-bound selfishness, stupid apathy, and moral degeneracy?

But, Sir, do not for a moment suppose that I dream of doing away with that labour-absorbing, yet wealth-diffusing machinery, because it has won the game of competition against manual labour. No; far indeed from me is such a thought.

I will not join the hon. member who exclaimed in the Commons, "perish our cotton manufacture, rather than it should contribute to demoralize and depress our infant population!" No, Sir; I would sooner exclaim, "perish half mankind in the awful struggle for food, rather than renounce that noble conquest made by the mind of man over matter, as well as over the contending elements!" For, what can be conceived more sublime, what more consistent with the origin and progress of man, than the progressive and successful efforts of persevering human genius, which, having dragged the bowels of this planet upon its surface, and placing them between the opposite action of fire and water, happily combined the powers used by the creation itself with its mineral, animal, and vegetable productions, and so far obtained such a wonderful command over them all, as to have compelled these mysterious powers to supply the wants of man, according to his own caprice or fanciful whim!

Thus, creating new and ready sources of enjoyments, comforts, and wealth, beyond those already possessed, and that too, with a degree of rapidity far before the time to which all natural productions are restricted by the regular course of the four seasons, man becomes truly the "lord of the creation;" and, such wonders once accomplished, stands by, a mere looker-on, contemplating like a demi-god the work of his own hands, the creation of his mind, indulging (as well he may) in the justifiable pride of his own divine intelligence. Neither the setting sun nor the hoary frost can stop his progress. Let there be light or darkness, heat or cold, man, with machinery assisted by, yet directing himself, the secret powers of nature, may now proceed uninterrupted, creating more and more wealth for the greater happiness of his race. When united into communities, who then will dare to condemn machinery? who then will presume to depreciate its inestimable value to society at large? Might not the enthusiast exclaim, on the contrary, on beholding such results, that divine Nature, in her step by step progress, ever-continued and ever-improving creation, promises more blessings to

mankind on this very planet, than in his present fettered mental condition man is yet capable of conceiving.

What is then, Sir, that must perish, in order to stop, if possible, the anomalous progress of moral degradation on one side, and the necessity of coercive measures on the other, to protect accumulating wealth against increasing want? My answer is plain and decisive; consign, I say, to the devouring element the obsolete mass of our old statute-books, that unintelligible jargon of forensic quackery; simplify the law, so that he who runs may read; purify the church, so that no priest shall claim any other support but such as he can found on the hearts of his congregation; reform the state, so that no regulations shall be enforced, but such as may rest upon sound motives of practical utility; unhackle the minds of all from the mental fetters imposed by the questionable notions of religious cant and hypocrisy; deliver all men from those insidious lessons given by Simoniacal bigots, so that our national schools may no longer clog, but actually develop, the mind and cultivate the reason of all male and female scholars.

In fine, let us tell to the royal, imperial, and noble laggards who still rule the world, that instead of remaining in a *status quo*, as so many unwieldy, unnatural impediments to our too-long protracted ameliorations, they must move on with honesty, good faith, and straight-forward decision through all the high-roads leading to the general good of the whole of society; that since the happy success of mechanical invention and their application to the creation of all products, man is no longer to be worked by man; above all, let them in time understand better the age they now live in,—no longer that in which, by mystifying the soul and tormenting the body, both made to tremble for centuries under the twofold threat of purgatory and hell fire, they could so easily govern through mental terror the prostrate masses of ignorant subjects; for the time is at length come when they must abandon that hitherto comfortable and easy mode of misleading mankind, for the less easy, but more useful and more appropriate government of the advanced and ever-advancing intelligence of minds ardently devoted to the liberal and rational cause. Tell them to seek for permanence of power, less in the crude and partial views of what is mis-called political economy, than in the support which is to be found in the eternal laws of nature, and the not less fixed and unalterable aspirations of the human heart, where such principles are engrained; as no sordid art of merely increasing products and capital (however partially successful it may be for a time) can long be disregarded without calling forth the divine vengeance upon those who have so long neglected the intelligence and moral worth of millions of human beings.

Oct. 29, 1830.

VERAX.

NATURE THE BEST TEACHER.—An American farmer, in the course of a long article on the treatment of cows, mentions the following circumstance, which strikes us as being worthy of the consideration of farmers, and those who keep cows:—"And let us remark, that good water is as essential to good milk-yielding as good pasture. We had a cow last summer that yielded five gallons of rich milk each day. She ran in a tolerable pasture, but there was a spring of pure fresh water running through it; we also kept salt constantly within her reach. The same cow this summer, in a much better pasture, does not yield three gallons of milk; the reason of this falling off is, that she is supplied with water from a pump occasionally, when her attendants conceive she wants it, not what she thinks she wants, which is the great point; she also gets salt as it happens."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Norwich Co-operative Society will receive an early communication.

An answer to the Northampton Shoemakers will be given next week, through the Crisis.

Mr. Vines's letter was received, and laid before the Committee, who expressed their sympathy for his loss, ascribed it, and one or two others, to the confusion which prevailed at the time of removal from those premises, and promise, as soon as in their power, to settle all these differences, by giving remuneration to the parties, after duly examining the case and being satisfied of the validity of the claim.

"Childish Remarks," we fear, are too simple; they are more suited to a school-book than this publication. There are some good ideas contained in them; but the allusion to Joshua causing the sun to "stand still," is not at all convincing; this expression is the language of common conversation; we say the sun rises and sets, which is ascribing motion to it: it would be pedantic and prudish to talk otherwise.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOV. 16.

THE ST. SIMONIANS.

THEY say that adversity tries a friend; a wounded wolf is destroyed and devoured by the pack, and a stag that is marked for destruction is forsaken by the whole herd. Were we to act as these brutes do, we should at this hour of persecution, when the power of darkness and bigotry presides over the public press, turn tail upon the common victim of prejudice and ignorance, and hunt the emissaries of St. Simonism from our soil. But we are actuated by a different spirit—a spirit that is not ashamed and is not afraid to acknowledge a friend in adversity, and share along with him the stigma and the scorn of fools. Amid all the obloquy, the abuse, the ribaldry, the satire, and the infamous falsehood which have issued from the public press respecting these two St. Simonian missionaries, we have in vain looked for one sentence which indicated a desire on the part of the writer to acquaint his readers with the real principles of the sect. The Editors all look as if they had been cast into a pond of stagnant water, full of all sorts of filth and venomous reptiles, and in the hurry and bluster which accompanied their ascension from the mud, spued out without thought or purport the whole contents of their overcharged stomachs upon poor St. Simon. The *Times* seems to have been more effectually ducked than any other of these foul-mouthed pond-cleaners; his stomach has been more capacious, and he has brought forth more of the filthy sediment. What a foul tongue he must have! his teeth must be nauseous; no tooth-powder in Christendom could clean them; and his breath! heaven defend our nostrils from the odour!

Our readers have no doubt read the editorial "CRITIQUE," as they are called, of some of

our leading journals upon the St. Simonian—apostles, we had almost said,—doctrines. But we are so convinced of the good sense of our constant readers, and indeed of the greater part of the "discontented," that we have no doubt that they read them, as we ourselves did, with a feeling of generous prepossession in favour of the party abused. Abuse is now a trade; the public mind is so depraved and so divided by illiberal prejudice and bitter hostility, that editors merely compete with each other in the composition of slang. Truth is a thing they seem to care nothing for; all that they esteem are the prepossessions of their readers; they cater for public prejudices, and consider only what will sell. In a few years St. Simon will be as much lauded by the public press as he is now abused—perhaps even by these same editors themselves, when the stomach-pump has effectually relieved them.

With respect to the St. Simonians, there is very little difference between them and ourselves. They have the same end of co-operation in view; only it has assumed with them a monarchical or hierarchal, but with us a republican aspect; there all the difference lies. They have a visible head or father, a sort of pope; we have "no head" at all, and are determined to live without one; each man with us has a head of his own. This distinction very appropriately characterizes a Catholic and a Protestant country. The hierarchal character of St. Simonism, which partakes a good deal of the old domineering system, has also infused a sort of ceremonial or formality into their religion, which is quite in harmony with the fundamental principle. They have their various degrees of rank, from the father downwards; and the subordinates pay a submissive deference to the will of their superiors. This, however, has the effect of preserving good discipline. They have also a marriage ceremony; but the parties, if not happy in each other's society, are at liberty to part, and select other partners more congenial to their own tempers. Their doctrine upon this subject is perfectly chaste; and we have no doubt that their private conduct is much more pure, and more able to bear the test of severe scrutiny, than that of their revilers. We should like much to have the benefit of the Devil Asmodeus' services, merely to watch for a few weeks the private doings of the editor of the *Times*, whose holy zeal in the cause of female virtue has begotten such a progeny of scandal upon this department of the St. Simonian system. No man who defends the present matrimonial system, can defend the cause either of justice or of chastity. It is a system of prostitution and omnipresent jealousy. If this be chastity, let it be accursed. The public press, which patronizes the existing laws of matrimony, is the patron of mercenary love, and prostitution will prosper under its auspices. Let not the women deceive themselves; their situation is becoming every day more deplorable; marriage is becoming more and more formidable to the other sex; the difficulties of life are becoming every day more

perplexing; and men dread the prospect of a precarious warfare, with a wife and children in dependence upon them. They prefer freedom; and the freedom of the one sex is the licentiousness of the other; and every day is augmenting the evil. Women must be supported; and if men refuse to support them by matrimony, what is the remedy?—prostitution. Yet they who attempt to cure this evil are assailed with the most intemperate abuse. When will villany be unmasked, and its deformities be exposed!

The St. Simonians regard their founder as a sort of Messiah. Nature they regard as progressive in every department, in human society, as well as in the human infant; and the different sects, inventions, or revelations, which in succession appear and supplant each other, are all so many useful productions of nature, and as necessary to the completion of the whole system of society, as the succession of the double-set of teeth in the mouth of a child, or any other change which marks the progress of manhood. Moses, Jesus Christ, Mahomed, and St. Simon, are all so many intellectual growths or branches in the grand social plant, which come forward in succession like rings on the horns of a bullock, till the growth is perfected. Thus they respect all the past, acknowledge its suitableness to the state of human nature at the time, but deprecate every thing like stationary doctrine, either in religion, politics, or science. They are thus the disciples of Progress. Their views are so much in accordance with our own, that we only disapprove of their separating themselves from us, and attempting to organize a party in England. This is impossible; and were it possible, what is the use of it? We and they seek the same end, and the little difference which subsists between us will very soon be settled either by experience or public opinion. For a long time to come, France and England must act apart in the cause of freedom; they ought each to enlighten her own; and when they have sufficiently strengthened themselves at home, their example alone, without the aid of missionaries, will spread the flame of reformation. This is not the age of preaching and apostleship, but of action. That apostleship at least must be confined for some time to come to men of one speech; we are so convinced of this truth, that were we to remove our residence to Paris, we would join the St. Simonians, instead of attempting to establish a rival party. All the good that these missionaries are doing at present, is the publicity which they are giving to the name of their party, by calling forth the abuse of the London journals. In this age of corruption it is a question with many whether abuse or praise is most valuable. We have even heard of profound speculators upon human caprice and gullibility abusing themselves, or procuring their friends to lavish it out in torrents, merely to promote their own interest. We suspect the editor of the *Times* to be a friend in disguise.

Some time ago we were handled in the friendly way by the editor of the *Satirist*; but

poor fellow, he carried his ribaldry so very far that it was evident to every reader that he was only satirizing himself. What he said was too good to be true, as the saying is, or too monstrous to be credible. The *Courier* had a very reasonable and candid article respecting us, about a month ago; there were several false statements in it; but it was evident they were not intentional, and no expression was made use of which indicated the prevalence of any passion or prejudice in the mind of the writer; but a few days ago we saw the same article in the *Perth Advertiser*, curtailed and deprived of its redeeming qualities, with "Temple of Folly" for a title, and closing with the editorial ejaculation, "Alas! poor human nature!" This old-wifish sigh would, no doubt, produce a very powerful effect upon some of the Picts in the old metropolis of Scotland, and many a religious old maid would respond with an echo. But what harm does all this do to us? abuse cannot corrupt us; praise might; and as it is necessary for us to be exceedingly prudent and circumspect in our conduct, all these demoniacal ravings in the wind only produce the happy effect of securing our steps.

We must be abused a thousand times more before we succeed; our system is an entire revolution of mental, moral, and physical policy; and it is but natural to suppose that the old system will spend the sum total of its gall upon us; we care nothing for it; conscious of rectitude—certain of ultimate success—daily witnessing new indications of weakness in the old world, abuse and praise have the same effect upon us. When fire and water meet there is always a quarrel, but the strongest ultimately gains. Time will show whether truth or error will soonest be exhausted.

MORAL REFORMATION IN PARIS.

Several projects are said to be in contemplation for the improvement of public morals in Paris. In the first place it is reported that the licenses of the gaming-houses are not to be renewed after the expiration of the present term; that the minimum of the sums allowed to be ventured in the lottery is to be again considerably augmented. And it is also said that after the first of January, ladies of a certain character are not to be allowed to parade the streets and public walks.

[This is making a virtue of necessity, and compelling men and women to be righteous, in spite of original sin. These are godly projects indeed; and had Louis Philippe been one of the kings of Judah, it might have been said of him, as of many other disciplinarians of a similar sort, that he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and walked in the ways of David, his father. But times have sadly changed now, and Louis Philippe will find that, instead of curing the profligacy of the people by such restrictions, he will only tempt them to the commission of new crimes, to enable them to practice the other with impunity. What is the use of our prohibitory laws in suppressing the hells of St. James? if one hell be broken up by magisterial interference, it breeds, like a polypus, two or more new hells out of its disunited members; so that every

attempt at interference is like cutting a worm in halves to destroy it, whilst each half becomes a perfect worm, and sets up for itself. The augmentation of the minimum of stakes will have little effect upon a determined gamester, and the violent suppression of cyprianism will only provoke Dan Cupid to exert his diabolical ingenuity to promote his mother's worship in a more clandestine and mischievous manner. Morality! the rich seem to imagine that they have got a monopoly of morality as well as of wealth; and that all the evil of bad morals consists in their publicity. They themselves are virtuous only because they do not come out into the highways and proclaim their own shame: what other difference is there between them and the outcasts of society? the other difference is this, that they make a pleasure of what these unfortunate girls make a trade.]

INDIAN JUGGLERY.

In the *Oriental Annual*, or *Scenes in India*, the Rev. Robert Caunter gives the following account of one of those bewildering bits of jugglery, for which the Indians are famous above every other nation:—

"A stout, ferocious-looking fellow stepped forward with a common wicker basket of the country, which he begged we would carefully examine. This we accordingly did; it was of the slightest texture, and admitted the light through a thousand apertures. Under this fragile covering he placed a child about eight years old, an interesting little girl, habited in the only garb which nature had provided for her—perfect of frame and elastic of limb—a model for a cherub, and scarcely darker than a child of southern France. When she was properly secured, the man, with a lowering aspect, asked her some question, which she instantly answered; and as the thing was done within a few feet from the spot on which we were seated, the voice appeared to come so distinctly from the basket, that I felt at once satisfied that there was no deception. They held a conversation for some moments, when the juggler, almost with a scream of passion, threatened to kill her. There was a stern reality in the whole scene which was perfectly dismaying; it was acted to the life, but terrible to see and hear. The child was heard to beg for mercy, when the man seized a sword, placed his foot upon the frail wicker covering under which his supposed victim was so piteously supplicating his forbearance, and, to my absolute consternation and horror, plunge it with all the blind ferocity of an excited demon. By this time his countenance exhibited an expression fearfully indicative of the most frantic of human passions. The shrieks of the child were so real and distracting that they almost curdled, for a few moments, the whole mass of my blood: my first impulse was, to rush upon the monster and fell him to the earth; but he was armed, and I defenceless. I looked at my companions—they appeared to be pale and paralysed with terror; and yet these feelings were somewhat neutralized by the consciousness that the man could not dare to commit a deliberate murder in the open, broad eye of day, and before so many witnesses; still the whole thing was appalling. The blood ran in streams from the basket; the child was heard to struggle under it; her groans fell horridly upon the ear; her struggles smote painfully upon the heart. The former were gradually subdued into a faint

moan, and the latter into a slight rustling noise; we seemed to hear the last convulsive gasp which was to set her innocent soul free from the gored body, when, to our inexpressible astonishment and relief, after muttering a few cabalistic words, the juggler took up the basket; but no child was to be seen. The spot was indeed dyed with blood; but there were no mortal remains; and, after a few minutes of undissembled wonder, we perceived the little object of our alarm coming towards us from among the crowd. She advanced and saluted us, holding out her hand for our donations, which we bestowed with hearty good-will: she received them with a most grateful salutation, and the party left us, well satisfied with our more than expected gratuity. What rendered the deception more extraordinary was, that the man stood aloof from the crowd during the whole performance; there was not a person within several feet of him.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Knowing your anxious desire to forward the cause of the industrious classes in every possible way, but more particularly on that important branch, a superior education than the present defective system affords them; with this I beg to inform you that a society having been formed in Westminster for the purpose of establishing a school upon rational principles, wishes to engage a Schoolmaster and Mistress. Those who possess a knowledge of the social principles combined with sufficient scientific attainments, will be the most suitable. Such competent persons as may wish to undertake these situations, will be pleased to apply any Tuesday evening between the hours of 8 and 10 o'clock, at the Committee Room, Mr. Glenville's, Salvation Tavern, Barton-street, Westminster. If you should be acquainted with any two individuals fitted for so important a task, we shall be happy to have a recommendation to that effect.

Sir, yours, most respectfully,
W. HASSELL,

Honourable Secretary to the Westminster School Society.

November 11, 1833.

VENDING OF ROYAL FRUITS AND VEGETABLES.—The fruiterers and greengrocers of Richmond and Kew have suffered severely since the departure of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland from Kew Palace, to sojourn at the Court of Berlin, as the fruits and vegetables of the royal gardens are vended by a trustworthy servant of his Royal Highness; perhaps, with permission; but if so, it is the first time that royal fruits were allowed to be sold, and that a royal servant should be allowed to open a shop to the great detriment of the long-standing greengrocers and fruiterers, payers of rates and taxes. There is no doubt that royal fruit will be preferred to any other. These loyal hamlets ought to be protected from such an innovation, and we hope that a full investigation will take place to fathom out whether the royal servant is empowered to sell the produce of the Bijou gardens, to the very great prejudice of the honest and industrious tradesman.

SINECURES.—Yet still the patriot cry is of sinecures. Let the few singards that possess, but cannot enjoy them, doze away on them till sinecures and sinecurists drop into the dust. Shall such creatures disturb the equanimity of the magnanimous working-classes of England? True to themselves in life's great relations, they need not grudge, for a little while longer, the paupers a few paltry pence out of their earnings, for they know a sure and silent death-blow has been struck against that order of things by the sense of the land, and that all who receive wages must henceforth work.—*Blackwood.*

FOR THE CRISIS.

In the *Morning Post* of Wednesday, October 30, appears an article from a Sir C. Paget, for the purpose of vindicating or palliating the conduct of the young gentlemen, as it styles them, of the Royal College of Sandhurst. It appears that, a short time ago, on their Majesties paying a visit to the Royal Military College, some people, who had assembled on this occasion, committed the heinous offence of using their own judgment respecting the important act of taking off or keeping on their hats when the royal carriage passed them, not choosing to take them off. This gave high offence to the young gentlemen (as Sir Charles styles them) of the Royal College. Inquiring who the obnoxious individuals were, they found they belonged to Bagshot: the cadets, or young gentlemen, proceeded to Bagshot in order to take revenge, or, in other words, cause a riot in that place; but on their way there, a Southampton coach passing, two or three of them endeavoured to climb up behind, in the manner disorderly persons frequently do; the coachman ordered them to desist, but the young gentlemen not obeying, he touched one of them with his whip; the young gentlemen then commenced a regular attack on the passengers, following the coach to its place of call in Bagshot; here the passengers were obliged to act on the defensive, and some of the inhabitants, seeing the brutality of the assault, joined with them in repelling the assailants. It goes on to state that in the affray several heads were broken on both sides. The inhabitants, it seems, complained to the Governor of the College at Sandhurst, and the cadets were paraded before them; ten of the assailants were recognized, but compromised with the coachman and others, who, Sir Charles says, had got clear with broken heads, but lays great stress on the circumstance that no limbs were broken. They compounded for this brutal assault by paying the coachman and each individual a paltry five pounds. The writer says this is a mere nothing, and in our other great aristocratic schools would be thought nothing of. But if such outrages are thought nothing of, it is time that they should be thought much of, and that the intelligent of all classes should join in endeavouring by some better to supersede so vicious a system, which allows and educates persons to commit such daring outrages on the feelings of persons belonging to the useful or working-classes of society. I do not bring this forward for the purpose of exciting personal hostility against these young men; but if possible to root deeper the hatred of every intelligent person against the present baneful system, which divides us into classes, and teaches them they have interests opposed to each other, and destroys that sympathy which every individual rationally educated, and surrounded by rational circumstances, would feel towards his fellow-beings. But those whose injurious education has destroyed these sympathies are much to be pitied, as in losing them they have lost the means of happiness, not knowing that exalted and heavenly principle which instructs us how to be happy, by endeavouring to make others so. C. H. W.

HINT TO HOUSEWIVES.—TO PREVENT BEER FROM BECOMING SOUR.—Suspend a knob of marble by a piece of tape from the bung-hole to near the bottom of the barrel, upon which, being pure carbonate of lime, the acid quality of the beer acts on its incipient formation; it consequently becomes neutralized, and thus is kept from turning hard or sour. In our experiment, the marble was considerably eaten away, except where the tape encircled it, and the beer remained sound and fresh to the last drop.—*Perth Advertiser*.

HATTERS AND "TRADES' UNIONS."—On Tuesday, James Brown, a journeyman hatter, was brought before the Lord Mayor, at the Mansion-house, charged upon the information of Mr. Southby, a master hatter, with having violated the law by intimidating, molesting, and obstructing Charles Fisher and John Rees, journeymen hatters, by doing which he prevented those journeymen from working for their employer, the complainant. Mr. Ashurst, a solicitor, said that the conspiracy of workmen against masters was carried to such an alarming height, the workmen persevering in their tyrannical opposition in conformity with the "Trades' Union," that it was absolutely necessary to proceed before the magistracy.—It appeared that Brown having furnished his employer with hats which the latter did not approve, he refused to pay him the full price for them. Brown summoned Mr. Southby to the Court of Requests, and had half the amount claimed awarded him. A circular was immediately issued by the trade to the whole of Mr. Southby's men, requesting them to "strike." After considerable squabbling, the case terminated by Brown repaying his employer the amount (3s.) awarded to the former by the Court of Requests. These proceedings have created a great sensation, both in the hatter-trade, and the manufacturing part of the community. In reply to some observations in the *Times*, a correspondent states—that the man offered to render the objectionable work perfect, and it was in that part of the process of hat-making that it could be repaired without any detriment to its ultimate sale. The man stated before the Lord Mayor that the bodies were bad. It is an undeniable fact that there are bodies more soft and porous than others, and those accustomed to the work know well that the nap will not show that fulness which is observed when the bodies are made smart and tight, and it is possible that the whole four could have a bad appearance, and yet not be the fault of the man engaged in the process of putting on the beaver. This may account for the full price being asked for the work, and it was only acting in accordance with an agreement entered into some years back by masters and men. It was quite natural that the other men employed by Mr. Southby should have been made acquainted with the refusal of that gentleman to pay the trade price, and equally reasonable that they might imagine that it would, perhaps, be their lot to be placed in the same dilemma, and that they should pursue those measures which, in their judgment, would have the effect of preventing their earnings from being placed in the like jeopardy. The articles which are brought so conspicuously forward have been chosen in the same spirit that breathes through the transaction—viz., to make the conduct of the men appear in the worst possible light, while those which protect the masters and support the man in search of employment, &c. which may be supposed to redound to the credit of the journeymen, have been studiously avoided.—*Bell's New Weekly Messenger*.

[If masters combine to lower the wages of working men, why may not working men combine to raise theirs? And if working men are guilty sometimes of using violence, it is only because fortune has not put a more respectable sort of violence (money) in their power. The same spirit that prompts a rich man to expend his influence in oppressing the poor, prompts the poor man to outrage in the assertion of his rights. We can see no material difference between the morality of the monopolist, and that of the obstreperous mechanic; but we see a very great difference in the comparative vacuity of their purses. This master hatter himself confessed that he was a member of a Trades' Union of Masters; but, as the *Dispatch* very justly observes, "what is COMBINATION amongst workmen, is only CONSULTATION amongst masters."]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

MR. EDITOR.—Knowing you at all times to be the advocate of only one party, which comprises the whole of the human family, you are therefore a friend to conciliation, and I have no doubt you will endeavour to find room for the following, in an early number of your valuable publication.

As a disciple of the Social System, I, with your correspondent "Unity," have considered the question he has put in the *Crisis* of some consequence, and have repeated it frequently in the ears of those I consider ardent followers after truth, namely, "What are you all about?" It has for some time past been a subject to me of deep regret, that there appears to be a great number of petty parties, or divisions, amongst the avowed disciples of the Social System; that each of these parties, with pure sectarian principles, lays claim to the character of infallibility in all its respective proceedings. And it is said by some, and believed by a great number, that this is a *favourable circumstance*, inasmuch as it creates a greater supply of missionaries in the good cause, as each individual is more ardent and zealous in advocating the project or views held forth by the party to whom he belongs, as being more congenial to his ideas and convictions; and also that each party or sect is vying (it should be competing) with the other in order to outstrip in point of numerical strength the pretensions of the other contending parties; and they say, furthermore, that these parties may be compared to as many fires, all of which surround one common centre; and therefore, say they, this is an advantageous circumstance, and should be continued until a public opinion is created in our favour. But to this, I, for one, must beg to hold a very different opinion, *knowing example to be better than precept*. But even admitting that we may possibly catch a few stragglers extra by these contending parties, do we not do so at the expense of our consistency? Ought we (who preach down competition) to be found divided and subdivided into little petty parties, each of which asserts, with all the fiery zeal of the competitive system, that their views and projects are the only correct ones? And are we quite sure that if we were well organized as a *moral union*, and divided into classes or districts throughout the whole kingdom, that these little nuclei would not act with as much success in gaining proselytes to the good cause as these petty contending parties do? I believe that by so doing we should increase more than ten times as fast, as by the wretched competitive system now pursued by avowed advocates of co-operation.

The spirit of genuine emulation I would by no means destroy; but I am quite sure we are extinguishing that noble spirit in the bosom of very many individuals, who burn almost to suffocation, because they cannot *rationaly* use that spirit in the cause of competition. But give these individuals co-operation, and we shall have the full advantage of their zeal, their prudence, their experience, and their judgment. Again, are we quite sure that we shall arrive at the opposite shore of community, after which we are all panting so ardently, so soon by pursuing the competitive system, as we should were we to pursue a system of co-operation? The answer to this I am sure will be conceived by every Socialist in the kingdom. If we still continue these parties, sects, or divisions (with separate interests), we shall still continue to be termed the *visionary* followers of Robert Owen, and shall richly merit that appellation. But if we begin (though late, yet better late than never) to co-operate, then shall we show to the population of this kingdom that we are not the visionaries they took us for, as we should then be practising as well as preaching. A most powerful motive proclaims the immediate necessity of a moral union of the whole of the friends of the so-

cial System, which is the tottering foundation on which the Competitive System now stands; the unions of the working-classes are progressing wonderfully; and when these shall have been completed, where is the beacon of the Social System raised, which we can point out to our much-injured fellow-beings (the working-classes). It was with a view, or rather a hope, of forming a moral union of the members of the Social System, that I signed my name to a declaration inscribed at the head of a book opened for the avowed purpose of receiving the names of those who professed to be disciples of the Social System; these professions, of course, would afterwards undergo the process of scrutiny. The substance of the declaration all Socialists will, I am sure, declare to; and the only difficulty which appeared to me in the way of the formation of a moral union, was to ascertain the *sincere* from the mere professional Socialist. But how could this be accomplished, if the materials which required the process of the sieve were not brought together? Having at length, however, collected a considerable heap, the question then comes, is there a sufficient number that are well-skilled in the art of sifting to accomplish this task, and thus overcome the difficulty. I have strong reason to believe that we have both the power and the means at command. If each true Socialist would but make this his own special business, and come forward at once with his advice and assistance, the difficulty would be surmounted. But if they are still to hold back, because the original plan of the formation of the union was not so perfect to their minds as some other plan which they entertained, how shall we have the benefit of their idea of perfection? If they confine themselves exclusively to the discovery of those imperfections, which they say we possess, (which perhaps is not unlikely,) or will not join us because we have not embodied their ideas, by what means will they give us, or how shall we obtain, that information? Let them be but true to the principles which they profess, and they will see the necessity of no longer "hiding their candle under a bushel," but will set it aloft, and let us all have the benefit of it. I, for one, should have reproached myself, humble as are my talents, if I had not added that small share of assistance to the cause, by signing my name to the declaration, and endeavouring also to confirm that signature by those actions (though humble, still necessary), which are always the spontaneous effusions in the bosom of the true Socialist. There are some of our friends "hang back," as they say, because we have assumed a name, "the Moral Union," which is much too lofty for us at present. If these friends would lend us their assistance in our endeavours to merit that enviable name, and we should then fail in substantiating our claim, we would most willingly aljure that pretension, and they should then be entitled to hold that opinion; but without their help or assistance, it certainly appears premature in them to decide. There are other friends who think we have been idle, that we have done nothing &c. Who knows but that we should have made a greater progress if we had been aided by them? at all events, if they had so aided us, they would be satisfied that we had progressed as fast as it was possible, providing they had been true themselves; if not, of course the odium (if any) rests upon their own shoulders. For myself, I am much gratified at the progress we have already made; I am aware much still remains to be done, but I also know, and "facts are stubborn things," that six months back I was not intimately acquainted with but one co-operator, now I am proud to say I can claim the friendship of at least fifty; and this has been accomplished only by the system (defective as it possibly may be) of our plan of organization. I calculate this result by the rule of three, my expectations in the realization of that enviable title, the "Moral Union," to the society of which am a member will be fully verified, for if one individual in six months gains fifty, how many will

three hundred and fifty individuals gain in the same time? The answer to this is most cheering, and I therefore see great cause of congratulation at our success. In conclusion, I must again call upon every Socialist to come forward, and at once lay aside those little sectarian principles which have hitherto held the human family in bondage and slavery, and so doubt if suffered to be amongst us will enslave us and our children also. Let us unite then for our common good, and let us practise the precept, each for all and all for each: we shall then show to the world that we are no longer visionaries, but are reducing these visions we have been preaching to actual practice.—I remain, my dear Sir, yours respectfully,
R. MERES.
Monday Evening, Nov. 4.

PORTRAITS.

Look here, upon this picture, and on this.—*Hamlet*.

Human society presents to me, at the present period, a strange picture of the two great extremes of good and evil, and though the latter at present predominates to a wonderful extent, I hope it is gradually and speedily yielding to the former. The worst species of ignorance and vice, and the perfection of wisdom and loveliness, is at present to be found; and with a view to speed the progress of the latter over the world, I gladly volunteer my feeble assistance. The first portrait I mean to present my readers with, is

THE WIFE;

and if I should sometimes be rather severe on my fair sisters of creation, in exposing many of their foibles and frailties, let them not think me harsh or unkind; for my view in so doing will only be the better to convince them of their errors, and guard them for the future from

The lash of censure, and the eye of scorn.

Few can see their errors until they are pointed out to them, and many think those errors virtues, until they are indisputably convinced to the contrary, and oftentimes to affect this is a very difficult matter. But what have we here?—the Wife! what a sweet and lovely picture to contemplate! The lightness and vivacity of the girl, exquisitely subdued into a soft and affectionate reserve; the guardian of her husband's honour and her own; this alteration of her wisdom and change of circumstance has taught her; but such tuition could result only from a pure and early inculcation of good precepts and sound moral instruction.

How ill its neighbouring picture sits beside it. Here have we the woman of fashion and pride, or ignorance, so misnamed; the miserable, pale voluptuary, versed in the vilest follies of the times. Her husband, her children, and her home, are set at nought; her heaven is the fashionable resorts and promenades, where all around her who can show a gay exterior are looked upon as angels; the fine, inflated salutation of every whiskered monkey is set down as a gallant and spirited compliment to her person. Trace her to her home, and there you behold the victim of erroneous instruction and mistaken education nauseated with her married state, that, with her will, might prove her greatest blessing; surrounded with every association that could tend to sicken and disgust, her person neglected, her home ill-arranged, a novel at her side, and a farrago of ribbands and absurdities at her elbow. She boasts of her learning; challenge it forth, and you will find it consists of a smattering of different languages, totally ignorant frequently of the things to which the language applies; merely the-calling of a thing by

four or five different names, the tangling of a piano, the abuse of her servants, and in the utter contempt of those, without whom she would be at once deprived of existence. Regarding those household duties, the performance of which would add to her credit and honour, she languishingly affects an entire ignorance; she has not been used, forsooth, to such affairs; the attendance necessary to herself and family is a thing beneath her consideration; it is altogether out of her sphere.

If any thing can tend to heighten the effect of this portrait, which, I will answer for it, is not at all over-drawn, it is the practice of and encouragement given to these scandalous habits by such as are destitute of the means of supporting them; it is then ignorance indeed; an abject prostitution of sense and reason, that cannot be surpassed; a grovelling and servile imitation of the most degrading vices. Let such wives read for their edification, again and again, the beautiful admonition given by the Duke to *Juliana*, in the play of the *Honey Moon* :—

Duke. Hold!

I'll have no glittering gewgaws stuck about you,
To stretch the gaping eyes of idiot wonder,
And make men stare upon a piece of earth
As on the star-wrought firmament; No feathers
To wave as streamers to your vanity,
Nor cumbrous silk, that with its rustling sound
Makes proud the flesh that bears it. She's adorn'd
Amplly, that in her husband's eye looks lovely,—
The truest mirror that an honest wife
Can see her beauty in!

REFORMATOR.

LAPPET WEAVERS.—In consequence of some of the manufacturers refusing to pay the advanced price of 10s. per cut for weaving lappets, the weavers have had several meetings on the subject during the week; and on Wednesday week a deputation waited upon nearly the whole of the masters in the town engaged in the manufacture of this kind of cloth, to know which of them were willing to pay the advance. The result was that the following gentlemen agreed to pay 10s. per cut:—Mr. H. Holme, he will also employ as many weavers at that price as may choose to apply to him; Mr. John Blinkhorn, of the firm of R. Gardiner and Co.; Mr. Peter Crook, Mr. James Jackson, Mr. Goodbrand, and Messrs. Bayley. Those masters who refused to pay 10s. per cut were, Mr. Jonathan Hitchin, Mr. John Jackson, Mr. James Lee, Mr. H. Brodie, Mr. John Makin, Mr. George Cunliffe; some of these are paying as low as 7s. per cut, and others 8s. 6d. Resolutions were unanimously passed to pay the expenses of changing masters to such weavers as would leave the employ of those who paid under 10s., out of the general fund of the lappet weavers, and to use every legal means to induce journeymen to quit the service of the under-payers. The geers have already begun to tumble into the warehouses of the non-conforming masters, and it is evident that if the demand for weavers continues, they must either pay the higher wages or lose their workmen. The secretary was ordered to write to the neighbouring towns, and to Scotland, cautioning the weavers there not to take out lappets at less than 10s. per cut, as the market price of the cloth would fully cover the manufacturer at such wages.—*Manchester Advertiser*.

SILK MANUFACTURE.—The progress of the production of silk in France has been considerable: in 1789 it was 1,000,000lbs.; in 1820 it was 1,350,000lbs.; in 1825 it was 1,600,000lbs.

**ABSTRACT FROM THE FIRST QUARTER'S ACCOUNT, ENDING NOVEMBER 2, 1833,
OF THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE, CHARLOTTE-STREET.**

Stock—amount of Deposits received, 137,753h. 1s		Stock—amount of Exchanges . . . 91,553h. 0s.	
INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
	Cash & Notes.		Cash & Notes.
Provisions—receipts	£1,429 3 0½	Provisions—payments	£1,114 19 9½
Rent—subscriptions, &c.	59 0 8	Rent do.	148 10 6
Charges—publications, &c.	8 1 9½	Charges do.	133 15 10½
Festivals—receipts	166 19 1½	Festivals do.	69 10 1
Lectures—receipts	120 2 1½	Lectures do.	15 0 10
Commission—receipts	242 14 8	Wages do.	239 4 10
	2,926 1 4½		1,741 1 11
	1,741 1 11		
284 19 5½ exclusive of Profit on Coals and Grocery, since made up, and making a total Profit for the Quarter of upwards of £300.			
Stock—balance brought down	46,300h. 1s.		
Ditto—transfer of Old Stock for Old Notes belonging to the New Association	12,706h. 3s.		
	58,906h. 4s.	Audited the 11th Nov., 1833,	
Notes now in circulation	37,256h. 4s.	R. PRYER,	
		J. BANKHEAD,	
Excess of Stock over Notes	21,650h. 0s.	B. WARDEN.	

Literature.

Saint Monday; a Poem, by the Author of the "Mechanic's Saturday Night." Published by B. Steill, Paternoster-row.

This is the production of a working man, and we are always glad to pay our tribute of congratulation to the literary exertions of those whose hands are busy in promoting the increase of national wealth. Considering the little time which the working classes have at their disposal, it is really astonishing to find that very little difference exists between them and their well-educated counterparts, the idlers; they are gaining rapidly upon the foster-children of school and college education, and by dint of private reading, sober reflection, and the cultivation of taste, accomplishing all that the aristocracy gain at a great expense, subdivided amongst ushers, private tutors, professors and teachers of every department of science, all of whose combined exertions will probably not produce one in ten thousand who could express himself in such beautiful and correct language as that of the following stanzas, which are the commencement of the poem:—

O, holy, holy, holy Sabbath-day,
Beneath thy calm rule slumbering lies turmoil;
O, holy, Sabbath, is thy sweet delay,
For then the poor mechanic rests from toil.
How pale he looks! as bending he walks by,
To taste the quiet of the Sabbath-morn!
Poor, worried thing, he seems abash'd and shy,
For the smart well-dress'd passes him with scorn,
As if he were not of the same great parent born.
But swiftly on the Sabbath moments flee,
The holy hours of rest the green earth shun;
The labourer—the yet weary labourer—he
Regretting views the Sabbath's setting sun;
He grieves to think it was the godhead's will
His own fair image should be banished
To caves and dungeons, there to labour still
Beneath the everlasting mandate dread,
"Thy brow's incessant sweat shall gain thy daily bread."

Deluded brother workman! dost thou turn
Thy fair looks pale with sick'ning gloomy whims?

Th' Almighty hath but said that thou shalt earn
Thy bread with the proud vigour of thy limbs.
But profitless thy labour; 'tis thy meed
To dig for others; and thou livest a slave,
Without wherewith thy little ones to feed,
And diest without wherewith to buy thy grave,
And sin 'tis deem'd in thee earth's goodly things to crave.

BUNGAY.—CHURCH-RATES.—The resistance to this impost is rapidly spreading to the most obscure points of the kingdom. At Bungay, in Suffolk, the Dissenters have resolved to be no longer burdened with the expenses of the church; and one of them, Mr. Morris, who had previously notified his intention to pay no more, has suffered the churchwardens to distrain upon his goods. On applying for a warrant of distress to J. Garden, Esq., he strenuously advised them to desist from a course so unjust, to accomplish the payment of the rate amongst the members of the church, and to strike from the assessment the names of the Dissenters. This advice, with a clear premonition of the flame which would be kindled, and a warning as to the impolicy of their proposed course, was utterly disregarded. The distress was levied, the goods were, after some delay, clandestinely sold to a small tradesman, at a price which offered a powerful inducement, and they trusted that the first effort of resistance had been signally and effectually put down. The name of the buyer, however, soon transpired, and within two days he had signed a document expressing deep regret for the act he had committed, setting forth the baits by which he had been entrapped into the purchase, and requesting, as the most complete reparation in his power, to be allowed to return the goods to Mr. Morris. Accordingly, on Monday morning they were, by a large concourse of people publicly borne to the house of that gentleman, when he declared that he could not, under such circumstances, accept them, and advised that they be sold for the benefit of the poor. They were then paraded in triumph round the town, with various expressions of popular feelings near the houses of parties supposed to be interested on either side of the question.

Three boys ran away lately from an excellent charitable institution in Exeter, and upon being discovered stated the cause of their leaving to be "that they had beef every day."

NOMINATIONS.—The following gentlemen were nominated on Monday evening last, as candidates for the office of Superintendent, vacant by the resignation of Mr. Henderson:—Mr. Henderson, Mr. Hoare, and Mr. Nicholls. For the combined offices of Lamplighter and Watchman:—Mr. Parsons, Mr. Tipper, and Mr. Kerswill. The ballot for the above offices will take on Monday, the 25th November, 1833. The report of the proceedings will be inserted in the next *Crisis*.

LECTURES, &c., NEXT WEEK.

Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.
Sunday morning, at half-past 11, by the Rev. J. E. Smith, and evening, at 7.
Sunday afternoon, at 3, the members of the Social Community.

Wednesday evening, Social Community.—Question: "What plan shall be adopted for aiding the poor and industrious classes?"

Thursday evening at half-past 7, the Trades' Delegates.

Friday afternoon, at 4, the Female Association.

Mr. Detrosier will lecture on Tuesday evening.

Just published, price Sixpence,
SAINT MONDAY, a Poem. By the Author of the "Mechanic's Saturday Night."

Tools and the men I sing, who, forced by "fate,"
Not haughty Juno's unrelenting hate,
To work the glory of their native shore,
And perils, labour, want, and scorn endure.
B. Steill, Paternoster Row.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH SOCIAL FESTIVAL
will be held on **MONDAY EVENING** next, November 18, at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

In 1 vol. 8vo., price 4s. 6d., bds., or in 16 Numbers, price 3d. each.

ANTICHRIST, or Christianity Reformed; being a series of Discourses written and delivered by the Rev. J. E. SMITH, M.A.; in which is demonstrated from the Scriptures, in opposition to the prevailing opinion of the whole religious world, that evil and good are from one source; Devil and God, one Spirit; and that the one is merely manifested to make perfect the other.

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Of whom also may be had

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ALMANACK, beautifully Printed on a large Sheet of thick Vellum Paper, containing all the most necessary information appertaining to Almanacks. The ATLAS contains also a Victorious Calendar, containing upwards of 365 Battles gained by British Arms, being a Conquest for each day in the Year—a useful document for reference.

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Also the London **PADDY'S WATCH ALMANACK**. Price One Penny.

Also, the **SOCIAL ORACLE**, a Book Almanack. Price Twopence.

Also, **LORD BROUGHAM'S Penny Almanack**, for the year 1834.

Printed and Published by Benjamin Franks, at the Reformer Office, No. 378, Strand, and R. E. Lee, Office of the Mar., 31, Marylebone-lane; and sold by all the Venders of the Unstamped.

The PIONEER may be had at the Cause Office, every Saturday. Nos. 1 to 11 may now be had.

Printed and published by B. D. COUSINS, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields, and at 378, Strand, and sold also by Strange, Paternoster-row; Parker, Old Compton-street; Watson, Windmill-street, Finsbury-square; Carlile, 62, Fleet-street; Cleave, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street, and Carlile, 26, Bride-lane.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY, EVENING, NOVEMBER, 17.

Mr. Smith lectured on "Food and Air."

He stated that the greater proportion of our soil was employed in rearing animal food, eighteen millions of acres are lying in pasture, whilst about half of this is cultivated for bread, the staff of life; that the very horses, a great proportion of which are merely pleasure-horses, race-horses, &c., consume the produce of six millions of acres, which is nearly as much as is allotted for the support of the whole human population: since it must be remembered that these animals consume a great quantity of oats, which is the produce of tillage. We feed all in all about forty millions of cattle in England and Wales, with a population not amounting to sixteen millions: there are upwards of thirty millions of sheep to supply us with wool and mutton, and upwards of five millions of oxen for beef, &c. Yet one acre of land is capable of rearing six times more wheat than animal food, and ten times more potatoes than wheat. Thus there is a very great and unnecessary consumption of land occasioned, in part by our carnivorous propensities, and partly by the tithe system, which lays a tax upon tillage, and induces the farmer to give his land a great deal more rest than it requires; and partly, also, by the system of private property, which requires private capital for wages and manure to give justice to the soil. For these reasons, grazing has actually become of late to the farmer the most profitable method of treating the soil, although to the public at large it is an actual loss of several hundreds per cent.; for it has been calculated, upon good authority, that these islands might, with great ease, support a population of one hundred and twenty millions; some have even gone so far as to say that by cultivating the waste, as well as making a proper use of the good soil, we might support one hundred and eighty millions. Lauderdale calculated that nine millions of people might be supported upon 2,412,046 acres of land, on his plan of using a vegetable diet.

Mr. Smith observed, that animal food was a better and more stimulating nature than vegetable food, and not suitable for the in-

mates nor hot weather, and recommended, if not total abstinence, at least abstinence during the greater part of the summer months, when nature herself taught us, by the putridity which she produced on this species of food, that it was not the reason for feeding upon flesh. A very great benefit might accrue to the country at large from partial abstinence; but the evil is, that it would increase the revenues of the church, who would have their tithe of the increased vegetable produce; hence the necessity of an abolition of the tithe system.

Mr. Smith combated the objections of those who maintained that animal food was more suitable for the human constitution. Many nations confine themselves almost wholly to vegetable food; and the Irish, who live only on potatoes, are not only a strong and healthy people, but are even more valuable as day-labourers than the English themselves.

It was also shown, that by improving the soil, the air also might be vastly improved, and many noxious diseases be prevented, which arose from the earth by reason of neglect, just as vermin or disease will be generated by neglect of the human body. Cultivation is a species of cleanliness, and their effects on the general health of the system of the earth and the body are analogous. The lecturer alluded to various diseases of animal food and grain, which, no doubt, were occasioned by the ignorance and negligence of man, in particular to a disease to which rice is liable, which often occasions very severe plagues, and has of late years been the cause of much disease and death in our own country, into which our private traders, since the free trade has been opened with India, have introduced a great quantity of such rice as was formerly destroyed by the natives. There is a poisonous rind upon rice, which, if not properly cleaned off, renders the grain poisonous. The knowledge of this fact is of consequence to vegetable eaters, as many have already suffered severely from using cheap rice.

There are some animals evidently fitted by nature for the use of peculiar species of food. Thus, ruminating animals have an organization of stomach which is peculiarly necessary for grass and hay, and other vegetables which are difficult of digestion, and their intestines are much longer than those of carnivorous animals. The intestines of a sheep are thirty times the

length of its own body; those of a deer ninety-six times its own length; those of a wild cat three times only its own length; those of a man six times his length. Man is a sort of medium between the two; and hence it is argued, that man requires to live on both vegetable and animal substances; but all that we can argue from this is, that man is fitted by nature to accommodate himself to circumstances, and to subsist upon any species of food which he thinks proper to make use of; he ought rather to consult mercy and justice to his own species at large than the intentions of nature. Nature intends every thing at happiness. All is ordained, as the Christians say. Neither can we argue from the nature of a man's teeth, any more than from the nature of his stomach or his bowels; for as man was intended by nature to become a coo, and the ingenuity of cooks can bring forth every variety of consistency with vegetable matter, from the hardest sea biscuit down to the softest jelly, it is evident that man requires to be provided with both carnivorous and herbivorous teeth, in order to devour a piece of pastry. No argument, therefore, can be deduced either from teeth, bowels, or stomach, respecting the food that is most suitable for man. Experience demonstrates that both are nutritious, but vegetable food is more consistent with justice to himself and his fellow-creatures, inasmuch as it is more profitable, and more salubrious to the country at large.

We extract the following digression of the lecturer, which arose from the consideration of the possibility of improving both the soil and the atmosphere by vegetable diet, and a more judicious disposal of animal remains:—

Bones and ashes are extremely useful as manure in enriching the soil; so much so, that human bones are imported from Germany into this country, ground in Yorkshire, and employed by the farmer to promote vegetation; from which it appears that if the modern cannibals have abandoned the use of human flesh, they have been very glad to substitute the bones in its stead; and these bones are now making the circuit of the stomachs of the present generation, who are quite unconscious of the fact. This, perhaps, may shock the prejudices of many who hear it for the first time; but a very little reflection, I think, will convince them that it is the most generous and refined method of disposing of the remains of a human family other

animal body. It prevents putridity and corruption, and all the noxious consequences which result from them; and it banishes from the sight of the sensitive and the imaginative mind those dreary and fearful shrines of superstition and childish alarm, in the midst of which our village churches stand erect, as the gloomy sanctuaries of the king of terrors. These repositories of the dead have always been connected with religion and the house of God; and to these, no doubt, religion owes much of its fearful and appalling features. Our young minds, especially those who have been reared in the country, have always been accustomed to pass them with a sort of religious reverence, and no bribe or reward could induce the boldest youth to traverse a churchyard alone at midnight; nor can he even fearlessly pass it on the highway at witching time of night. Even the clearest moonshine, which lends such soft and silvery charms to rural scenery, and tempts the reflecting mind to wander out in solitude to admire the dim and shadowy prospect, is only an additional feature of terror upon the long lank grass, and gray moss-covered stones, which distinguish the surface of a burying-ground. And then the ideas that these places engender in the young, the ripe, and the aged mind! To tell a child that its father lies buried down below that clod, and there its mother, its sister, or its brother lies. What is the consequence? The natural consequence is, that it imagines a ghost, or some visionary solemn, unearthly substance, which frequents these repositories of the dead in a particular manner, and is seen at times by the solitary traveller, when a moonbeam glistens on the new gravestone, and makes the heart of the spectator leap to the roof of his chest. It is all quite natural. These churchyards are a species of schools, and many more go there for instruction than go to the churches, and many more are under their influence. They are pernicious things; they are the very shrines of superstition; and probably it may be one reason why we are more under the influence of superstition than the ancients were, that they consumed the ashes of the dead, whilst the Christians have consigned theirs entire to the grave. This also affords a reason why the inhabitants of large cities are less superstitious than the country people. They imagine from this that they have gained this advantage by reflection and wisdom: they are much mistaken; they have gained it by circumstances, and more frequently from the want of reflection upon the subject; for the idea is seldom presented to their mind in a city, and they never encounter any of the gloomy heart-thrilling sights which have been weakening the energies of the rustic mind from youth upward, and against the influence of which even the strongest judgment and the finest talents have striven in vain. We must get rid of churchyards before we get rid of superstition; and we cannot get rid of them in a more useful and profitable way, than in applying the ashes and the bones to the enriching and cultivation of the soil, scattering the remnants of the disorganized and lifeless body so effectually, that no one shall be able to say to a young mind, there lies the body of a man, or here in a particular manner is the house of the dead; one place will not be more frightful than another; all the surface of the earth shall be a church-yard, and fear will be subdued by the ubiquity or omnipresence of the cause which produces it. Men will ultimately see the propriety, as well as the profit, of resorting to this method of disposing of animal remains; and thus men will become cannibals at last, as their ancestors were at first. It is a species of refined cannibalism, without which the reproduction of the species must come to an end; for if we did not eat of the substance of dead bodies, the earth would soon be exhausted, and cease to supply us with food. It is a law of nature, that that which has life at present, shall live upon that which had life before. We must either eat vegetable or animal food, and both come from one source; they

are originally one substance, and have been over and over again converted into each other. Hence it is our duty to mix the dead with their kindred dust, and convert them into vegetation in the quickest manner; in doing so we not only produce more food for ourselves, but prevent that putrefaction whose exhalations impregnate the air, and generate disease and untimely death.

Thus we would convert all animal food into vegetable food, all bad soil into good soil, all bad air into good air, and the whole world into a churchyard, which, for the sake of distinction, we would call a church-garden, on account of the superior fertility and beauty which it would possess. This is the end of man; he must eat his own species at last; but it is his own species converted into vegetable food.

A PEEP INTO OLD SOCIETY;

Consequences of the new Sources of Wealth, and of the many Changes operated by Time in the Progress of Civilization.

NO. IV.

(Continued from page 78.)

There are now, I believe, in England about one million families receiving public or private relief, or both, either in poor houses from some parish funds, from friendly societies, or weekly allowances through the poor's-rates; that number, appalling as it may sound, and incredible as it may appear, when compared to the resources and productive powers of this country, is not, however, in itself the acmé of the evil. Time, allowed too long to pass unobserved over so many old acts of our polity, has made a frightful havoc in the 47th of Queen Bess, and the injudicious mode of relief has proved a curse upon society.

Formerly charity and religion linked together, proceeded hand in hand, directly from the rich to the poor; and I believe it to be still so, on the continent of Europe, among nations far behind us in point of mechanical manufacturing powers or national wealth. With these, all assistance to the destitute passes through the hands of the curé or pastor; in England, the unavoidable, but much-abused, system of poor-laws has totally separated old religion from old charity, and the most important of all the moral links of old society is now broken.

Rated on one side by law, the rich, ignorant of the hand that is to receive, has no direct call for benevolence; he pays, but with indifference, his share of the rate, coming as it must before or after the other taxes imposed upon him. The poor, on the other side, equally ignorant of the hand that bestows, has no direct object or cause for gratitude, and becomes indifferent as to his fate. Thus have been engendered a rancour or dread in the breast of the rated one, and a mawkish and dogged feeling in that of the pauper: with us nature is reversed—the heart beats false.*

Under these impressions, the question is not with me whether the parish funds will for ever continue to supply the increasing demand annually to be made upon it from the increasing number of paupers, but whether all the paupers can be expected for ever to receive with a morbid indifference what formerly was deemed a most humiliating and degrading allowance; which, already considered by them as their birthright, is deemed too small to satisfy all their wants? Whether, also, the persevering in the system that makes the present age that of exclusive accumulation, society does not run the risk and incur the reproach of preparing the next age to be that of plunder?

Morally speaking, our polity seems to have left

* The truth of these remarks is but too well substantiated by the "Information received by his Majesty's Commissioners as to the Administration and Operation of the Poor Laws." Published by authority, 1833.

unnoticed, for the last half century, nearly all those classes that had no realized capital or income, wherewith to pay taxes and duties, or to assist government in times of expediency, to meet a profitable expenditure. Can it be expected that civilization should ever become general and complete, because of the modern financial tactics which have rendered the revenue more certain and more easy to collect, by making it depend directly on the wants and actual hunger of the population? or because merely of mechanical improvements, that increase annually the quantity (not the value) of our products and of our exports? or because of cheap education to promote the march of intellect? I decidedly say no; for modern finances may work well, mechanism may exhibit wonders, and learning may be more diffused by being made cheap; yet general civilization will never follow under the present competitive system.

Funds may be raised for many thousand schools, we may boast of the rapid progress made at those schools by more than one million of boys and girls, and it may be well to promote education by all the means in our power; nothing more pleasing to the reflecting ear, nothing more satisfactory to the rational mind, and, above all, nothing more wanting to raise our national pride (for to our shame it must be admitted, that in point of national education, we rank far behind most of the northern and middle states of Europe); yet the effect of all those pleasing, satisfactory, and promising circumstances being to compel us progressively forward, the following questions naturally arise—

Will the fabric of society, in the present relative positions of want, labour, and wealth, keep steady on the march? Can our laws and regulations, our faith and our doctrines, grown old in the happy stagnation of bigoted ignorance (with no other claims to our respect but the singular one of their antiquity and consequent corruption), maintain their place in equipoise, as the rapidity of the movement is accelerated? Is not the social vehicle too unequally loaded, and too much encumbered with restrictions, monopolies, and artificial and useless lumber, to continue long in a safe direction?

Such questions are not, I think, beneath the notice of modern legislation. Under present circumstances, it is of the utmost importance to all interests to examine them well; for to undertake hastily and rashly the progressive journey of society, without first having considered that the end of radical reform is to obtain a new state of social existence totally different from the old, such as will no longer place any civil or religious obstacles in the way of pure, honest, and enlightened patriotism, is, I fear, running the risk of seeing all its parts disjoined, by the inevitable moral jostle of old notions against new principles.

It is indubitable, that under our modern system of finances and machinery, so congenial to the jobbing interests, to insurance companies, to corporations, to savings' banks, and to monopoly, they must all continue to increase in number with a certainty of success; and as it cannot be denied that such new productive sources of national pride, and of private exclusive wealth, have given to most of our modern capitalists and manufacturers new habits, new wants, and thereby new moral relations both with government and the community, in consequence of which numerous classes have been, as it were, thrown out of the social market, one would think that an observing and provident legislation, prepared for such contingent awful occurrence, might have provided for all the unemployed, not merely by increased allowances out of the poor's rates, but in such a manner as to make them useful to themselves at the same time that their labour should have been useful to the country at large, (as it always should be when the remuneration is at the expense of the public;) whereas it appears, on the contrary, that most of the labour paid out of the parish funds but

been of little or no value at all, if not for some private jobs—for instance:

"In the extensive agricultural parish of Lenthams, Kent, when labourers are out of employ, or only in partial employ, their wages are made up according to the following scale:—

Single man	3s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. per week.
Man and wife	10 0 "
Do. 1 or 2 children	12 0 "
Do. 3 "	13 0 "
Do. 4 "	14 0 "
Do. 5 "	15 6 "
Do. 6 "	17 0 "
Do. 7 "	18 6 "
Do. 8 "	20 0 "

"The labourers are sent to work on the roads if there is any thing to do; but they are paid according to this scale whether they work or not. The greater part of the work is unnecessary; besides the wages, tools are provided, and it is calculated that the value of the labour does not exceed the expense of the tools and carting. The average number of men thus paid and unemployed from November to May, is from 60 to 70. During the harvest they are mostly in employ; but if a man loses a day's work, he comes to the parish to have it made up.*

"In the parish of Kirdford, Sussex, 1823 persons, 16,000 acres, of which 3000 underwood, 4000 waste. In 1820, the number of unemployed married men did not exceed . . . 30
In 1828 it reached . . . 60
1830 the number was . . . 80
1831 ditto ditto . . . 85

and there seems every probability of an increase to this number. During last winter (1831-32) there were 118 able-bodied men, married and single, upon the parish."

The general opinion seemed to be, "that there is not more than sufficient labour in the whole parish for the proper cultivation of the land, but that the want of capital among the farmers prevents the employment of it on the land." The poor-rate has increased of late years; the amount paid by the farmer was, in 1823 . . . £2129
In 1832 . . . 4675

though the population of 1831 exceeds that of 1821 by 51 individuals only.

"In the parish of Pulborough, 1979 individuals, and 5424 acres; for above nine months of last winter (1831-32) there were 130 able-bodied men at parish work. Yet it is stated that this parish possesses no means of employing labour profitably; that the surface of the roads in many parts of Sussex is so good that it is said, that when a man finds a stone upon the road he must make a hole into which to put it.†

"The men who only work a limited number of days are under no control, and no inquiry is made as to their pursuits, occupations, or earnings, during the other days of the week; thus it appears that, although in many parishes the land is not cultivated as profitably as it could be if more labour was bestowed upon it, more and more money is each year thrown away upon useless employment.

"In the parish of Shipley, 1181 persons, 6700 acres, of which 6000 are arable; the greatest number on the parish (1831-32) was 133 men, and the average of six winter months was 108. Here farm of 320 acres had been taken by the parish, the rent of 60*l.*, which had been thrown out of cultivation by the excess of the rates (the land lying poor); but since, four other farms have been thrown up into the hands of the landlords, who are unable to find tenants for them.‡

What, not find tenants? not even under the protection of our Corn Laws, which press on the

whole population to uphold the monopoly of the landed interest! five farms thrown up in one small parish, and one of them rented for the unemployed able-bodied men! Need we go farther to show the tendency of the present anomalous and artificial state of society to a more natural and more rational system?

This artificial state of agricultural interest, supported by our laws, and yet not enough protected to afford productive labour to thousands of able-bodied men, is further illustrated by the Rev. H. P. Jenson's letter to the Commissioners, dated Molebury, Bucks, 4th January, 1833; in which he says, "that 60 years ago, there was but one person who received parish relief; but it should seem that the parish for many years past has been an over-burthened one, much increased within the last year by the land going out of cultivation, and the whole population of the parish (17) being thrown upon the rates. In fact, for some years the land was let only by means of the proprietor consenting to become guarantee to the tenant against more than a certain amount of parochial burthen; all above that amount to be considered in lieu of rent. At the present moment, some of the proprietors have confessed an intention to abandon altogether their property in the parish, rather than give themselves further trouble about it; the rates having more than swallowed up the rents.

"About October, 1832, the parish officers, not being able to collect any more funds, threw up their books, and from that time their duty has fallen upon myself; for the poor, left without any means of maintenance, assembled in a body at my door, whilst I was in bed, and applied to me for advice and food.

"My income being only 140*l.* a-year, rendered my means of relief very small; but my duty was to keep them from starving, and I accordingly commenced supporting them by daily allowances of bread, potatoes, and soup. In the meantime, I made eight or ten journeys to the magistrates at Petty and Special Sessions, and after a delay of three weeks, I succeeded in obtaining a 'rate in aid' for 50*l.* on Drayton, an adjoining parish."

Mr. Jenson added a statement, by which it appears that, though the population had but slightly increased since 1801, (having been then 122, and now only 139,) and though of those 139 only 101 have claim on Cholesbury, yet the poor-rates have in that time risen from less than 37*l.* a-year to 367*l.*; and as every diminution of cultivation has a double effect in increasing the rate on the remaining cultivation (the number of unemployed labourers being increased at the same instant that the fund for payment of rates is diminished), the abandonment of property, when it has once begun, is likely to proceed in a constantly accelerated ratio. Accordingly, it appears that scarcely a year elapsed between the first land going out of cultivation, and the abandonment of all except 16 acres.*

Now, reader, dost thou not think, with me, that that if the great Owen had been there, instead of the Rev. Mr. Jenson, Cholesbury would have been transformed the next morning into a little community, as an example for all parishes reduced to such forlorn situations? for how did the case stand? The tenants, we are told, one after the other abandoned their land and property; the parish officers, not able to collect any more funds, threw up their books. Well, and what then? Did the land lose any of its productive powers? On the contrary, land acquires more vigour from a temporary rest. Yet, on reflection, I believe that even the great Owen could not have succeeded; for the natural effect of that parish allowance is to destroy all energy of mind and body; and the majority of the once hardy and spirited peasantry of England, now fed and clothed

by daily or weekly allowance, out of the poor-rates (although under corn-laws-protected landlords), seem to have become indifferent and careless of its fate; and this is not mere assertion, for, in the parish of Great Shelford, Cambridge-shire—population 812, acres 2000—it is stated that, more or less, the whole of the men are now idle, dissolute, good for nothing, and yet the real masters of the parish. But here are Mr. —'s own words:—"Some time ago I offered a man who works for me, and is a good man enough, with a large family, an acre rent-free. I said, You have a large family coming on, and if one acre will be of any service to you for a garden, and to keep a pig or two, you are welcome to it; but he would not take it."

"Why, what did he say?" "He said, Thank you, Sir,—I should like it; but I should not like to give up my privilege on the parish. I said, Why if you have an acre rent-free, you must not expect the parish to allow you what it does now; then, he said, he would rather not have it."

"Do you think he felt any gratitude for you?" "No: I dare say he thought it was as broad as it was long."

"So that an act for which, in France or Switzerland, or Germany, a man would have gained the love and respect of all the neighbourhood, created mistrust instead of gratitude." "Gratitude! I am not aware that they ever feel grateful for any thing: when they are ill they send their basins here for soup or any other little delicacy they may want; we go to assist them, but they never behave better; they think every thing is their right."†

Now, Sir, there are some short-sighted, prejudiced persons, who appear to be scandalized at the labourer's want of gratitude on receiving parish allowance, or one acre of land rent-free, in lieu of it. I confess, for my part, that, so far from being scandalized, I find it quite in accordance with human organization; for what are in fact parish allowances, but another name for the wages of labour either tendered or actually given? And the right of every man to some reward for his labour, is undoubtedly a right of nature on this planet, which no human law can supersede.

Why do so many able-bodied men apply to the parishes for relief? Because the want of capital among the farmers prevents the employment of it on the land to the full extent that most of the lands actually require. And why does the amount of agricultural capital annually decrease? Because of the annual increase of the new sources of wealth not connected with manual labour, and which, offering better returns with more security, will naturally continue to absorb all capital. If, then, a labourer receives wages out of the parish fund with a morbid indifference, surely the fault lies not with him. The true cause will be found in what cannot be called otherwise than an indirect influence of the grand artificial system of modern society, in the progress of which many things have been egregiously overlooked. We have trifled too long with human nature; the scandal, if any, is not in the want of gratitude, but in the long-standing abuse of the borrowing and funding system on the plan of perpetual transferable annuities, supported by indirect taxation. There has been created a numerous class, who have the right to call on the Bank of England for a quarterly or half-yearly allowance. Does the Bank expect any gratitude from the fundholder for paying him his dividend? Surely not; because money has previously been given towards government loans. Why, then, expect any from the able-bodied labour-holder, who has actually given his labour to the parish, after having tendered it in vain to the landlords or farmers?

To me the cases appear to be nearly the same; the difference is only in position and de-

* See Extract on the Administration and Operation of the Poor Laws, pp. 2 and 3.

† Report on the Administration of Poor Laws, p. 63, 64, 65.

‡ Report on the Operation of Poor Laws, pp. 74.

* Report on the Administration and Operation of the Poor Laws, pp. 87 and 89.

* Report on the Administration and Operation of Poor Laws, p. 363.

gree; both rest on the same principles of justice and equity; only one belongs to the artificial state, the other to the more natural condition of man, who has only become demoralised from the moment that he has been paid for labour, which he knew to be neither wanted nor productive of any private or public good, because even provident nature has so organized man in relation with the productive powers of the earth, that if hope of success, combined with his bodily strength and activity of mind, should increase his courage with increasing toil; his heart, on the contrary, should sink, and strength and spirit fail him, the moment he should perceive his toil to be useless; nature has ordained that stimulus and utility should combine and assist each other, and as to pay for useless labour is the same in result and principle as to pay for no labour at all, the right to the allowance in the one case has been considered as good as in the other.

The question is now, whether demoralisation has gone so far among our agricultural labourers that that no amelioration is possible? I believe not. It is stated that about fifteen millions of acres are of uncultivated waste lands, but yet capable of improvement.

In England and Wales	5,160,000 acres
In Scotland	5,900,000 "
In Ireland	4,900,000 "

and it is almost incredible that with such resources at hand for the useful employment of millions of able-bodied men, so many abuses in the administration and operation of the poor-laws could have been collected as to fill 432 pages of the octavo volume, published by authority. Yet so it is. I understand that these fifteen million acres of third and fourth lands lying waste, but capable of improvement, are not cultivated, because the present burdenn of taxes, tithes, and poor-rates, will not allow of the farmer laying out the capital necessary to render such lands productive; that is to say, that probably the expense would exceed the return. Well, and what then? I beg leave to ask, whether so much arable soil should be allowed to remain totally useless, and eight or nine millions of poor-rates continue to be raised year after year, because merely such cultivation is not likely to increase the wealth of the landlords? It is now well known that, by a judicious transposition of soils, all poor lands can be rendered as productive as any other; and does it not lie within the control of a British parliament to qualify such useless property? to compensate, if necessary, the owners of all inferior lands; to make a new division, a new repartition of the same for the immediate location and labour of the many thousand families now reduced to parish allowances? Is it not possible that, under proper control and management, they should raise food over and above their own wants, even by moderate labour, such as might leave them time enough to improve their moral and mental condition?

We must hope that, ere the publication of so many appalling facts, the time has come at last for encouraging and supporting new associations and communities upon more rational principles, to be formed in different parts of England and Ireland, under the direction and control of the great and benevolent men who have repeatedly, I believe, rendered their disinterested service to the state. I sincerely believe, that in adopting such plans on a large scale, the number of our paupers would soon be reduced to half their present number; that most of them would then become useful to the country at large, by raising the productive powers of all the poor lands now left in waste; useful to themselves and families, by regaining their character of independence, now lost; and finally, that the poor-rate gradually reduced, would soon be confined to the relief of the old and infirm only, as it was originally intended.

Sept. 1832.

V. C. L.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received from T. P. a very severe philippic against Mr. Owen, which he could scarcely expect us to print. However, as we are very liberally disposed, we do not say we shall not; but the article shall be laid before Mr. Owen as soon as he returns, and shall either be published with an answer, or returned to the author.

The report of the quarterly meeting of the National Equitable Labour Exchange Association; and the result of the battle will be given in our next.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOV. 23.

We have received a letter from two parties, who have thought proper to anticipate the natural freedom of the two sexes, by entering into a marriage union, without the usual form which renders that union permanent and binding to both. We believe that the public have imagined that we give encouragement to such connexions. They are utterly mistaken. We have always disapproved of them in the present circumstances of society; and we do so upon the principles of justice and equality. Such unions as these are more unequal than legal marriages. They confer greater privileges upon the man than those to which marriage would have entitled him. Nothing, indeed, can be more binding than love whilst it continues; and nothing more trustworthy than honour in any honourable mind; but where both love and honour are wanting, or where they fail (and this is possible) the case of a simple and confiding female, who has sacrificed, for an individual, her good esteem in the eyes of the world is at present very hopeless. There is some respect acknowledged to be due to a woman who is deserted of her husband; but society has no pity for one who is forsaken of her gallant. He is acquitted; she is loaded with reproach, and stigmatized with infamy. Besides this, she is probably left with the burden of a family, whom she is unable to support by her own earnings, and with whom she may be left to struggle in pauperism, whilst the father is raising up another brood elsewhere. Women ought very coolly to calculate chances before they enter into such matrimonial engagements. They may be happy—happier than if the priest had yoked them. We could even imagine many reasons why greater happiness is to be expected from such an union; but there is one grand and all-absorbing argument which can be adduced against resorting to such practices at present; that is, that women, in the present state of things, are helpless; they are dependent upon men for support; they are not rewarded for their labour; and when they do find a sufficiency, it comes as a bounty from the men. As long as this political inequality lasts, we think it necessary, as a protection to the woman, that the man be legally bound to provide for her, after he has brought her into that state which

the world calls humiliation. A moral marriage is not so much an emancipation of woman as an emancipation of man. The man may leave the woman when he pleases, and find a substitute with facility; there is little injury done to his character by the deed; the world overlooks it, calls it "an affair," and vents all its indignation upon the unfortunate woman, who is the only victim. The man, therefore, is free; for if he has got a family, all that the mother can do for their behalf, is to swear them to her apostate partner, and obtain a weekly allowance of two or three shillings. The children all cling to the mother; whilst the means of supporting them belong to the father. She therefore is bound to the man by a tie, which is stronger than legal marriage itself; whereas, he is always tempted to desert, by the consciousness of freedom, the pleasures of release, and the pecuniary saving which it would effect. To a generous and noble mind, we allow, there would be no temptation of this kind; but noble minds are such rarities, and we are so frequently deceived by our partialities and affections, that we would most decidedly caution our female friends, at present, how they form such social connexions. We do not reproach our two friends, however, if they choose to act, and so to live. We wish them happiness, and hope they may not have occasion to repent.

Let the women show a little more zeal in the theory, before they attempt to practise it; the theory is all that we require them to encourage at present. A change in the marriage system is the very last object that we can effect, unless it be such a change as will entitle a man and woman to a divorce if both are agreed: this may be accomplished soon, and is quite enough; but a change which will entitle a man to desert a helpless woman with impunity, is a change against which we will resolutely contend.

We beg to call the attention of our friends in London to the Lectures of Mr. Detroisier, on Tuesday evenings at the Institution. Every one who has heard Mr. D. must admire the rapidity and power of mind which he possesses, and the simplicity, the beautiful, and intelligible manner in which he propounds his subject. We are sorry we have not an opportunity of giving a report of his lectures in the Crisis. If some kind friend, or Mr. D. himself, would furnish us with a select abstract, we should be happy to publish it.

FROM MR. OWEN.

Todmorden, Yorkshire, Nov. 10, 1833.

SIR,—I have not for a long time had any information from the National Equitable Exchange, No. 14, Charlotte-street; I am, of course, somewhat anxious, as you may suppose, as to the progress making in our great cause in the metropolis, and hope to hear of all that is interesting for me to know.

Since my last, inform our friends I have been too fully occupied in promoting our great cause in Yorkshire to have time to write particulars. Huddersfield is, in many respects, the centre of the operations of the working

men in this country, and I remained there from Sunday fortnight to Saturday evening, holding meetings with the Trades Unions, Co-operative Societies, and Commercial Orders, into which divisions and societies the productive operatives are now formed; and one of my chief objects was to unite all these into one common interest for their common benefit, that their strength might not be frittered away by these separate interests and sub-divisions. I hope I have succeeded. On Saturday week I went from Huddersfield to Leeds, and there I communicated with the Trades Union officers; I arranged matters for future proceedings. I spent some time also, both in Huddersfield and Leeds, in calling upon various master manufacturers, to sound them, with respect to the projected measures of the Trades Union, and to ascertain how far they could be induced to promote the great change contemplated in the mode of carrying on the business of the country in future by Labour Banks and Stores; on the principles under consideration in the Potteries; and it is likely many will be induced, by foreseeing the consequences of longer opposition to the men, to join their ranks.

I left Leeds on Tuesday to meet a party of our friends at Halifax, and there I opened our views, for the first time, to the leading men among the working-classes; and a very favourable impression, they told me, was made upon the minds of almost all who were present. The following morning, early, I had to go to Manchester, to meet Mr. Parr, who was coming from Ireland. We met, and I induced him to return the same evening, to Huddersfield, where there was a meeting to forward the measures proposed the preceding week, and to enlist in our cause some leading men who had taken an active part in promoting the Ten Hours' Bill. The next morning I came here by the way of Halifax, and I have remained with Mr. F. ever since, talking over all the measures that we can devise to change the wretched condition in which he says all the work-people are, his own among the number.

MONDAY MORNING, NOV. 11.—In Mr. F. I have found another fellow-labourer in the cause, whose aid will be of the greatest assistance to me in this part of the country. He takes a right view of the real condition of the working-classes, and he is for no half measures for their relief. I am just setting out for Bradford, to see another such character, a friend of Mr. F.'s, in the woollen trade, and I expect to be at Leeds to-morrow, and until Saturday; a letter, therefore, addressed for me to John Cawood, Esq., Ivy Cottage, Leeds, will find me, if sent by return of post or the following day.

Yours respectfully,

ROBERT OWEN.

Mr. S. Austin.

EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

We venture to prophesy that *servitude* will one day be as obnoxious to the increased intelligence and humanity of mankind, as *slavery* now is to the semi-barbarous sensibility of existing society; and that other Clarkson and Wilberforces will ere long arise, to arouse the minds and hearts of feeling men to a perception of the last blot in the social state, which must be removed ere the coming of that glorious period when man shall know no master but Truth, and fear no foe; where all are friends and brothers. Human society, in what are

called civilized countries, has passed through two grades in the career of improvement—1st. The extinction of *feudal slavery*, in which man was considered as a part of the soil to which he was attached, and passed from lord to lord with the acres on which he was, as it were, planted; and 2d. the extinction of *legal slavery*, in which man was, with the protection, if not with the approbation of the law, purchased by his fellow-man, after having been first kidnapped or stolen, and was employed in any manner suited to the wants and wishes of his too-often cruel owner. The extinction of both these enormities, the latter of which has but recently been accomplished, was brought about by the increasing intelligence and liberality of the respective periods. It is but justice to state, that the Christian religion, through many of its humane and benevolent precepts, was mainly instrumental in this noble work.

The last blot yet remains, the *social slavery* of man, or his dependence for the means of his support on the fluctuating value which is put upon his labour by the unwise and unjust arrangements of society. In the operation of this system men are divided into two great classes, the rich and the poor; the possessors of the power to command the labour of others, and the possessors of the labour alone so commanded; from which glaring distinctions have originated the greater number of the crimes, vices, and miseries with which society so alarmingly abounds.

Intelligence, which performs every good and great work for man, seems at present busying itself with this important subject. The working classes have happily acquired, to a great extent, the purifying knowledge; that every thing which it is desirable to have, can be acquired without the necessity of violence, and only so; and they are accordingly here and elsewhere forming themselves into unions, whose motto and practice is *Peace*. For their sakes, for their children's, for our own, and for the sakes of millions yet unborn, we conjure them to gird themselves with the armour of intelligence, and fight the battle with the weapons alone of truth and justice. There is too holy a cause to require the polluting aid of physical force, violent passion, or uncharitable recrimination. Let them be true to themselves and to each other, and they may banish all fear as to the result. What intelligence shall accomplish, intelligence will protect. These observations have been suggested by the republication of a pamphlet, written by an American bootmaker, entitled "An Address to the Members of Trades Unions," &c. The pamphlet was first introduced to the notice of the English public by Mr. Owen, by whom it was highly extolled. An edition was subsequently published by a most valued friend of co-operation, and was speedily disposed of. To Mr. Watson, the enterprising publisher of many useful and interesting works, adapted especially for the consideration of the working-classes, are we indebted for the present extremely cheap and handsome edition; and we notice his name with the greater pleasure, on account of some valuable remarks which he has appended to the work in the shape of a dedication to "working men." He says,

"Avoid excesses of all kinds. Be moderate in your proceedings, and check all tendency to violence of any sort; for your enemies only want a pretext of this kind to put an end to your union. You are physically strong, and if your force be wisely managed, you can effect

a change in the institutions of society such as the world never yet witnessed. * * * With you, the labourers of England, resteth the manner in which this social renovation shall be effected; if wise, you will change it without molesting the person or property of a single individual: if unwise, you will remain indifferent until the weight of its own iniquity shall, by violence, be dashed into ten thousand pieces."

The author of the pamphlet commences by proving undeniably that "the grand and principal cause" of the present impoverished condition of the working classes is "solely a general want of information among the mass of the people relative to the true nature of what they possess their rights and interests." He constitutes to show, in forcible terms, that men labour under a most gross delusion in supposing that money constitutes wealth. "We might," says he, "as well take the representation of a horse or cow, or any other animal, for the thing itself." He enters upon a bold and fearless examination of the various classes of society, exhibiting in plain terms the too-much-lost sight of truth that the working-classes, including both the actual manual labourers and the mental planners, are the creators of all the wealth in the world.

Our space will not allow us to quote more than the following admirable piece of co-operative philosophy, from the concluding chapter:—"Think not that I condemn them; they act composing these classes; I do not, men act from the same motive, that we and all of us, if from; the desire of happiness. Any one placed exactly in their situation, possessing their views and feelings, and dependant for enjoyment on their resources, would most assuredly act as they do." It is not, therefore, the individuals composing these classes that I blame; it is the circumstance that society is founded upon a system of divided and conflicting interests, by which each individual's pursuit after happiness becomes one continual struggle against the happiness of all around him!

The work is most worthy the attentive perusal of all men of the working classes, because it points out to them their real importance in the scale of society, and exhibits to them a most practicable mode of alleviating their misery to the friends of those injured classes, because it repays them most amply for all past exertions, and encourages them to fresh efforts by the earnest here afforded of what a working man can do towards his own emancipation; and lastly, to the wealthy and non-working class, by showing them that it is only by altering the foundation on which society rests, and making it more firm, that the "Corinthian pillars" of the state can be saved from mingling in one common ruin with the ill-built and tottering fabric. CHARLES ROSSER.

November 12, 1833.

EQUALITY.—All civil distinctions disappear before a thinking being. He sees the same passions, the same ideas, pervade the mind of the peer and the peasant; a gloss only is discernible in the language and appearance of the one, which the other does not possess. If any difference distinguish them, it is to the disadvantage of him who wears a mask. The people show themselves as they are, and they are not amiable; the great know the necessity of disguising themselves; were they to exhibit themselves as they are, they would excite terror.

COMMUNITIES;

Addressed to the numerous Professors of the Social System, particularly to those who assume to be the best qualified in the Formation and Establishment of Communities.

"While we have time, let us do good unto all men, and specially unto them that are of the household of faith."—Gal. vi. 10.

"Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works."—Matt. v. 16; or, *Old Christianity.*

Our friend, your correspondent in last week's *Crisis*, J. H., in his address to the advocates for immediately establishing communities, asks, in the first place, "What means do they take to establish them? Do they think," he adds, "that meeting and debating once or twice a-week, and subscribing money according to individual desire, &c. &c., will establish one rational community?" He says, further, if we did really understand Mr. Owen's definition of a community, we should see the impossibility of establishing, at present, any sound or wise arrangements for commencing a community. After our friend has indulged himself in talking about "Moonshine," &c., he states that all attempts must fail, unless the mental, moral, and physical powers necessary to insure success are in existence. Now, it is with a conviction that these last-mentioned powers are already in existence, to a certain extent, that our faith (the members of the Social Community) is so strong in believing that we can establish communities. We are not quite such visionaries, as to suppose that these communities will be the very acmé of perfection, nor do we suppose that the present race of human beings (in the mass) are likely to become the characters requisite to qualify them as fit companions for the inhabitants of a community some two or three centuries to come. We have not much faith in miraculous intervention, and we therefore conclude there must be a beginning; and we know, furthermore, that the communities we have in view, *although imperfect*, will be a considerable improvement on the competitive state, and we have therefore determined to accomplish our end. For the information of J. H. and our friends who think us in error, however, I will state what means we have taken, what we have in prospect, and the success which has already crowned our feeble efforts; and shall leave it to J. H., particularly as a Socialist, to practise his motto in conjunction with those at the head of this address, which would, no doubt, redound to the benefit of the whole of the "faithful," of course himself included. In the formation of the Social Community, the first step was to obtain the names of all (if possible) of the professed Socialists. A book was opened for the purpose of receiving the signatures of those who declared it as their conviction "that the character of every human being was formed *for*, and not *by* the individual; and also declaring that they would act up to that declaration. Of course this is implying (at least with the thinking part of those signing), that although the circumstances which had surrounded each individual from birth to maturity were erroneous and vicious, and they consequently must partake of that character also, yet there was a possibility of *controlling*, if not of removing these vicious circumstances, by the moral co-operation of those who were really imbued with the principles of the Social System. We may here take another precept from "Old Christianity," "By their works shall ye know them," as a ground of hope in accomplishing the task of ascertaining—Who are the persons really imbued with these principles? After having obtained the names of a considerable number of the professors, we commenced a plan of organization and classification of districts, trades, names, &c.; dividing the numbers into local classes

throughout the whole of the metropolis, not merely for the purpose of "meeting, debating," &c.; but for the purpose of practising in these localities as well as preaching co-operation, every member of each class was to be furnished with a list of all the members residing in his neighbourhood, with the trade or profession annexed to each name, thereby giving them the opportunity of rendering (even in the competitive state) services and kindness to each other; it furnishes, in fine, at all times the opportunity of practising *equality*; a desideratum "devoutly to be wished" as a powerful instrument for the destruction of *individuality*.

Our next step, also in conjunction with the plan of organization, was for each class to appoint a superintendent, these to form the council or executive government *pro tem.* of the community; and therefore our friend J. H. will not, I am sure, describe our society as the plan or opinion of Mr. A. or Mr. B. Each superintendent reports every week the "works" of each member of his class, which report is reserved, and the particulars recorded in a book kept for that purpose. All new members can only be admitted through the medium of the class in which they reside, and must be proposed and seconded by members of that class; each member is probationary for nearly three weeks. Our members are thus divided into eighteen classes, each class being represented in the council by its own delegate. The society has a secretary, corresponding secretary, treasurer, and registrar, all of whose services are rendered *gratuitously*. Our prospects are to establish schools and lecture-rooms in the district of each class, and also to establish branches in every town in the kingdom, to employ the unemployed, relieve and visit the sick; and finally, to adopt, first, the orphan, and ultimately the offspring of the members, as the children of the community. With respect to the success that has attended us, I need only mention, that in the council of delegates there has never yet been a single dissent amongst them; nor has one of those delegates given the least dissatisfaction to his constituency. Our funds are ample. We have a branch at Manchester, and the prospect of one at Liverpool, together with the cheering prospect of a steady, increasing revenue, proceeding from a system of complete organization, which we believe will eventually enable us to create such circumstances as we shall all, our friend J. H. included, be glad to exchange for the wretched, competitive, individualized state in which we are all so deeply involved.

In conclusion, I will add, that we have acted and shall always act upon the best plan which our collective information will supply in the attainment of our end, having adopted J. H.'s recommendation, in taking Nature as our guide. We may, it is true, err in the interpretation of her language; but will our friend follow up his "caution," by furnishing us with a true interpretation thereof? or will he, while he cautions us that we are wrong, put us in the right way? Truth being the deity we bow to, he may rest assured that her presence would be hailed a welcome visitor amongst us, even if introduced by the founder (if founder it had) of the competitive system—and a more demoniacal character, I should presume, I could not introduce by name to the Socialist.

Our friend may also be assured, that it is the wish of the Social Community not to "mistake the real power and qualities of mind and morals" they possess, but to direct those qualifications in the erection of a practical beacon of the principles of the Social System, to which we can point in directing the wanderers of the old system. This is the elevation we seek, and the endeavour to merit the title we have assumed, namely, "the Moral Union of the Friends of the Rational System of Society," our highest ambition.—I remain, Sir, By direction of the Council of the above Society,
Nov. 12, 1833.

R. M.

TO MR. AUSTIN.

SIR AND BROTHER,—I am sure that our friends in London will feel pleased in my communicating to them any occurrence in which I am certain they feel an interest in conjunction with their brethren in Manchester. On the 6th (Sunday morning) I received a letter, and a prospectus of a sale of land in the Isle of Man, from our friend Mr. Finch, of Liverpool. He was at Preston at the time, and knew of the intentions of our friends at Manchester of situating themselves in an incipient community as soon as any thing offered itself likely to answer their purpose. This knowledge, and also his acquaintance with the locality of the Isle of Man, made him think 'it a favourable opportunity for them to embrace; and should they not be able to purchase at the present, he thought they might rent it advantageously. After having shown the letter to our friends, they held a meeting of the members of the community company on the same evening, after the conclusion of the lecture, and they determined on sending two of their members over to the island to make all inquiries necessary. They met again on Monday evening, and finally determined, and Messrs. Smith and Ashton were appointed for the purpose. Another friend, Mr. Kershaw, voluntarily accompanied us, and all went to Liverpool on the following afternoon, and there met with our friend Mr. S—, of London, who would have gone with us, but some circumstance prevented him, although he had packed his things to go with us. There being no packet for the island till Thursday, we went on board of the steamer for Glasgow, and the captain promised to land us on the Isle of Man. We arrived there about four o'clock on Thursday morning, and after he had fired the signal for a boat to come off for us, none made its appearance; the sea was very rough, and it being high tide he considered there was danger. We offered to go ashore in the ship's boat, so anxious were we to gain a landing even at the risk of our lives; but the captain declared it was impossible for us to get there without extreme danger of our lives, for which he held himself responsible; therefore, necessity compelled us to desist, and we proceeded on to Greenock, where the vessel stayed for two hours. I went on shore, and took a run in the town, where I discovered a placard in the window of a shop, stating a course of lectures on the new science of society by Mr. Campbell. This was good news for me; I begged the placard of the shopkeeper, and hastened away to my companions in the vessel; and the manner in which I expressed my delight on the occasion surprised my friends, who humorously asked me if I was in my senses. When they understood me, they were as pleased as myself. I determined to stop there that night, and go to the lecture, and my friends proceeded on to Glasgow. I attended the meeting in the evening, and was delighted to find it so well and respectably attended. As there was to be a discussion after the lecture, I waited till I had an opportunity to speak, when I asked if a stranger from England would have the liberty of saying a few words? This was replied to unanimously, and my sentiments being in unison with the lecture gave them additional pleasure. I requested any person who had any objection to the new system, as explained by our lecturer, to ask any questions; I would reply to them to the best of my ability, and I had no doubt I should give them satisfaction. It was accordingly responded to, and a very interesting meeting took place. The reply to the question gave much satisfaction. The meeting was continued to a late hour with much spirit and good temper, and nothing would satisfy them but I must give them a lecture on the following evening, to which I agreed, and they issued the enclosed placard, which I send to you as extraordinary. I had told them of my mission to the Isle of Man, to purchase or hire land for an incipient community for the friends in Manchester;

but they told me I had done more good by being accidentally forced among them, than if I had bought two Isles of Man. Therefore, they hoped we should become better acquainted with each other as brothers and friends. They were very anxious that the present state of things should be altered; and the new system offered the best and only remedy known to them; they desired to have communication with our friends in Manchester as often as convenient. Kindred feelings make instant friends; Mr. Campbell was a brother instantly (he had been an inmate of Orbiston Community), and I went with him to Paisley, &c., and proceeded on to Glasgow. During my stay at Greenock, my two friends, Messrs. A. and K. proceeded to Glasgow, where they also met with a similar circumstance to myself, which gave them great pleasure. They found the streets placarded with information that a course of lectures would be given on the New Age of Harmony and Truth, by a lady (Mrs. Hamilton—inclosed is the placard), they accordingly attended, and were much interested and pleased at the meeting. They both spoke at the meeting, and were received with great delight by the audience. Mrs. Hamilton is making a tour through the principal towns of Scotland, advocating the cause of truth in a bold and fearless manner. Her appearance is impressive, her elocution persuasive, she commands respect and attention, and much good must be the result of her lectures, &c.

When any accidental circumstance turns me from purposes I had designed, I usually exclaim, "Tis all for the best!"—so it seems it is in this case. It has brought us into an acquaintance with some of the best friends of our cause, and we all felt delighted in the friendly intercourse with each other. Our introduction to the lady was all that could be expected, pleasant and agreeable, and she has promised to visit us at Manchester, in a few weeks, when she has finished her tour through Scotland. We also met with two gentlemen of great respectability, who have embraced our cause; one a Mr. Rogers, of ———, who has been an able and enthusiastic promoter of Temperance Societies, a person of great intellectual acquirements and abilities, and much respected; also, a Mr. Douglas, who gave us some useful information respecting the manners, customs, impositions, and localities of the Isle of Man.

Our friends attended us to the vessel on our return, were reluctant to part with us, and gave us a hearty adieu; they waved their hands and handkerchiefs till we could hardly discern them. We arrived at Liverpool on Sunday morning, about eleven o'clock, spent our time till the afternoon with our friend, Mr. S., who has undertaken to make all inquiries about the estate in the Isle of Man of the agents at Liverpool, and, if necessary, be will proceed to the island, to get every information necessary. We arrived in Manchester at six o'clock in the evening; our friends were all very anxious about us, as they had not received any information of us since we left them. We did design, and had written letters for them, but we found we should arrive before the letters, so we brought the letters and ourselves at the same time. Our friends were well pleased to see us arrive safe. We attended the lecture at the school-room directly, and after the conclusion of the discussion I gave the audience an account of our proceedings, in which they felt much interested. Our two friends met the community company in the upper room, and detailed to them every particular that had occurred since they had left them. Although they regretted the loss of the information about the estate, yet they could not but feel well pleased at the circumstances that had taken place; they felt happy that we were all safe, and were satisfied that we had done our duty to the utmost of our power, for which they returned us their gratitude and thanks.

Their hope is now on the information to be acquired by our friend, Mr. S., on whom they rely

with perfect confidence. His visit to Manchester, a few weeks ago, gained for him their esteem and respect; they found him a sincere and ardent friend to the cause, and a strenuous promoter of the establishment of communities.

I am in hourly expectation of a letter from him, or of seeing him personally.

I have just received our friend's letter; he informs me that the estate sold for 1008*l.*, to Mr. Holmes, Banker, of the island, who bought for another gentleman; but the agent at Liverpool says it is still in the market, and wishes us to send some person over to the island to inquire of the parties, and to see the estate. The letter will be laid before the community company to-night for their consideration.—Your brother co-operator.

JOSEPH SMITH.

Manchester, Oct. 15, 1833.

[We would have published this letter sooner, but it has come to hand only this week. It is interesting, because it makes us acquainted with the existence of a spirit of rational reformation in North Britain. We no way regret the course which the wind compelled our friends to pursue—a very friendly wind it was. The Isle of Woman and Mrs. Hamilton's lectures in the north, were a very agreeable substitute for the wilderness of Man. We hope to hear more of this "FREE WOMAN." We by no means discourage our friends from their projects in Man, however. We are not prepared to opine upon the subject.]

The following is the first bill alluded to in Mr. Smith's letter:—

"EXTRAORDINARY MEETING.

Owing to the extraordinary interest which was manifested last night at Mr. A. Campbell's lecture on the New Social System, by the unexpected appearance of Mr. Smith from Manchester, and as the meeting expressed a wish to have another opportunity to hear Mr. Smith answer the objections made by some of the audience, an extraordinary meeting will be held this night, in the Unitarian Chapel. Chair to be taken at eight o'clock.—To defray expenses, twopence will be charged for admission.

"Greenock, October 11, 1833."

The other is as follows:—

"COURSE OF LECTURES BY A LADY,

"Truth shall restore the light of nature given,
And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of heaven."

CAMPBELL.

"When the electric truth shall run from man to man, then all those blood-cemented pyramids of greatness shall fall before its flash."—SOUTHEY.

"Mrs. Hamilton, a female reformer, who is on her tour through Scotland, and has addressed numerous and respectable audiences, of both sexes, in several of the principal towns in the west, will deliver her first lecture in this place, on the New Age of REASON and HARMONY, showing the demoralized and disorganized state of British society, the necessity of a change, and how we may help forward the glorious moral revolution that will emancipate the world from poverty and crime, and have the beautiful principles which nature has engraven in our breasts, enshrined in our political institutions; also, arguments founded on the New Science of Phrenology, proving the necessity of Female Emancipation.

"Doors to be open at half-past seven—Lecture to begin at eight.

"Tickets, 6*d.* each, that will admit a gentleman and lady to the front seats."

SCIENCE.—The telescope is the moral cannon that has laid in ruins all those superstitions and phantoms that tormented the human race. It seems as if our reason has been enlarged in proportion to the immeasurable space that has been discovered and traversed by the sight.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Permit me, through the medium of the *Crisis*, to state that it is not my intention to be the cause of any contested election for the office of Superintendent of the Labour Exchange, simply because I am no place-hunter, and sincerely dislike competition. My reasons for declining the office are many and, I think, good. I am ready also to state them to any of our friends who may do me the kindness to enquire of me; but, as I wish not to show our enemies any cause of triumph, by seeing disunion among us, I trust my drawing the veil over the many idiosyncrasies of mind I have had to contend with, will give proof of my having made some progress in rational practices; but, in justice to myself, I openly appeal to all who know me, or have observed my conduct while in office, whether any one measure which I have been the means of getting put into practice, or that I have advocated in the Committee, can be proved to be bad, or not to have worked well? The Exchange, under all the difficulties it has had to contend with, has prospered up to the moment of my resignation: it remains for those who think themselves clever to go on, now many of the difficulties are removed, and prove by results the wisdom of their actions. For myself, having an interest in my existence—viz. to be happy,—I find it not agreeable to my nature to be in the hot waters of contention; yet am I ready to co-operate with any of our friends who have profited by the lessons often presented to our view by our founder. "We must be born again," before we can know what happiness is; again, "Try all things, prove all things, and hold fast that which is good."—Hoping things will yet go well with us, I remain, with respect, their brother of the working class,

JOHN HENDERSON.

Nov. 17, 1833.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I take the liberty of inquiring of you, whether in the Institution, whose interests you advocate in your valuable paper, there is any arrangement for the admission of those persons who are not actual producers. I am induced to ask this question, from a knowledge, that a great part of our population are not producers, or established in any business; but have been forced by circumstances, which they could not possibly control, into employments uncongenial to their inclinations; by necessity, and not from choice, have they been compelled to embrace occupations, in which, by the corrupt workings of the old system of society, their fairest prospects have been blighted, and many are now in as great distress as the poorest labourer, and generally destitute of even the means which the labourer possesses.

If Mr. Owen's system aims at universality, it will, of course, include all the suffering classes of the community.

By devoting a line in your next number to the answer of the above question; and, if no such arrangement is made, whether any such is intended to be made, you will much oblige, Sir, a sincere well-wisher to the new system,

J. W.

10, Plumtree-street, Bloomsbury,

Nov. 12, 1833.

[In answer to the above, we observe, that every man is a producer at present who is in employment. It is not the fault of individuals that there are so many useless or pernicious occupations; it is the fault of the system. We even regard a lawyer as a producer, because he is doing work, which, under the present arrangements, must be performed. All parties are welcome amongst us, even idlers; we want the countenance and patronage of the public, and the public are composed of both the industrious and the indolent: the indolent are

made by officials; we do not blame them, but we hope to cure them. Our friend is evidently not an idler if he is forced to employ himself in a way which is ungenial to his nature; he is still busily engaged in supporting himself and his family. Even a livery-servant who stands behind his master at dinner is a producer: he produces wages; and if his be an employment which we wish to discontinue, still we receive as a brother the man who fulfils the office by the force of necessity. Let our friend come amongst us; he will find many like himself, who belong to no particular department; but they may rank in the miscellaneous department if they choose, or go free if they have a mind.]

Police.

LAMBETH STREET.—THE HUMANE (?) MAGISTRATE AND THE STARVING WOMAN—Among the crowd of shivering and half-starved applicants for relief who came before Mr. Walker, was a young woman named Sarah Phipps, with an infant in her arms. She stated that her husband was a soldier in the Foot Guards, and was at present in the hospital at Rochester-row, Westminster. At Christmas last, just before her confinement, her husband refused to maintain her any longer, alleging that he was unable to do so. During her accouchement she was "half-starved," but as soon as she was able she endeavoured to support herself and babe by working at the straw trade. She had applied repeatedly to her husband, who only laughed at her. She also went to the commanding officer; but her husband denied her, and said he had never been married, although she produced the certificate of her marriage at Epsom, of which place she was a native, and to which she now wished to be passed. To add to her distress, the infant was seized with an inflammation in the eyes, and entirely lost its sight. Mr. Walker: What do you do for a living? Applicant: There is no work at my business in the winter! Well, we can do nothing for you now. I have been to Q. court; and was told that, as I lived in Whitechapel, I should come here. Then you must go to your husband. Is it of no use; he jeers at me and makes his comrades laugh at me. I am starving, and have no means of getting food for my child. Look, that's all that! Am I to have no relief? Am I not to be passed? No, go away.—The woman here laid the child upon the floor, declaring that as the child was born in Whitechapel she would leave it there. She would not take it away to send it to death. Mr. Walker: If you leave the child here I will send you to prison. Applicant: Don't say that; I would rather go there. You may send me if you like. Let her go if she likes.—The door was opened by the beadle, and the woman went out of the office, but remained under the wall trying to make herself heard. At length her maternal feelings induced her to return, but she still persisted in not going away without relief. She said she had not a penny in the world, but any thing to make a penny, and both she and her child were literally starving. Mr. Walker: Oh, that is not the way you are only trying to impose upon me. Applicant: There is my stone-blind child, and here am I. Look at my child, it is as blind as I. What can I do?—I and my wife satiated but your child is one of hundreds in position, and only one person can see it? This appeal to the bystanders in the office was answered by some gentlemen putting their hands in their pockets and giving the woman a shilling or two. She was then put out by Mr. Walker's orders, and the beadle carried the child after her.

[The above Police report is only a specimen of the numerous proofs which are daily given to the wretched condition of our unfortunate species, and the deplorable shifts to

which they are reduced to gain even a starving. All this, too, arises from the laws of protection. The protecting system is instituted to preserve the feelings of the rich as well as their property. Their nervous system must not be affected; no deplorable objects of compassion must appear in public, they must retire to the holes and corners of the city, and there die, "unrespected, unpitied, unreprieved." Distress is a public nuisance; not the existence of distress, recollect, but the sight of it. And the principal object of many of our peace officers is merely to hide it from the public eye, that it may not be generally known to the respectable classes that there is any distress in the country; for these are so tender in their feelings that they are sure never to seek out the wretched victims of poverty. They cannot bear the sight of them, it wounds their humanity so deeply. The old world is certainly committing suicide; it is acting in the way which is, of all others, most likely to accomplish its own dissolution; it is exasperating the feelings of the people if it is attempting to screen the feelings of the rich; and the more zealously it attempts to screen the favourites of fortune from the nuisance of public misery, the more wrath it is heaping up against them, which will ultimately burst with dreadful vengeance.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I am requested to furnish you with the addresses and times of meeting of the classes of the Moral Union during the week, desiring their insertion in the *Crisis*. R. PORTBURY, Sec.

- A 4, Blue Anchor-lane; Old Ford-lane; on Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock.
 B 61, Ewer-street, Lambeth; on Friday at 8.
 C Community Coffee-house, John-street; on Tuesday at 8.
 D 5, Little Howard-street; on Friday at 8.
 E Community Coffee-house; on Friday at 8.
 F 20, Little Harcourt-street; on Thursday at 8.
 G Chapel, Bowling-square, Whitecross-street; on Friday at 8.
 H Palmer's Coffee-house, Silver-street, Finsbury-square; on Friday at 8.
 I 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn; Tuesday at 8.
 K 33, Duke-street, Wardour-street; on Friday at 8.
 L 14, Moor-street; on Monday at 8.
 M 38, Potland-street; on Thursday at half-past 7.
 N Coffee-house, next door to the Kingsbridge Chapel; on Friday at 8; and on Sunday morning at 9.
 P 69, Upper Seymour-street; on Monday at 8.
 Q 77, Upper-street; on Monday at 8.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT—ENDING NOV. 9.			
Deposits	7,880 1/2	Exchanges	7,555 1/2
INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
Commission	16 8 1/2	Provisions	77 10 10
Rent Sub.	4 14 6	Festival	10 9 0
Grocery	23 10 2	Lectures	2 7 2
Lectures	15 5 5	Grocery	25 6 4
Provisions	111 6 11 1/2	Coals	5 7 6
Coals	22 2 10	Wages	20 15 0
Festival	20 12 5	Charges, including repair of premises	12 15 9
Charges	1 15 1		
	215 16 4		184 9 5

Stock, goods on hand 59,231 1/2 5s.
 Notes now in circulation 77,555 1/2 0

Excess Stock over Notes 2,676 1/2 0
 Vouched by the Managing Committee,
 JAMES BATES, Chairman.
 The balance of Income and Expenditure will be given as often as it can conveniently be made out.

LECTURES, &c., NEXT WEEK.

Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, Sunday morning, at half-past 11, by the Rev. J. E. Smith, and evening, at 7.
 Sunday afternoon, at 3, the members of the Social Community.

Wednesday evening, Social Community.—Question: "What are the immediate advantages and future prospects of the Trades' Unions now forming in England, France, Germany, and America?"

Thursday evening at half-past 7, the Trades' Delegates.

Friday afternoon, at 4, the Female Association.

Mr. Detrouer will lecture on Tuesday evening.

A General Meeting of the Miscellaneous Department will take place on Friday evening, Nov. 29th, at eight o'clock precisely, to receive the Report of the Committee appointed at the last Meeting; and on other most important business.
 W. R. WOOD, Sec.

We are informed that the Society for the Dissemination of Useful Knowledge will hold a Public Meeting on Sunday next, in the Chapel, Bowling-square, Lower Whitecross-street. Doors to be opened at Two in the Afternoon.

The Provisional Committee appointed by Congress (see *Crisis*, vol. iii. p. 64), will meet on Tuesday Evening next, at Seven o'clock, at Mr. Presley's, Community Coffee-house, John-street.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Members of the Association will be held on Monday Evening, Nov. 25, at 8 o'clock, for the election of Superintendent and of Watchman.

THE ATLAS UNSTAMPED SHEET ALMANACK, beautifully Printed on a large Sheet of thick Vellum Paper, containing all the most necessary information appertaining to Almanacks. The ATLAS contains also a Victorious Calendar, containing upwards of 365 Battles gained by British Arms, being a Conquest for each day in the Year—a useful document for reference.

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Also the **LONDON PADDOY'S WATCH ALMANACK**. Price One Penny.

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Also, **LORD BROUGHAM'S Penny Almanack**, for the year 1834.

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ANTICHRIST, or Christianity Refuted; being a series of Discourses written and delivered by the Rev. J. E. SMITH, M.A.; in which is demonstrated from the Scriptures, in opposition to the prevailing opinions of the whole religious world, that evil and good are from one source; Devil and God one Spirit; and that the one is merely manifested in unlike perfect the other.

Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields. Of whom also may be had

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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 24.

Mr. Smith lectured on "CRIME."

Viewing crime in the abstract, there is no evil in it; in fact, it has rather proved beneficial, and has been one of the stimulants which have stirred up our legislature to make any concessions, to which they have reluctantly acceded. It is quite necessary to keep up the balance of the old system of society. To suppress crime under the old system, you must make all men slaves; you must have such an all-searching police as will pry into your inmost chambers, workshops, and counting-houses; which, in fact, should control all your private movements, and inspect both your persons and your property. If men are willing to submit once more to this species of slavery, then it may be possible to suppress what is called crime in the common people; but as these days are all over, and the people are resolved to be no more subjects, then, I say, it is impossible to prevent crime in any other way than by giving the people their just share of the produce of labour, and bringing down the aristocracy to a level with the rest of the population. Until this is done, crime will always prove a national blessing, for the tendency of all crime is to lower the heads of the aristocracy; and this produces a sort of approximation to equality which would not otherwise exist.* Thus, we will suppose that the aristocracy are deprived, by fraud and violence of different kinds, of 5,000,000. of money yearly; then this is so much power taken out of their hands and distributed amongst the people; for all power resides in money, and all tyranny is effected by it. But then, it may be replied that this money had been better applied, if, instead

of being abstracted by fraud from the aristocracy, it had been employed by them in giving encouragement to productive industry; but then, the more directly money comes from the hand of a rich man, the more authority he directly exercises, the more he is tempted to defend the proud claims of aristocracy, and the less able the working-man is to contend against him; besides the money of which the swindler deprives him would not be spent on raising necessities, but on raising luxuries; for it is very little of a rich man's income that is spent on the necessities of life: all the surplus of his wealth must be spent upon luxuries. Suppose a man with ten thousand a-year is yearly deprived by trickery of one thousand; this thousand, if he could preserve it, would be devoted to the purchase of some idle or luxurious enjoyment; perhaps he would keep another livery servant, who himself is an idler; perhaps he would keep another horse, which will consume as much of the produce of the earth as will support two or three families; perhaps he would have another country villa, and a large garden or inclosure, which would deprive the poor man of so much more victuals as might be produced by the rich soil which he has appropriated merely for pleasure. This thousand pounds might be wasted in such a way as not to profit, but really to injure, the interest of the community; but some crafty lawyer cheats him out of it; his agent embroyles a part of it; his tradesmen overcharge him; a thief purloins the contents of his pocket, or a swindler forges his name, and draws upon his banker. These fellows do not keep horses, they do not inclose new land for pleasure, they do not keep livery servants and packs of hounds; but many of them have wives and families, and all of them feed upon necessities, and thus give encouragement to agricultural industry and productive labour; and thus the thousand pounds which is wheedled out of the hands of the rich squire does more good to the country than if he had it all at his own disposal, or laid it out in inclosing large parks for keeping deer, and paying the salaries of a gamekeeper and a livery-servant.

Again, let us take another example. There are, upon an average, about 1900 patents for inventions and discoveries always in force; these patents are exclusive privileges to the

proprietors to make and sell the privileged article. Many of these articles are mere trifles, and many of them have an extraordinary and lucrative sale. Were this sale to continue undisturbed, the consequence would be that those who now make fortunes, would make larger fortunes; the system of monopoly would be promoted, and its evils mightily increased; but much of this evil is saved to the public by dividing the profits between the patentee and the impostor, who abstracts a part of the other's income, and preserves a greater equality than there could exist were all these privileged individuals allowed to accumulate fortunes, which are frequently made by imposing as much upon the credulity of the people as does the imitator of the patent article. It is often a query which of the two is the greater impostor—the man who puffs a discovery or patent invention in the newspapers, to the disparagement and detriment of all other articles of a similar sort, or the man who feloniously imitates the patent article, and deprives the patentee of his legal profits. Yet the one is considered as a criminal in the eyes of the law; and punished accordingly; whereas, the newspaper bubble-blower is allowed to go free, and enjoy in respectability the fruits of his quackery and impudence. All the difference between the two is this, that the one is a more refined species of crime than the other; the one imposes upon you by fair words, deceitful insinuations, and false assertions; and the other merely makes use of a false name, and substitutes a spurious for a genuine article.

Crime, as generally understood, is nothing else than a war against private property; you can never make any thing else of it; and the ultimate success of crime becomes, of course, the extinction of private property, and the establishment of the reign of liberty and equality.* It is occasioned entirely by the rich—by the accumulators of property, who first showed the example of respectable crime, in depriving other men of what was their due. The first man who appropriated a piece of land to himself was the first criminal; and the greatest of all criminals against society is he who is pos-

* It was the opinion of the late Professor Park, Professor of Civil Law in King's College, that lawyers were a species of public robbers, and that their existence was necessary to restore the balance destroyed by the aristocracy; that they were merely a modern refinement of ancient highwaymen and blackmailers, who abstracted the property of the rich, and divided it amongst the poor; were, therefore, vermin to feed upon these full-fed aristocrats, they would act like a species of whirlpool, and engulf the population by myriads.

* It is evident, I hope, to the reader, that I am necessitated to use the word crime in two senses; first, law, or the appropriation of property, is a

ness of the greatest stock of private wealth; but it happens with crime in general, as it happens with war, and private plunder in particular; he who is guilty of violence against individuals is an evil doer, but he who deliberately plans and executes upon a splendid scale deeds of murder and devastation upon nations is accounted a hero. A small crime is accounted worthy of death or imprisonment; a great crime against society, such as monopolizing the earth and the produce of industry, is accounted respectable. All this evil resides in the law, which acknowledges the right of man to use extortion of one kind, but prohibits him from using extortion of another kind; it acknowledges the right of the rich to defraud the poor man of his wages and to fatten upon his labour, and it will not acknowledge the right of the poor man to take that plunder back again by force. It must be done legally; in which case it becomes just in the estimation of the world, but very unjust in the eye of nature. Men's ideas of right and wrong have been entirely perverted by law; they have regarded the laws of man as a standard of rectitude, instead of looking to nature itself; and if they could justify themselves, by means of some legal sophistry, they considered themselves entitled conscientiously to commit the most flagrant offences against humanity. This is still the case: we do not so much consider the natural rectitude of an action, as whether or not the law permits it. What does the law say—"Am I entitled to this money or not? this poor man has more need of the money than I have; I have quite enough, but I should like to have more; I shall therefore take it, and let the poor man trust to providence: **THE LORD WILL PROVIDE FOR HIM.**" Thus it is with us all; and as the law is very unjust, and permits the grossest inequality, so the greatest inequality prevails under its jurisdiction. The law is so very unjust, that it would permit half-a-dozen men to monopolize all the land of England, and consequently all its produce; and it would punish the rest of the inhabitants for setting a foot upon the land without their permission. All this the law would do, if it were not for crime; but crime rises up and says—we will not endure such restrictions; we will break down the fences; we will destroy the young trees; we will burn the crops, and take away the cattle, and shoot the game; we will steal the fruit, and make this private property of your's our own. These six men then, seeing it impossible to stand against such a mass of crime, associate more with themselves, and make up a sort of aristocracy: this enables them to stand firmer against the assailants. Still, however, crime proceeds in the same style, but more cautiously, for the great proprietors are now more numerous and more watchful, and there are more interested in the apprehension of the criminal; but still it is the same system; and if it was unjust for six men to appropriate to themselves all England, and exclude the population from the green fields, it is also unjust for half a million to take possession of the land which belongs to fourteen millions. It is impossible to say whether law or crime is the more unjust of the two: they are only twin brothers. The law says, you may hold as much pro-

erty as you choose, and starve all the people to death if you have a mind; crime says, I will take it from you in spite of your teeth, and appropriate it to myself;—they are both alike, for both are selfish. The man of fortune is possessed of the very same spirit as the thief, for both seek their own immediate interest, and not the interest of the community. That sort of conduct only is to be commended which consults the interest of the whole, and not merely self-interest. Universal philanthropy only is virtue; particular or exclusive benevolence is a vice, and is productive of general misery, inasmuch as, by bestowing special favours on individuals, it destroys the equilibrium of society.

As law is the cause of crime, no crime invariably increases along with the number of the laws. Formerly, when trade was free, and every man was at liberty to import and export whatsoever goods he pleased, there could not possibly be any such crime as smuggling; but no sooner did the legislators enact a law by which a tax was laid upon certain imported articles, than the smugglers came into being, by a law of nature which acts as surely as the generation of maggots in a moist cheese. Smuggling, no doubt, was generated by a law which prevented other evils; but no sooner were these evils suppressed than the smuggling arose in their stead, and in order to suppress the smuggler, a new set of laws and law-officers must be appointed, and these must be armed with offensive and defensive weapons in order to seize upon their victims; and thus much blood is spilt in the first place, and in the second place encouragement is given to fraud and secret plotting and scheming,—for these smugglers always have their accomplices in town, who are privy to all their schemes, and assist them in accomplishing their end. This is only the beginning of crime, for in order to suppress this species of opposition, the law becomes more and more strict, appoints more officers, levies more taxes to keep the rebels in awe, and smuggling perhaps decreases; but does crime decrease? No, never; but some other species of trickery commences, if not against government, against manufacturers and wholesale and retail dealers. Swindling flourishes; then the legislation, always in pursuit of the enemy, begins to look sharp after the swindling trade; the police establishment is enlarged, new and more rigorous measures are put in force, the rogues are hunted through every lane and close in the city. This trade becoming precarious, quackery and imposture start up; men begin to puff and blow, and boast of the value of their wares, and contrive by ingenuity to give them an imposing appearance. They adulterate goods, use false balances and false measures; and, in time, become more and more refined in crime in proportion as they are hunted by the law and its agents. So that whilst the law has been repressing gross crimes, such as murder, highway robbery, and other species of violence, it has been vastly increasing the number of genteel crimes, and in some measure involving every individual in the guilt, by forcing him to use deceit and craft in the conduct of his business. Crime is increasing much more than we are aware of, for although we know by the criminal reports that the number of commitments has doubled within the last seventeen years, yet we are kept in the dark respecting the amount of other crime, which is not recorded in the criminal list; thus in one year, in Middlesex alone, there are 17,000 or 18,000 processes for debt issued, a great part of which debt is contracted either with a design to defraud, or without any intention to pay. In one year there are several thousand bankruptcies, each of which, at an average, brings ten or twelve families to ruin; and many of these bankruptcies are occasioned by wild and adventurous speculation, or brought about by the roguery of those refined criminals, who contrive to feed upon the property of others without subjecting themselves to the vengeance

of the law. Besides, these bankruptcies, according to the new enactments, bring in at an average about half a million to the lawyers, who thus contrive to pocket the money which of right belongs to the creditors. Now, recollect this is not crime that I am speaking of, it is the occupation of gentlemen—respectable men; they are never committed to prison as felons, and are not ranked amongst the number of criminals; but they are growing and breeding as fast as the thieves are, and feeding fat, like maggots, upon the ruin of other men's fortunes. Every day is adding to our list of thieves, our list of lawyers, our list of bankruptcies; and every year is multiplying our lawless and adventurous speculators, who by false pretences and affectation of honesty, protestations of friendship, glowing descriptions of expected success and prosperity, continue to finger the money of other men, spend it in extravagance, and leave the simple creditor to disappointment and regret. All this must be added to our list of crime, and a thousand times more, which our ancestors knew nothing of, which is only to be found in a civilized country, where laws have become innumerable; and where the suppression of the grosser crimes of murder and robbery taught the criminal to be more dependent upon cunning than personal courage, and given him the wile and the net of the spider, instead of the open insult of the tiger.

We have said that a rich man, in the eye of nature, was as great a culprit as a thief; and in the opinion of the Bible also, inasmuch as it is there maintained, that it is as easy for a camel to leap through the eye of a needle as for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. Surely, the pious Christian cannot refuse to acknowledge that the qualifications for the kingdom of heaven are a very good criterion of worth. A man who is not fit to go into heaven, can never be esteemed a virtuous man upon earth. And the rich are all unfit; "wo unto you, rich men," says an apostle, "for ye have heaped up treasure for the latter days." What is the meaning of this, or has it no meaning at all? Is it merely a figure of speech, a mere sounding phrase, to please the ears of the vulgar to whom it was addressed? or is it a sacred truth, which is yet to be seriously fulfilled? Our pious clergy and their patrons, the aristocracy, dare not think or preach upon such a text as this; they are tempted to say, like Cardinal Hosius, that "it had been best for the church if no gospel had ever been written, for it speaks so pointedly against us."

Jesus Christ was crucified between two thieves, and he said that, when he came back again, he would come as a thief; he seemed to speak with greater respect of thieves than of the rich; and he admitted the thief that was crucified along with him into heaven without any scruple; from which it is evident that Christianity confers as much honour upon the thief as upon the rich man. The fact is, they are thieves both. They are the two thieves between whom Christ was crucified; but he told one of them only that he should go into heaven; the other, who was, no doubt, the rich one, was left in the outer court. Publicans and harlots also are to get into the kingdom of heaven before the religious. It seems, according to Christianity, that all things are to be reversed at last; that what men have hitherto esteemed good shall become evil, and evil good; or, in the words of Isaiah, the world be turned upside down.

All this is orthodox and just; who is he that can say that he is not a thief? Not one. What is theft? Appropriating to yourself what belongs to another. Then he who can assert that he has never been guilty of that crime, is a man who has no sense of justice whatsoever. I willingly acknowledge my transgression, and will not hide my sin. I AM A THIEF, and must continue a thief as long as judges, and magistrates, and pious clergymen, continue to steal. I have often retained in my possession the property of others.

I have often passed the destitute poor with money in my pocket, and refused to give them even a mite. If I had not been a thief, could I have done such an action? No. And by that deed I inflicted more real misery than the man who steals a pocket-handkerchief from a swaggering fool who can afford to lose it. My conduct stung the very heart and soul of the sufferer; his only occasioned a momentary regret, and it was all over. If we are to judge of crime by the misery it creates, mine was the greater offence, and so it was; and he is the greatest of all criminals who lives in luxury when his brothers are starving; who pitches his tent in the very centre of pauperism, and mingles the song of mirth and careless extravagance with the piteous and melancholy groanings of helpless and starving indigence. Private wealth is crime; public or common wealth is happiness and virtue.

QUARTERLY MEETING

Of the National Equitable Labour Exchange Association, Monday, Nov. 11, 1833.

Mr. Bankhead in the chair.

The Chairman said, that the purposes for which they were met were, to hear the report of the first three months of our proceedings, to review our policy, and to propose such remedial measures for any errors that may be detected therein, as may be thought necessary; and for the reappointment of our officers for the ensuing three months. He said the present meeting was a practical refutation of the calumnies of those who assert that working men were incapable of managing their affairs. "The same means which have so successfully been employed to place us in our present position, can alone insure our permanency; I mean, unflinching integrity, based on public confidence. It behoves us to devote all our energies, both of body and mind, to the glorious undertaking in which we are engaged. In the course of the discussion, which will this evening arise, let me entreat you to avoid every thing of a personal or a party nature. The struggle in which we are engaged is not for individual aggrandizement, but to increase the happiness of all by promoting the interest of each. The Secretary will read the report."

Mr. Peel then read the report, as follows:—

"In presenting to their constituents a report of their proceedings for the quarter just terminated, the committee of management feel assured that there will be discovered in it the most convincing proofs of the soundness of the principles on which this institution is based. The facts resulting from the experience of the last three months have demonstrated the power of the producing classes of this country to burst those trammels with which *interest and property* have enthralled them, whenever they possess sufficient knowledge and discrimination to give that power a right direction. Your committee, with feelings of honest pride and satisfaction, desire you to take a retrospective glance at the condition of labour exchange. Three months ago, the efforts of a few obscure individuals to restore that mighty engine from the unfortunate condition into which a chain of unavoidable mishaps, combined with want of judgment in its management, had conspired to throw it, were met by some with open derision, by others with contemptuous scorn, and by many, who were pleased to style themselves *friends*, with the most prudent, though, perhaps, well-intentioned, neutrality. It is a fact, beyond dispute, that in the numerous list of those professing a deep interest and concern for the welfare of the working classes, were many, very many, who then, as now, withheld their active support from an alleged conviction that this thing never could be successfully conducted by the working classes themselves; they withheld the only weapon which we required to complete our equipment for the campaign,

money, but they gave us their good wishes; not so our beloved friend and highly esteemed patron, Robert Owen. He, having once become acquainted with these his new allies, with that powerful and acute discrimination for which he is so noted, unhesitatingly pronounced them the fittest, the only fitting power, to direct labour exchange, to a successful termination: that opinion then stood unsupported; it was a speculation, a theory; and was received with the same infidel levity that other speculations and theories of our revered friend have experienced from the ignorant and bigoted. We now, at the end of the first three months of our experiment, pronounce that opinion no longer a theory, a mere speculation, but a substantial, well-authenticated fact, that plain, self-taught, unwashed handicraftsmen have rescued this noble machine from the lowest depths, the very abyss, of ruin and bankruptcy. It must be confessed that the great cause could not by possibility have been in a worse condition than when the associated trades of London passed the word, 'to the rescue.' It was, to use a nautical phrase, a perfect wreck. The new crew, having first relieved the noble vessel of her lumber and useless incumbrance, proceeded with industry and alacrity to refit her and put her in sailing trim, and having appointed her officers, fairly launched her again into the wide expanse. She has proceeded thus far gallantly in her course, and may now bid defiance to the open attack of the enemies, or the more dangerous (because disguised) hostilities of pretended friends, as long as union and confidence are maintained among her crew.

"There is no enemy so powerful and dangerous, and likely to prove fatal to her success, as *dissension*. Notwithstanding the various difficulties that have beset us on every side, your committee have still the satisfaction of informing you that we have not only met all our engagements, but have also discharged some of the incumbrances entailed on us by our predecessors.

"First, the enormous deficiency that appeared in the stock to meet the notes in circulation, and the consequent confidence destroyed. Second, the debt to be paid to release the Rotunda stock and its transfer here; third, the debts outstanding against the old Institution; fourth, the funds to be raised to accomplish our commencement, when most of our more opulent friends had declared they had no confidence in our efforts to restore labour exchange again to its wonted vigour.

"Now, first, the deficiency no longer appears, we having more stock than sufficient to meet every note in circulation, or arrangements made to meet them. Second, the stock from the Rotunda has been released, arrangements for meeting the debt entered into, and one-half of it paid, besides the necessary expenses attending the removing it, to the amount of at least 12%. Third, the debts of the institution may be considered to be paid in the money advanced to Mr. Owen, which, from Sept. 14 to November 2, amounts to no less than 96% above the real rent paid by him; this is advanced correctly, and for a good purpose, but it shows what would have been our situation had these incumbrances not existed. Fourth, funds were wanting to commence printing for the notes, for circulars, &c., as well as many improvements and alterations, more particularly the improvement now in operation, which must, of necessity, be a draw on us at present, though, when completed, it cannot fail of being of essential service to us in making our profits doubly valuable; in addition to these, upwards of 1000*l.* of the old notes have been received for various purposes and destroyed.

"It was not to be expected that these various difficulties should not have acted prejudicially to our progress. Hence, may we attribute the absence of any rapid increase in our deposits; but it must at the same time be satisfactory to know that we have still maintained our position, and through our whole course have carried with us the support and confidence of our friends.

"Your committee feel confident, that though we may not yet boast of thousands flocking to our standard, still the hearts of those fighting under our banners are firm and steadfast, determined resolutely to push on, until the victory is achieved. Your committee beg now to direct your attention to the different departments of the Exchange, which will each of them immediately receive such salutary improvements as time and experience have shown to be necessary. Among the most important and extensive changes which your committee have decided on as essential to the well-being and prosperity of the Exchange, is that contemplated in the provision department. In its present state, although of unquestionable utility and importance, it keeps, and must ever keep, the cash funds of the Exchange in a most inconvenient state of exhaustion, thus crippling and paralyzing what should be the most effective and useful portion of the machinery of our great engine, absorbing and exhausting those funds, which, if applied for the purpose of obtaining a supply of the most useful raw material, would act most beneficially to the interests of this Exchange, by benefiting the depositors individually. It is not necessary here to recapitulate all the facts which show the injurious tendency of this part of our transactions, they having in a very lengthy and elaborate report, circulated through the different departments, and, with only one exception, received the unanimous approval of every section. Your committee having carefully and dispassionately considered this new arrangement, and having received the sanction of the various sections, do now strenuously recommend its adoption by this Association, believing, as they do, that it will be found in its operations to work beneficially for all.

"Your committee having appointed a sub-committee to consider the duties of the various officers, with a view to ascertain how far they could suggest such alterations as may reduce the expenses, without diminishing our efficiency: in accordance with such endeavours, they propose the uniting of the offices of Watchman and Lamplighter, by which a saving of 1*l.* per week will be effected. The other offices do not present any opportunity of reduction at present; but the committee are still pursuing their labours, and will not terminate them until every branch has been subjected to the most rigid scrutiny.

"Your committee now beg leave to call your attention to the extensive alterations and obvious improvements, (which will be shortly completed,) preparatory to the erection of a grand and magnificent organ, which your committee have obtained on terms highly favourable to the Institution. The possession of an instrument of such superior tone and power, cannot fail to add increased attractions to our festivals and music meetings, and an impressively agreeable relief and addition to our Sunday arrangements.

"The removal of the walls and heavy timbers down each corridor became indispensable to the safety of the premises, on occasions of festivals or other crowded meetings; and when it is known that these improvements will have been effected at the most trifling expense, your committee think you will approve of the steps they have taken.

"Your committee would have been glad to have been able to have congratulated you on an increased business since the last monthly meeting; but while they think it their duty to take credit for every improvement in their condition or prospects, they know it to be equally their duty to abstain from giving a false impression, by highly-coloured statements, which, though at the time gratifying, too often end in disappointment and disgrace. Your committee, then, feel bound to declare, that the deposits have experienced during the last two weeks a slight decrease, which may not unreasonably be attributed to the inconvenience and annoyance inseparable from the alterations which are now going forward. However, your committee have the greatest confidence in the

soundness of the principles of the system, and in the growing confidence of the members, and fully look forward to an increase of business, as soon as various improved arrangements can be brought into active operation. Your committee have now before them, under discussion, a plan which they think will supply the only desideratum to insure our success. The committee regret that time has not allowed them to give that close attention to this plan as to enable them to give you this night their unanimous opinion on it. Indeed, it would have been great injustice to a plan, which they have no hesitation in saying appears to them to exceed in importance every other subject that has yet come under their consideration. The principal features in the proposed plan are as follow:—The raising of a capital, in shares of £1. each, which never can, under any circumstances, fail or deteriorate; the money so advanced to be returned immediately, if required, in notes, or in cash after a notice of three months. This fund to be under the control of the managing committee, and to be by them laid out in the purchase of the most useful material. Depositors allowed to take this material, through the superintendent of their section; or, if individually, must give security for the faithful return of the material when manufactured. Individuals supplying their own material, to receive labour-notes on the labour portion of their deposits and paying the commission on the labour, and leaving the other on sale or return, and the materials to be paid in cash, when the articles deposited shall be sold. This is but a very imperfect sketch of this plan, which your committee hope to have matured by the next meeting of the Association.

The balance-sheet for the business done for the last quarter, as far as the same can be made up, will be laid before you, which must be satisfactory to all friendly to our cause, inasmuch as it shows resources that have enabled us to meet the very numerous and heavy claims before-mentioned, and still shows an increased and increasing stock of real wealth on our shelves. These facts are, then, a sufficient answer to those who raise the various illiberal and unfounded reports as to the solvency of this Institution. This committee confidently rely on the good sense of their constituents, to treat such rumours, as they deserve, with the utmost indifference. The committee have no object but the interest of their constituents in view, and they may rely on receiving from them timely notice of any such unfortunate, but at present highly-improbable event, as the insolvency of the Association. Your committee finish this, their first quarterly report, by urging on their constituents the absolute necessity of union and good feeling towards each other; for if we have been enabled to accomplish so much in our present imperfect state of union, what might we not have accomplished, had our union been as complete as it might have been! Your committee recommend, then, union, for in proportion to our combination so will be our success.

Mr. *Tearce* moved the adoption of the report with pleasure and delight. It was to him a source of great satisfaction to know that the unwashed artificers of this Association had rescued the great principle of labour exchange from the state of confusion and unpopularity which characterised it three months ago. He strongly urged on the Association the necessity of a closer union of the trades, which could alone place us in a condition to overcome our difficulties. He suggested the forming of one general fund for the purposes of the Exchange, instead of the various isolated funds now in existence. He then alluded to that part of the report recommending an alteration in the provision department. He said it was a subject he had given the greatest consideration to, and was quite convinced of the propriety of immediately adopting the recommendation therein contained. He added various cogent arguments in favour of

that part of the report, and concluded by recommending its adoption by this meeting.

Mr. *Thomings* seconded the report.

Mr. *Hoare* presented himself to the meeting, and said that he wished to trespass shortly on their attention. He was an enemy to speech-making generally, but, on such an occasion, cold and insensible must that heart be that would turn back from the glorious prospects before us, as shown by the report just read, which report, by-the-bye, he thought reflected great credit on the individual who drew it up. He reminded the meeting that the public eye was upon them; it therefore behooved them to be careful that their actions were in unison with their professions. "We have passed (observed the speaker) the Rubicon, and there was now no possibility of retreat; the path before us led to honour and happiness; all behind was ruin and disgrace. My friends, I have long ceased to take any interest in the various political tricksters of the day; our objects are the education of the rising generation, and the mental and physical enfranchisement of a benighted and oppressed people. These are our objects, and what are these when put in comparison with the assessed taxes? Why, my friends, Olympus to a mole-hill. A great and popular political writer of the day positively taught the monstrous doctrine, that workmen were made to produce for the benefit of those whom accident had placed in a more favourable position, and denounced the educating and improving the minds of such unfortunates, because it would weaken their power and inclination for unremitting toil, and they might, by chance, in the course of their studies, stumble on the fact that by nature they had as great a right to the good things of this world, as the proudest aristocrat. And the man who taught this delighted to call himself a Christian, while in the same breath he recommends persecuting the Jews because they happen to differ from him on a mere speculation." Mr. Hoare then alluded to the proposed alteration in the provision department, recapitulated the arguments for and against, would not say whether the proposed plan was perfect, but certainly was the only one offered, and nothing could be more clear than that the old system could no longer be acted on. In allusion to the vacant office of superintendent, he begged leave to address the working bees in particular, because it might be considered presumption in him, a journeyman shoemaker, to offer advice to those whom accident had placed in more fortunate circumstances; but he earnestly advised the working bees, that as they were the parties most deeply interested in this matter, to choose as superintendent one of their own body, one whose interests were inseparably mixed up with theirs. Such a man having their confidence and the same interests would, he thought, be found most fitted for the office of superintendent. He strongly deprecated the dividing the funds into various societies, having distinct objects in view. As long as these separate societies existed, they would engender an unkind spirit, which would be very prejudicial to our progress. He maintained, the world would never be emancipated by the contracted views of some of these societies. Labour Exchange was the only engine of sufficient power and magnitude to make any impression on the accumulated errors and inconsistency of thousands of years of misrule. Equitable Labour Exchange never yet has had a fair trial; "then, my friends, do not let us, by splitting our interests, by misapplying our talent, weaken those powers, requisite (and able if concentrated) to give our engine the required impetus."

Mr. Hoare concluded by exhorting the Association to a united and energetic support of the Exchange.

Messrs. *Norman, Wilks, and Mole* spoke against the proposed alteration in the provision store.

Messrs. *Warden, Turner, and Peel* supported it. On the chairman putting it to the meeting, it was carried by a large majority. The following indi-

viduals were then severally nominated to fill their respective offices for the ensuing three months.—Mr. Dixon, Secretary; Mr. Turner, Receiver in Deposit Office; Mr. Jarvis, Clerk in Ditto; Mr. Alger, Accountant; Mr. Peel, Secretary to Committee; Mr. Pope, Mr. Robins, and Mrs. Brooks, Exchangers; Mr. Crow, Grocery Department; Messrs. Norman and Tilby, Provision Store. These several nominations were carried. The offices of Watchman and Lamplighter being, in accordance with the recommendation of the committee, to be combined in one office, Messrs. Parsons, Tipper, and Kerswill were nominated for that office.

On the question as to proceeding to the nomination for the office of Superintendent, Mr. *Peel* moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into all the circumstances connected with the resignation of Mr. Henderson; he did so because he was of opinion that it was most desirable if possible to avoid the excitement necessarily attendant on a contested election.

Mr. *Simpson* seconded the resolution, because he was of opinion that the successful Report of the proceedings of the quarter was the best eulogy that could be passed on Mr. Henderson, and was a sufficient proof that he was eminently qualified for the office of Superintendent.

Mr. *Warden* opposed the resolution as irregular, and proposed as an amendment, that we proceed to elect, by a show of hands, a Superintendent for a fortnight.

Mr. *Pryor* seconded this resolution, which was carried.

Mr. *Wilks* then proposed Mr. Henderson.

Mr. *Warden* proposed Mr. Pryor.

Mr. *Simkin* proposed Mr. Hoare.

On a show of hands, the majority was in favour of Mr. Hoare.

Mr. *Nicholls* then read a letter, proposing himself as Superintendent for the next three months.

Mr. Henderson was also proposed by Mr. Wilks; seconded by Mr. Wood.

Mr. Hoare was proposed by Mr. Warden; seconded by Mr. Simkins.

The ballot to take place on Monday the 25th instant.

On Monday night a ballot took place for superintendent and lamplighter and watchman. Mr. Hoare was elected superintendent, Mr. Tipper watchman and lamplighter.

The following resolutions were submitted, and the proceedings of the meeting will be given in next week's *Crisis*:

"Resolved,—That it is expedient that a Material Fund be raised, in pound shares, to bear interest at 4 per cent. per annum; such interest to be payable every three months, in cash or labour-notes, at the option of the shareholder; but any interest suffered to remain until it shall amount to one share, shall be entered as principal, bearing interest; and subject to the same restrictions as shares previously subscribed for. Shares in this Fund to be transferable, or may be withdrawn immediately, in notes, on application to the committee, or in cash, on three months' notice being previously given.

"2. That shares in this Fund may be subscribed for by instalments of one shilling per week, but no interest shall be allowed for any money until it shall amount to one share.

"3. The money so subscribed to be invested in the hands of the treasurer to the Association, for the use, and to be under the control of, the managing committee, for purchasing raw material at the best markets.

"4. The material so purchased to be distributed to members qualifying themselves for each privilege by exchanging one shilling per week for a two-hour labour-note, in addition to the one penny per week now subscribed for Exchange Rent. The shilling so subscribed, or exchanged, to be also applied in purchasing material.

"5. Individuals taking out material purchased by this Fund for the purpose of making up or manufacturing into finished goods shall give such security as will insure the return of such material when manufactured; and such material when manufactured and returned into the Exchange shall be acknowledged as returned, and the individual or society performing the labour on such material shall receive the amount of wages as agreed upon in the notes of the Exchange.

"6. All goods manufactured from the materials of this fund, when placed in the Exchange for sale, shall be sold or exchanged on the following terms: The material to be paid for in cash, and the labour performed on such material in the notes of the Exchange.

"7. Each trade to form a department, and to be governed by its own laws and regulations, and to elect a person as conductor (subject to the approval of the committee of management, when such conductor is to be placed in the Exchange), to receive all materials deposited in his trade, and to receive all orders, to prepare and distribute the work, and to see that it is properly executed. The right to elect such conductor to be in the shilling exchangers.

"8. Persons finding their own material, and wishing to receive cash for the material part of their deposits may do so under the following regulations, viz., when the value of the article deposited shall have been agreed to by the committee of management, both as regards the material and labour, the depositor shall receive notes of the Exchange for the labour part of the transaction, on paying the usual commission on the amount of such labour: the goods shall then be left on sale or return, and when sold the depositor shall receive the cash for the material, on paying the remaining part of the commission. All goods left on sale or return, if not sold within six months, must be either re-deposited or withdrawn, the notes issued on such deposit and commission being returned to the Exchange; but depositors may, if they choose, receive the material part of such goods in notes, the goods by this process becoming the *bona fide* property of the Exchange.

"9. Persons desirous of depositing goods for all notes may still do so, providing their articles and their value are approved."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. Hollingsworth's Letter shall be laid before the Committee.

Other communications are under consideration.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOV. 30.

In this number our readers will find a report of a very interesting meeting of tailors, held at the Circus, Great Windmill-street, and attended by between two and three thousand belonging to the trade. The resolutions were carried by acclamation without dissension; and our readers will at once perceive that these resolutions breathe our own spirit, and aim at our own benevolent and ultimate plans of equalization and deliverance. The tailors are evidently far in advance in the career of intelligence and fraternal sympathy. The former is, no doubt, promoted by their sedentary, social, and still life; and the latter has been at last created by a cruel system of bondage, by which the men have been taught to look with greater jealousy upon each other than upon their all-absorbing

employers. It is always good policy to divide an army; that is, it is good policy in the enemy to accomplish the division, but bad policy in the army to divide itself. The tailors, however, have been guilty of this bad policy, and experience has at length taught them the propriety of remedying the evil by a general union of parts. The trade at present is divided into two grand detachments; one of these is designated the honourables, the other the dishonourables. The honourables are those who are enlisted on the books of what is called the house of call—these alone are permitted to work in the shops of the masters, and have regular stated wages; the dishonourables are those who do not belong to the house of call, but take in work at home, and are free to accept of any remuneration which they can obtain for their labour. These two parties are at war; the former will not work with the latter. This is one division. But the honourables are divided among themselves. They have two books; a book for those who have been a certain time on the list, and a book for later members. When workmen are wanted, the master applies to the house of call (if he does not employ the dishonourables, which he frequently does, with considerable profit to himself), and the secretary applies to the first book, in preference to the second, to procure him the number of men that he requires. This is another weakening of the body, which is thus divided into three great detachments, all of which are assiduously engaged in undermining the interest of one another, not to speak of a thousand other subdivisions, which dissipate the total strength of the trade so effectually, that the capitalists come in upon them like wolves upon scattered sheep, and make them their humble slaves. We rejoice to find that they seem at last aware of the evil of disunion, and are resolved to collect the scattered members of the trade into one fraternal union; and we admire the prudence and shrewd policy of the determination, not to propose any definite or ultimate plan, but to leave it to experience to regulate their movements. This is wisdom, which does not grow in a day like a mushroom, but like the oak, slow in its progress, and everlasting in its strength. We hope that other trades will soon take an example from this, and follow the same principle of consolidation; and then, after having collected the tribes together, that these tribes shall unite in a general indissoluble commonwealth, where all will bear the burden of every individual, and poverty and the fear of want shall fly from the certainty of employment.

Our friend from Brighton has sent us a letter, and our friend Smith has given us a lecture, upon "Crime;" the one treats of its cure by punishment—the other intimates that it must go on increasing till it cures itself, or a stop be put to it by the establishment of an equal system. Crime is incalculable, under the

present system; it is a natural reaction upon the injustice of monopoly and accumulation. You may just as well attempt to keep down the steam-bubbles from boiling water, by pressing a tight lid upon the pot, as to suppress crime when society is boiling. It must get a vent; a very high pressure is dangerous. If you want to get rid of the steam, take the pot off the fire. Any child knows this simple fact; but our legislators do not know it; they are forcing down the lid with all their might. When the steam fizzes out at one place, thither they run, stop up the hole, congratulate themselves for a moment—but only a moment—for another small outlet immediately commands their attention, and the incompressible element, in derision of their activity and vigilance, bursts out, as long as it can force an aperture, and if it cannot find a small one, it will make a large one by explosion, and reduce the legislators to their original atoms. Neither prisons nor houses of correction are at all necessary. There is nothing more necessary than to do justice to the public. Crime is only produced by injustice, and if great men are determined to act unjustly, they must just content themselves with the existence of crime, which will defy all their ingenuity to suppress. Even suppose these houses of correction do suit their purpose in repressing open crime, society gains nothing by it; for if open crime be suppressed by severe discipline, men will only exercise their ingenuity the more in devising secret mischief. You will never exhaust the ingenuity of man; and thus the very utmost you can gain by improved prison discipline, is a more refined species of roguery, which will corrupt every element of society, and produce as much mental anguish as did the fear of open violence.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EQUALITY LABOUR EXCHANGE.

GENTLEMEN,—I wrote two letters for your information, addressed to the managers of the establishment. These letters I concluded would appear in the *Crisis*, or that some notice would have been given of them in some way or other; but as that has not been done, I concluded it was unnecessary to proceed with them weekly as was my intention. You have had, of course, other and more useful information with which to supply the public, although some of the readers of that paper probably desire to know what I have been doing in the provinces since I left London; but for this intelligence, it seems, they must wait until I have an opportunity of giving it them in person.

Since I wrote last, I have been twice in Manchester, Huddersfield, Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, and Todmorden, where meetings of various kinds have been held, with a view of assisting the operative classes to adopt practical measures to relieve them from the most immoral and despotic system that has yet been known in the civilized world; the result of those proceedings I will communicate to you on my return, when I shall explain them to the public. I have just now had a very interesting interview with the principal master manufacturers of this place, and I am to be

with them again early in the morning. I am about to proceed to the theatre, to deliver a lecture to the Trades' Unions and Co-operative Societies, having had already a meeting of the leading members of both parties. To-morrow I go to Leeds, on Saturday to Bradford, Halifax, and Todmorden; on Monday to Manchester, where a most important meeting is to take place; on Tuesday to the Potteries, where another important general meeting is to be held; on Wednesday I proceed to Birmingham, and remain to Thursday evening; on Friday in Worcester; and Saturday return to London; when you may announce a lecture, explanatory of the result of my journey.

If we can but unite the productive classes in measures the most obvious for their interests, the greatest good may now be effected for them and their families; the foundation is well laid in Yorkshire and Lancashire; and before I return will be, I trust, also in Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire.

The members have called to conduct me to the theatre.—I can only add that, wishing you unity and success, I remain your friend,

ROBERT OWEN.

Barnsley, Nov. 21, 1833.

[In answer to the above letter of Mr. Owen, we inform our readers and Mr. Owen himself, that we never received the letters above alluded to, nor did we ever hear of them. We have often sought for information respecting him, and could not find it; and in answer to those who complained that no mention was made of his proceedings, we replied that our imagination was not to be depended upon in conceiving what he was about, and we were resolved to deal only in matters of fact; the mystery is now cleared up; he has been writing, and the letters have miscarried.—ED.]

TAILORS' MEETING.

At a public meeting of the society, held at the Black Horse, on Thursday evening, the 7th of November, 1833, a committee was appointed to meet during the week, to frame resolutions to be submitted to a public meeting. The committee having met accordingly and drawn up the necessary resolutions, a public meeting was appointed to be held on Monday evening, the 18th.

Pursuant to the above, the Circus, Great Windmill-street, was engaged for holding a public meeting, which being duly announced (in the *Morning Advertiser* and evening *True Sun* of Saturday, Nov. 16), was held on Monday the 18th, when the resolutions, as drawn up by the committee, were submitted to a numerous assembly and approved of, as follows:—

Public meeting, Nov. 18, 1833, held at the Circus, Great Windmill-street, Mr. Brown in the chair. The following report of committee was brought up and read:

"Your committee having met according to appointment at the Black Horse, Rathbone-place, on Monday evening the 11th, and following days, to take into consideration the best means of assisting the general body of the trade in the present period of difficulty and distress, first proceeded to discuss those modes which severally appeared to them the most eligible to that end.

"But from considerable experience and mature reflection, they consider, that in the present state of society, it would be premature to recommend any definite plan, believing that subsequent experience alone can develop such plan or plans as will be found the most practicable and efficient for the general good. Nevertheless, they consider the first step necessary to be the formation of a Union, to consolidate, under one interest,

the whole body of the trade; to concentrate the intelligence and experience of every individual therein, and from such source be enabled to deduce such measures as shall prove in their operations the most beneficial and lasting. And after having formed one solid and compact union in our own trade, to unite the same with all other trades, thereby to embody the whole of the working classes in one grand and glorious union. Your committee also took into their consideration the present scarcity of employment, so generally and so justly complained of, seeing that the supply has so greatly exceeded the demand, whereby the quantity of labour required has unequally and unjustly fallen into the hands of the few, while the many are left too partially employed, if not altogether in a state of indigence and idleness.

"To remedy this evil, they recommend that a considerable reduction in the hours of labour take place, in order that the labour, now required, may be equally distributed to every member in the trade, without abridging the amount of wages now paid to each individual for such full time. They recommend this to be as speedily as prudent attended to, being convinced that the full wages now paid are but barely sufficient for individual necessities. They consider it necessary also to state, that this Union should be formed upon principles of the strictest equality, that no man shall be before or after his fellow-men in point of precedence or power, but that every member shall possess his individual right to all privileges in this Union in equal degree with the whole body, by the payment of one penny weekly, to raise a fund for any purpose approved of by the majority.

"And lastly, they recommend this meeting to form themselves into union, upon the plan of a lodge, to be called the **FIRST LODGE OF UNITED TAILORS**, to be under the direction of officers, appropriate to the same, and elected by this meeting. In conclusion, therefore, they now lay before you certain resolutions, embodying the substance of this Report, submitting the same to your general consideration."

The Report being received, the resolutions were then submitted in the following order:—

Resolved,—1st. That this committee deem it necessary to endeavour immediately to unite the whole body of this trade, and to take such steps as experience may from time to time dictate, in order to raise every individual from their present degraded position in society, and ultimately to incorporate themselves with other trades who may act in concert with them for the same object."

"2d. That the supplies having greatly exceeded the demand, many of our brethren are in consequence destitute of employment. It is necessary, therefore, that a considerable reduction in the hours of labour be, as speedily as prudent, adopted, to make the demand equal to if not above the supply, thereby to give to each an equal and a due portion of employment, without any reduction in the remuneration of such labour."

"3d. That in order to place this Union upon the broad basis of equality, every individual joining the same shall become a member without difference or distinction."

"4th. That in order to carry out the object of this Union, it is necessary that each member subscribe one penny weekly, to be applied to such purpose as shall be deemed expedient by a majority of members."

"5. That a lodge be formed, and officers appointed, &c."

After this follow the names of officers, which we omit mentioning for what were deemed prudent reasons.

A QUALIFICATION.—A merchant lately advertising for a clerk "who could bear confinement," received an answer from one who had been seven years in gaol.

THE BIRMINGHAM BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—We are glad to observe so flattering an account of the business done the last three months at the National Equitable Labour Exchange, and the profit arising therefrom, although the extent be necessarily very limited, from the great difficulties with which the industrious classes have to contend. Yet we are fully persuaded, that by perseverance and determination on their part, they will, ultimately, extricate themselves from all those trammels which the Hydra-headed monster, and all the concomitants attached to that baneful system, denominated "competition," have created for them; and when the producers of wealth have gained sufficient knowledge of the advantages they will derive by taking their affairs into their own hands, following up the advice of that great patriotic statesman, Sir Robert Peel, and exchanging with each other upon equitable terms; they will then soon be relieved from that situation which the monetary influence has engendered to their prejudice; and with this impression resting on our minds, we will conclude by referring all true co-operators in the glorious cause for universal emancipation to the operations and transactions of the only present offspring of the National Equitable Labour Exchange; and we flatter ourselves the accompanying statement of the Birmingham Branch will be a stimulant and encouragement for the creation of other branches to enter in the fraternal compact.—I am, Sir, yours truly, for the Birmingham Branch of the National Equitable Labour Exchange.

CHARLES WEST, Sec.

Birmingham, Nov. 22, 1833.

The Quarterly Statement of the Business done at the Birmingham Branch of the National Equitable Labour Exchange, ending November 20, 1833.

Dr.	h.	s.	Cr.	h.	s.
Deposits from			Exchanges	91	740 4
30th July to			Stock on hand	44	406 4
9th Nov.	146	204 4	Extracted from		
Do. for shares	478	4	the stores to		
Do. from various			execute or-		
co-operative			ders from co-		
Societies	4,792	4	operative So-		
Balance from			cieties . .	19	725 2
fractionals	4,398	3			
				155	872 3
Hours	155,872	3			

Dr. to Cash.	to Nov. 20th.	Contra Cr.
£. s. d.		£. s. d.
Commission . .	273 4 0	By sundry Ex-
Depositors' . .		penses . .
Tickets . .	93 1 0	Rent . .
Profit on pro-		Advertisements .
visions . .	207 7 8	Salaries . .
Donations . .	5 2 7	Fixtures, &c. .
		Printing La-
	571 15 3	bour Notes .
		Insurance . .
		Gas . .
		581 13 4

Note.—It will be perceived by this that the business we have done has cleared all expenses including the fixtures, and leaving upon our balance statement of stock a surplus capital, after securing the full amount of shares (with interest which has been subscribed up to the period of the date of our stock taking; but it is not necessary to go into the detail of it, as the operations are multifarious, that it would occupy too much space in your valuable miscellany.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Though the *Crisis* is always forwarded to me, yet, as I receive it at various intervals, I have only this moment read the editorial article entitled "The St. Simonians," which I did with feelings of much disappointment. In the different public papers I had seen, without any surprise, that the principles advocated by Mr. Owen were ignorantly identified, in all particulars, with the opinions of St. Simon, or, perhaps I should more correctly say, of his followers. It was to be expected that they, who care not for truth, should hastily assimilate views which have some resemblance, but which also to me are so very different in their foundation and practice; and I confidently hoped that, as Mr. Owen was absent, you at least would, from your office, have considered that the cause of rationality demanded at your hands an explicit disavowal of this monstrous amalgamation, and an analysis of the two systems, so as to prove the impossibility of their ever becoming one. Instead of this, in your endeavours to show that the St. Simonians promulgate some truth, you, in proof of this, mention only where they agree with the principles the rational system so logically evolves, and omit to show the points upon which the two parties differ—points upon which they never can even agree to differ, as they necessarily involve practical measures of the most opposite nature.

Might not the great discrepancy between the two systems be reduced to this:—Mr. Owen reasons upon facts revealed after an attentive observation of the harmony and goodness found everywhere in Nature, and would legislate in accordance with her laws, which alone are universal, unchangeable, beneficent, and true. St. Simon, though capable of rejecting much that was superstitious and false, still endeavoured to engraft his system upon old society, many errors of which he retains; he arranged a better state of things from his own imaginings alone, and mistook the fever of a kindly enthusiasm for the inspirations of truth; he called fancies, facts; and though no one can doubt the purity of his motives, and the benevolence of his nature, there were circumstances of a painful kind in his intellectual organization, that would not justify any great confidence in his judgment?

If I might be allowed to suggest, I should propose that the subject remain till Mr. Owen's return, who, I feel sure, will regret that his name should have been mixed up with any thing fanciful, however well-intentioned, and that I be permitted, through the medium of this letter, to call upon him for a disavowal of the many St. Simonian opinions, in which he cannot, as I believe, consistently agree. I rely upon your candour to insert this, as I know that much perplexity has arisen from the manner in which the systems have been united; and, in all that I have said, I beg to be understood as intending nothing personal. All whom I have met with professing St. Simonianism, have not only been amiable, but talented; and I agree with you in saying that, were there a society of them established, I would rather live with them, than attempt to destroy or injure them; indeed, any thing that offered a refuge from the tempest of falsehood and discord prevailing in old society, would be hailed with delight.

I should like also to say how much I regret that the example of other editors appears to be so infectious, that something very like their language, though I trust not their spirit, occasionally disfigures the pages of the *Crisis*, a paper which I should so rejoice to see quite consistent with its motto, and its general principles, instead of being, as it often is, "one vile antithesis."

A FRIEND TO THE WHOLE RATIONAL SYSTEM.

[We are rather sorry that our friends have been so very hasty upon this subject; and yet we feel that they have some reason. We certainly allow

that the article referred to was harsh, and there was too much feeling in it; but it was written at a time when several letters were sent us upon the subject from our readers, expressing their sympathy with the St. Simonians, and at the same time complaining of the tameness of the *Crisis*, in respect to that sympathetic feeling. Moved by these impulses, we went, perhaps, a little too far in mere language; but the hint of our friend will not be lost. Moreover, we did not consider it necessary at that time to dwell upon the points of difference between Owenism and St. Simonianism, but merely the general resemblance, which consists in the equalization of property or the establishment of communities. This fundamental doctrine of both is the same; but there are many points of dissimilarity, which we were preparing to show in this very number, when we heard a complaint upon the subject. We should, of our own accord, have settled the subject of difference between the two sects most satisfactorily, or, at least, most accurately, so far as the St. Simonians have already organized themselves. But in justification of ourselves, so far as we went, we may remark—that the St. Simonians are professed pupils of progress, and are not bigotedly attached to any definite system, being willing to adopt that which may seem most practicable. As to their religious tenets, the difference is a mere blinder to the public: they profess no religion. What is generally understood by religion, is a form of worship, or a faith or code of morals supposed to be enjoined by revelation. The St. Simonians have no such religion; they use the word, no doubt; but the meaning of the word, not the word itself, ought to be the subject of discussion with wise men; and the religion of the St. Simonians is only the suggestions of kind and enlightened Nature, as found in the human mind. The meaning of the word Religion is "UNION;" and they understand it in that sense. What right, then, have we to put another construction upon it? Their hierarchy is also merely nominal. There can be no priest where there are no religious rites. It is a species of DICTATORSHIP; and we cannot find much reason to object to the dictatorship of a mind which is well imbued with the spirit of the new system, until the people are all moulded into one family character. Then they may safely be allowed perfect liberty. There is some training and discipline necessary for men imbued with the spirit of the old world, before they can be remodelled. The distinction of rank in St. Simonianism does not involve a distinction of property; and the rewards of labour are merely labour itself; thus an intellectual mind is rewarded with an intellectual task, and a mechanical mind has a mechanical task; this is not so much a system of reward as a judicious arrangement of society, and differs more from our own views in words than in practical meaning; this difference of words, however, is occasioned by the circumstance of their not having so deeply dived into the original nature of man and the formation of character, which would necessarily have changed their style of speech entirely, and reconciled them with ourselves. Labour can never be rewarded unless you have a standard of value, and this is impossible; hence reward is always arbitrary, and, being arbitrary, it must be unjust. We regard Owenism as the perfection of the new world; but we would embrace the disciples of St. Simon, as excellent Pioneers in another kingdom; and it was wholly under the impulse of a generous feeling of sympathy for unjustly persecuted, liberal, well-disposed men, that we wrote the article in question. We treated them as we should have wished to be treated by them in Paris, had we been suffering the same species of illiberal treatment from the French press. As for amalgamation of the two doctrines, we never had such an idea; we only thought of a friendly shake of the hand; and if this is not Owenism, we have sadly misunderstood it.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—You will oblige us by giving publicity to the following resolution of the Trades, passed at a Committee meeting on the 24th instant.

Yours, respectfully,

J. ROBINS, Chairman.

Nov. 25, 1833.

E. ASHDOWN, Secretary.

Resolved,—That the conductor of each society be instructed to furnish the delegates appointed to form an union of the different trade societies connected with the National Equitable Labour Exchange with the number of its members, the amount of its funds, their mode of doing business; and that the conductor of each society attend personally, at the Community Coffee-house, on Sunday morning next, with the above request in writing, if possible."

NOTICE TO DEPOSITORS.

Equitable Labour Exchange,
14, Charlotte-street.

It is particularly desired that all persons having left goods for valuation, should either settle with the receiver or remove the same within seven days from the day of such goods being left; in default thereof the goods will be put into the stores at the valuation of the Committee, and the notes not issued upon them until exchanged.

By order of the Committee of Management,
Nov. 25. J. DIXON, Sec.

TRADES' UNIONS.—We shall be readily excused for again adverting to this, which has, in France and Germany, become an all-engrossing subject of observation. The mild and equitable government of the new family, acting under the instigation of the money-scrappers, has taken the bull by the horns, and filled the jails of Paris with the non-compliant journeymen of the different crafts. The fool in *King Lear* has most exactly characterized the treatment of industry and capitalists, according to the sense of justice entertained by the monarch of the barricades and of the stock-jobbers—"That's right, uncle—cry to them, as the cockney did to the eels—'Down, coxcombs, down!'" It was his brother that, in pure kindness to his horse, battered his hay. Entertaining the same sentiments which are now so manfully avowed, and so convincingly stated by O. P. Q., that the claims of the Unionists are founded in justice, and, as to their present form, are the offspring of hard necessity, we hail this serocity, acted in the name of law and order, as the immediate harbinger of good to all the labourers of Europe. That form and those claims are distinctly recognized by all jurists who have defined natural and civil rights. There are two kinds of property—lands, houses, rents, money, goods, and so on; and, secondly, labour. Upon the interchange of these two kinds of property depend all the arrangements of civil society. One of these can have no equitable control over the rights of the other. What, then, is the state of laws and manners which treats the consultations and combinations of one of those bodies of proprietors with infamous penalties, and encourages the other in the very same kind of proceedings? Evidently, it is not what the jurists call a social compact. It is, on the contrary, an ignominious bond, imposed by a victorious party upon the victim of subjugation, which the bondsman is at liberty to break at his discretion. Of course we shall be understood not to mean any offence personally, when we say that modern society encourages the most cruel pillage of the rights of labour, while a large school of authors and orators employ all the efforts of their baneful existence in persuading the nations that this pillage is good for them in the mass. Human nature, however, is now in the act of endeavouring to recover its lost inheritance. The multitude have learned the superiority of reason

over every other force. Labour is at least as valuable to the owner as houses and lands are to their possessors. There is no wisdom in parting with it below a remunerating price. There is no natural, unavoidable, necessity for doing so. The claim of the manufacturers to have it on their own terms, without reference to its worth to the owner, is one of those preposterous evils which have sprung out of the iron-fisted legislation of aristocratic domination. The principle of justice has manifested itself in spite of the law. The results of the old system are seen in the monstrous inequality of possessions, the discontented state of society, the selfish struggles for individual advantage, prompted as they are by the few apparent chances of saving self alive—the poverty of industry—the uncertain state of the capital upon which it is employed—the enormous profits of funded hoardings, at a time when wages are at the worst, and profit, on average of all shopkeepers and manufacturers (including agricultural produce), nearly extinct. For these evils government has no present remedy. Its powers are doled out into so many petty constricting despotisms that it is powerless to do good. There is but one saving power left between our present state and convulsion. That power is with the labourers. If they subject their interests to the control of reason, and demand the proper value for their labour, they will gradually restore the wealth to the soil, and the inhabitants of which the country has been drained, by the insane struggle to give away more and more produce for less and less value, which has brought ruin upon both labour and capital in such frightful degrees. That the labourers will succeed in this greatest, and quietest, and most promising of all revolutions, is only known at present to the Power that rules the universe. But that it is now in act all over Europe, and that, too, with great chances of success in its favour, is one of the most consoling circumstances which it has fallen to our lot to notice. We had thought of showing up two or three instances of the evil spirit which has been fostered between the manufacturers and workmen, by journals which seek profit by pandering to the strong to the injury of the weak. But as the disparity of advantage is about to disappear, and as we know that the system of mutual justice and forbearance is gaining converts from both the wealthy and the industrious every day, we shut out all references to the past which are merely calculated to prevent the good understanding which we contemplate as the speedy result of the new arrangements.—*Manchester Advertiser.*

RELIGION.—This term is strangely misapplied; and in using it, most men take cause for effect. They quarrel regarding distinctions, without thinking of the abstract quality. Creeds have nothing to do with actual religion, which operates on different minds in modes as opposite as the habits of those minds. Every man acts—even upon the most trivial affair—under some influence; and that influence is (for the time being) his religion. Whether his actions are controlled by the dread of future punishment or the anticipation of future bliss, we care not: the result is the same. Both motives attain the identical end, though by different means. In fact, conscience is religion, and, "prate till doomsday," a man is never so truly a Christian as when he says, "I dare not be guilty of a bad action; I will perform a good one."

MAN IS THE CREATURE OF CIRCUMSTANCES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Anticipating that I shall not be considered as begging the question, when I assert that all mankind are creatures of circumstances, hence it is that I draw my inferences from predisposing causes, that so much crime exists in

this enlightened age, and so much ignominy and extreme punishment, even unto death, await the innumerable unheeded victims, made so by circumstances that of necessity influence the mind to good or evil, to virtue or vice. Then, I ask, would it not be as wise, as, in my opinion, it would be just, to afford these victims of transgressions, these poor objects of mercy, an opportunity of embracing other and better circumstances, in order that they may renew themselves morally and virtuously. Rather than condemn an almost helpless people to exile or death, I would open a way for their regeneration. But of the many divers projects that exist, even in this enlightened era, I see none, not even one, that can be considered likely to produce the desired effect. I admit many improvements and revisions have of late been made with regard to setting apart the proportionably good and bad; but how many per chance, and these perhaps the most hardened in sin, may be found guilty, condemned accordingly, for a minor offence! under such a mishap they are mixed up with other minor offenders, and I am persuaded no plan has yet been devised capable of producing the devoutly-to-be-wished-for reform. I am but an humble individual myself, though none is superior but in proportion as he surpasses me in the well-doing to mankind; and it is in the spirit of philanthropy that I am induced to trespass on your valuable columns, pleading inability to handle the subject equal to what it deserves. I have said that no plans, or modification of plans, that have hitherto appeared for the reformation of bad principles, can be considered as pregnant with any hope of success; and when a man deprecates measures that have for their object any particular good, it behoves him not only to state his reasons for considering them fallacious, but to point out other and better plans for consideration; in doing which I hope not to be considered as frivolous or chimerical. For this reason, did I not deem the following practicable, and of good repute, I would not entertain it for one moment; but until I am convinced by argument of its impracticability or inutilty I shall maintain my position, which is simply this—That every prison or gaol-house be made a house of discipline, wherein we may behold, not vice, nor idleness, the parent of vice, but in their stead disciples to good example; added to that, hard work of manual labour, under the most severe restrictions, as may seem wise and just. I would that two adjacent buildings, of a circular form, be erected to every prison or gaol; the same to be appropriated for general workshops, stocked with tools for every description of manual labour; one for the male and the other for the female department; and each prisoner to be held at hard labour, best suited to his capacity; the produce of which should be appropriated to the exigencies of the poor of the parish wherein they may be situated; by this means the poor's rates of the different parishes would be considerably diminished, and it would only be necessary then to collect poor's rates of those that should be considered able to pay them, and not to call on the necessitous and poor to support the same, or equally indigent; in consequence of which, the poorer classes would not be so hardly done by; it would ultimately diminish poverty; and, by diminishing poverty, crime would diminish in proportion.

For the disposal of the produce of labour they obtained, I would suggest that a convenient place for the sale of, such should be erected at each workhouse; the price in plain

figures attached to each article; and never, in any instance, to undersell the trade; but to allow the trade a fair opportunity, at all times and under all circumstances, to cope with you.

Why I have said that the workshops should be circular buildings is, because a circular building would better admit of the overlooker, or managing man, to have a view of all at work at one sight; though each prisoner's station should be partitioned off, yet a person in the middle could see all going on. Much more might be said on this subject, but I beg to conclude for the present, and in the interim hope to see it taken up by more able hands than mine.

A CONSTANT READER.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT, ENDING NOV. 16.

Deposits . 8,190*l*. 1*s*.—Exchanges, 8,102*l*. 1*s*.

RECEIPTS. *Cash & Notes.* PAYMENTS.

Commission £15 9*s*. 0*d*. Provisions . 72 8 9

Rent Sub. . 7 18 3 Lectures . 3 11 3

Grocery . 20 8 0 Grocery . 19 0 11

Lectures . 16 17 6 Coals . 8 9 0

Provisions 121 11 7*½* Wages . 91 8 0

Coals . 9 11 3 Rent . 10 0 0

Charges, including repairs . 27 9 11

191 15 8 162 7 11

Stock, goods on hand . 59,319*l*. 5*s*.

Notes now in circulation 37,402 1

Excess Stock over Notes 21,917 4

Audited by the Managing Committee,

STEPHEN WARNER, Chairman.

W. HOARE, Superintendent.

LECTURES, &c., NEXT WEEK.

Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

Sunday morning, at half-past 11, by the Rev. J.

E. Smith, and evening, at 7, by Mr. Owen.

Sunday afternoon, at 3, the members of the Social

Community will take Tea together.

Thursday evening at half-past 7, the Trades.

Friday afternoon, at 4, the Female Association.

Mr. Detrozier will lecture on Tuesday evening.

S. T. SIMONIAN LECTURES, Barton Room

Barton Crescent, every FRIDAY, at Seven

O'Clock in the Evening.

On Friday, the 29th instant, will be published,

at Edinboro Wilson's, Royal Exchange, a St. Simonian Pamphlet, "on the Organization of the

Working Classes," and "On Matrimony." For

Tickets, and Prospectuses of the Lectures, apply

at the Reformer Office, 378, Strand; at M. F. de

Perquet and Cooper's, 11, Tavistock-street, Covent-garden; Mr. Brooks's, 421, Oxford-street;

and at the Crisis Office, 16, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields.

THE TWENTY-NINTH SOCIAL FESTIVAL

will be held on MONDAY EVENING, 17th

December 2, at the Institution of the Industrial

Classes, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

Military Tenture.—Ought it to be abolished? This question will be publicly discussed

on Wednesday evening, December 4th, at the

Labour Exchange, Charlotte-street. Mr. Alexander Somerville will attend. Chair takes at

Eight O'Clock precisely.

PREMISES WANTED. either the whole or

part of the Sabbath, a Chapel, or a Lecture

Room, or Warehouse sufficiently large to convert

into a Lecture Room, within five minutes' walk of

St. Mary's, Whitechapel. Apply by letter, post

paid, to the Printer.

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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 1.

[On account of the press of matter, Mr. Smith has withdrawn his lecture this week.]

Mr. Owen lectured in the evening.

"I have now been absent more than six weeks; and, during these six weeks, have made more progress in the propagation of sound principles than within the last two years. Many new friends are gained, and a new foundation is laid. All nations are anticipating a great change, and they look for the commencement of it in Great Britain, as being at the head of commerce and industry: but all parties disagree in their opinions of the source from whence it is to proceed. One has been looking to the Tory for deliverance, another to the Whig; another expects the Radical to take the lead. One party looks to political, others to religious sources—one to the high church, another to the sectaries. We, however, all know that relief can come from none of these parties. It must come from the working classes; for they alone are the sufferers, and they alone can effect the change. I did hope that they would have led the way in this reformation of society long ago; but they had not knowledge of their true interests. My late visit, however, to the provinces, has convinced me that there is a very great growth of sound and useful information amongst them.

"After leaving London, I visited Worcester, Birmingham, the Potteries, Manchester, and the leading towns in Yorkshire. Leeds has been thought a very difficult place to make an impression upon. I was told it was almost useless to deliver my public lectures there; however, I thought it quite necessary; and after consulting with some of the leaders of the lodges, they agreed to send circulars to the different lodges in the neighbourhood, requesting them to send delegates from amongst the most intelligent of their number. With this request the lodges complied, and I met about 400 of these delegates, and about 150 or 200 other individuals, who requested permission to attend; and to them I delivered the following lecture, which was reported by the Leeds Times:—

MR. OWEN'S LECTURE AT LEEDS.

We present our readers with an outline of a lecture delivered by Mr. Owen to the delegates of the Trades' Union, and to others to the number of upwards of 600, in the large room at the Black Lion Inn, in this town, in the evening of Monday, the 18th instant.

Mr. Owen observed, that the subject he was about to discuss was so extensive, that it was difficult to decide upon the best course to be adopted for a single lecture. As Mr. Baines had given a paragraph in the *Leeds Mercury* of last week, reflecting upon his (Mr. Owen's) proceedings, he deemed it useful to set himself right with the public of Leeds, before he proceeded to explain the more immediate objects of the meeting. The year 1819 being a period of great distress, Mr. Baines, Mr. Cawood, and the late Mr. Oastler, were appointed by the town of Leeds to inspect his establishment at New Lanark, and to make an accurate report of what they observed. That report was chiefly drawn up by Mr. Baines, and it should be then read as applied to Mr. Baines's paragraph.

Mr. Simpson Pollard, secretary to the Trades' Union, read the report, which was as follows:—

[We regret that the demands upon our columns this week preclude the possibility of our giving the whole of the extract read to the meeting. With reference to the population under Mr. Owen's care at New Lanark, the deputation says:—]

"The next class of the population in the Lanark establishment consists of the boys and girls between ten and seventeen years of age; these are all employed in the mill, and in the evening from seven to half-past eight o'clock they pursue that system of education to which their attention has up to ten years of age been directed in the day time. The deportment of these young people, owing probably to the advantages of their early training, is very exemplary. In business they are diligent, and in their manner they are mild and engaging. They are taught to know that vice and happiness can never be long allied, and they seek their gratifications rather in the improvement of their minds than in the habits of the dissolute. Public-houses, and the other resorts of the vicious, are no where to be found in this happy village, and the advantage of the absence of their contaminating influence is strikingly exemplified in the contrast of manners and of conduct between the inhabitants of New Lanark and of most (we fear we may say all) other manufacturing places. It is proper here to observe that, from the nature of Mr. Owen's establishment, employment cannot be found in the mills for all the boys born and educated in the place; and on that account many of them, when they have finished their education, are placed by their parents at mechanical or handicraft trades. What has been the conduct of any considerable number of these boys when they are removed from the moral restraints of their former situations, it was not in our power to ascertain, though we have little

doubt but the advantage of their early education will be felt upon their moral habits in every period of future life.

"In the adult inhabitants of New Lanark we saw much to commend. In general they appeared clean, healthy, and sober. Intoxication, the parent of so many vices and of so much misery, is indeed almost unknown here. The consequence is that they are all well clad and well fed, and their dwellings are clean and inviting. The Scotch character has in it, no doubt, something that disposes to a more exemplary observance of the Sabbath than is generally to be seen in England; but this circumstance apart, it is quite manifest that the New Lanark system has a tendency to improve the religious character; and so groundless are the apprehensions expressed on the score of religion suffering injury by the prevalence of these establishments, that we accord with Mr. Owen in his assertion that the inhabitants of that place form a more religious community than any manufacturing establishment in the United Kingdom.

"This effect arises out of the circumstances by which they are surrounded, and is wholly independent of any sentiment on religious subjects entertained by Mr. Owen himself. Instead of the work-people of Lanark spending their evenings in the public-houses, many of them derive their amusement from witnessing the performances of their children in the school-rooms. In this well-regulated colony, where almost every thing is made, wanted by either the manufactory or its inhabitants, no cursing or swearing is any where to be heard.

"There are no quarrelsome men or brawling women. These effects arise partly out of the moral culture of the place, partly from the absence of public-houses, as we have before said, and partly from the seclusion of the inhabitants from the rest of the world, if that can be called seclusion were 2,500 persons are congregated within the narrow compass of a quarter of a square mile."

Mr. Owen requested his audience to contrast the sentiments contained in that report with the paragraph in the last week's *Mercury*, and they would see the difference between honest Mr. Baines in 1819, and Mr. Baines, the partizan Whig, in 1833. Mr. Baines, from his situation, could not so well know the real condition of the working classes as he (Mr. O.) did, who had devoted half a century, day by day, to the full investigation of the important subject. Had he known it, he (Mr. O.) was sure Mr. Baines would have written in a different manner relative to the proceedings of the Trades' Union. The only writer who had taken a correct view of the present condition of the productive classes of Europe and America was the talented writer in the *Morning Chronicle*, under the signature of O. P. Q., who had opened the subject in two letters on Wednesday and Thursday last. In the former, he explained the causes which had produced the present excitement among the working classes on both those continents. He very truly observed that the schoolmaster had been

abroad among the productive classes, as well as in the middle class, and that the natural effects arising from the development of true principles were now beginning to show themselves. He stated truly, that many of the parties who some years since advocated the education of the poor, were not themselves aware of the effects which would arise—that the Lord Chancellor, Lancaster, Allen, and others, did not foresee the mighty results that would arise from opening the faculties of the working classes; and he added, that the power of the trades' unions was but little understood by the superficial observer, for that, in his opinion, they were destined to make a greater change in society than all the little petty proceedings of the various governments united. But the writer, in his second letter, discovered his deficiency of experience, when he entered upon the practical part of the subject. He thinks that the attempt of the trades' unions to fix a maximum of time and a minimum of wages is impracticable, and that they cannot succeed in any such attempt. He, however, stated truly that different sections of these unions were very likely to commit various blunders at their commencement, for want of leaders of experience to direct their measures on sound principles, and in accordance with each other.—O. P. Q. was correct in all the principles he stated in his first letter. The causes which were in progress to produce these mighty effects had been familiar to him (Mr. O.) for upwards of forty years, and in consequence, he had taken a very active and prominent part in promoting the Lancastrian, Bell's, and every other system of education proposed for the working classes. Indeed, he had proposed and made considerable progress in inducing Lord Liverpool's administration, and many of the leading members of the Whig and Dissenting interest, to introduce a bill into parliament for the national education of the poor—in which he would have succeeded, had he not been opposed by Randolph, the then Bishop of London, and the late Mr. Whitbread, who had previously attempted a similar measure, as well as Mr. Pitt. They failed, however, for want of being familiar with the habits and condition of the operative classes.—So far back as 1818, he (Mr. O.) presented memorials to the governments of Europe and America, and the congress of sovereigns held at Aix la Chapelle, stating, in strong terms, the impolicy of longer continuing the existing system, and the certainty that, if it was persisted in, the progress of machinery on the one hand, and the increasing knowledge among the productive classes on the other, would, in a few years, render it impracticable for them to persevere in the system, and the power of society would of necessity fall under the control of the industrious classes, as soon as they were made sufficiently intelligent to direct it. He (Mr. O.) had, from that period to the present, not only carefully watched the progress of the schoolmaster, but he had in Europe and America exerted all his powers to create a new public opinion, and he now found that his success was equal to his most sanguine expectations. Henceforward, the intelligent and well-disposed of the productive classes would control the destinies of the civilized world. Their power cannot be limited by any human force now in existence. It would be easy for them to say, "Those who remain opposed to the improvement and future prosperity of the general population of all countries shall not be supported by us, but they must support themselves." It is, in fact, the trades' unions that will ere long contain the whole of the working classes within their association. They will develop the means of creating wealth of the most valuable description, and abundance for all, without the necessity for the producers of this wealth being either in ignorance or poverty, or being cheated and oppressed by any party whatever. He (Mr. O.) had taken some pains latterly to reflect upon those principles which would be most beneficial in practice, both for masters and men,

and was desirous of making these principles familiar to both. He had, therefore, just finished, before he came to the meeting, the outlines of a catechism, explanatory of his views, and which were as follow:—

THE CATECHISM OF THE REGENERATING SOCIETY.

Question. What ought to be the object of human society? **Answer.** The happiness of the human race, without distinction of class, sect, party, country, or colour.

Q. Has this object been honestly and intelligently sought by any class, sect, or party, in any country? **A.** If sought for, it has never yet been attained.

Q. Can the happiness of the human race be now attained and permanently secured? **A.** Yes, beyond all doubt, when proper means shall be adopted.

Q. What are the proper means? **A.** The adoption in practice of charity and love for the whole family of mankind.

Q. Has this doctrine not been taught for thousands of years? **A.** Yes, but it has never yet been put into practice by any class, sect, or party in any country.

Q. Wherefore? **A.** Because men have been trained not to know themselves, or what manner of beings they are, but in a system which unavoidably and necessarily generates individual selfishness.

Q. Can men now be trained to know themselves, and to have pure charity and real affection for all mankind? **A.** Yes, and this system is now required to remove the evils arising from individual competition, and its consequences, poverty, crime, and violence.

Q. Upon what foundation does this system for the regeneration of mankind rest? **A.** Upon an accurate knowledge of man and of society.

Q. What is man? **A.** A compound being, fearfully and wonderfully made—1st. at birth, by that Power which organizes all existences; and 2nd, by the influence of the external circumstances by which each individual is surrounded from birth.

Q. Does man form any part of his own organization or constitution at birth? **A.** No, not even a hair of his head, or a nail of his finger.

Q. Does man form any of the external circumstances by which he is surrounded at birth? **A.** No, neither at birth, nor while external circumstances make the deepest and most lasting impression upon him.

Q. Can you justly or rationally blame or praise the individual for his peculiar constitution at birth, or for the inferior or superior qualities of the external circumstances which surround him from birth, many of which existed before he was born, or had power even to know good from evil with respect to them? **A.** Certainly not.

Q. But has it not been an universal practice to blame and praise human beings for the qualities which they possess, either derived from their individual organization, or the influence of external circumstances acting upon their peculiar organization? **A.** Yes.

Q. What have been the necessary or natural consequences of this unjust and irrational system of praise and blame, and individual reward and punishment? **A.** Every evil with which the human race has been afflicted.

Q. Will you enumerate some of the most prominent evils which necessarily arise from, or are engendered by, the belief in these errors, and their adoption in practice? **A.** Yes: Spiritual pride, hatred, anger, wars, massacres, uncharitableness, unkindness, and every erroneous and bad passion which can be implanted in human nature, generating the most ignorant selfishness, under the form of individual competition.

Q. But will not the Christian precepts of charity and love, which are taught weekly, and almost daily, in the churches, eradicate those evils? **A.** However strongly these precepts may be urged

upon the people, in churches, chapels, and all kinds of meeting-houses, as long as the nature of man remains unknown, and individual competition continues in practice, these precepts, as heretofore, must remain a dead letter, and be incapable of adoption.

Q. What is society? **A.** An association of human beings to enable the individual members to produce wealth—distribute it—form the character of the rising generation, and to govern the whole mass in such a manner as to obtain the greatest amount of wealth, intelligence, harmony, and happiness.

Q. By what means are these results to be produced? **A.** By properly-devised arrangements to enable the society to produce the greatest amount of the most valuable wealth, in the shortest time, with the most advantage to the producers, and to distribute this wealth the most beneficially for all the members of the association. By other arrangements combined with these, to cultivate the physical, intellectual, and moral powers and faculties of every child, in order to make it at maturity the most useful, valuable, intelligent, good, and happy being that his original constitution or organization at birth will admit of, and to unite these separate arrangements in their due proportions, that they may always proceed and govern in order and harmony, and produce the greatest permanent benefit to every member of the association.

Q. Is it practicable to form arrangements throughout society, that will admit of improvements so important and extensive being now introduced? **A.** It will be easy of practice to do so as soon as liberty of expression, without evil to the speaker, can be secured for the conscientious belief of all, to whatever sect or party they may belong.

Q. Do you consider this liberty of expression, without giving offence to others or creating evil to the speaker, the first step towards the practice of real Christian charity and love for mankind? **A.** Yes: for until means can be devised to effect this great change in the dispositions, it will be in vain to expect any essential permanent improvement in the worldly or moral condition of man, or the practice of virtue among the human race.

Q. What now prevents the introduction of practical measures to effect this change in the present generation? **A.** The want of correct knowledge among those who govern the most civilized nations.

Q. What power do these nations possess? **A.** All that is necessary to make the population of every country rich, intelligent, good, and happy.

Q. Seeing that these governors do not exercise this knowledge, what practical measures do you recommend for adoption? **A.** That the productive, or most useful and valuable classes in all countries, unite among themselves to accomplish peacefully and morally those changes which it would have been better if the governments had, of their own accord, commenced and effected.

Q. Suppose the union of all the industrious classes to be completed, what ought to be the first measure for them to carry into execution? **A.** They should fix a maximum of time and a minimum of remuneration for their daily labour.

Q. What ought to be the maximum of time? **A.** Eight hours per day—from eight o'clock in the morning until mid-day, and from two o'clock until six in the evening.

Q. Why do you limit the time to eight hours? **A.** 1st, Because it is the utmost period that the human race can work physically or mentally per day, and be healthy, intelligent, virtuous, and happy: 2nd, because, since the modern discoveries in chemistry and mechanics, it is wholly unnecessary for any one of the human race to be longer daily employed: 3rd, because, in eight hours daily, under wise arrangements, a superfluity of wealth may be created for all: 4th, because no men have any natural right to require other men to be employed longer than is benefi-

cial for society: and, 5th, because it is the real interest of every human being that every other human being should be, if possible, formed to be healthy, intelligent, virtuous, and happy.

Q. What ought to be the minimum of remuneration for eight hours' daily employment in the general service of mankind; that is, in producing food, lodgings, clothes, furniture, knowledge, or pleasure, for their fellow-beings? A. A sufficiency of good food, lodgings, clothes, furniture, knowledge, and recreation for all thus employed, and their families.

Q. Can their physical and mental powers, wisely applied, produce these things for themselves and a surplus? A. Yes; and if there was any necessity for it, or utility in it, they could, in a short time, under a wise direction of human powers applied to the land, and capital now in existence, produce wealth to which no assignable limit can be fixed.

Q. Then you recommend that knowledge and happiness, or real wealth, should be insured to the producers of it, instead of money or nominal wealth? A. Yes; I recommend to all producers of wealth, whether employers or employed, now to unite to obtain for their productions from those who neither produce knowledge or wealth, or any thing really useful for mankind, good lodgings, food, clothes, furniture, and time to acquire knowledge and recreation. But that if those who do not produce wealth will not thus remunerate the producers for their productions, the latter will permit them, the unproductive, to create those things for themselves.

Q. The first step that you recommended to the union of the productive classes being to fix a maximum of time and a minimum of wages, what do you recommend for the second? A. That they should make arrangements to put an end to intemperance and all the other injurious and disagreeable habits which their excess of labour has tended greatly to force them to acquire; and that should exhibit, in their daily intercourse with each other and with the world, the Christian virtues of forbearance, charity, and kindness, and upon all occasions show a readiness to return good for evil, until, by a constant perseverance in such conduct, evil and the motives to practise it among men shall be removed.

Q. Do you believe that such a virtuous, intelligent, and happy state of society can be introduced by the union of the productive classes? A. Yes—if the employers and employed can be now made to unite in measures the most obvious for their mutual benefit.

Q. But should one or both be yet too ignorant to comprehend this enlarged interest which you have described, what course should be adopted? A. If both parties are not yet sufficiently informed to perceive the overwhelming interest which they have in these measures, then the intelligent and best-disposed, who do understand these principles, and know the benefit they will produce when applied to practice, are called upon by their desire of happiness to use every means in their power to enlighten both parties for their mutual advantage.

Q. But suppose that the employers should not now perceive these things, as they do not suffer yet so much evil from the present practices as the operatives whom they employ, and that the latter should discover the full extent of the errors of the principle by which their labour is called into action; what course would it be wise and prudent for the employed to adopt, to put an end, in the shortest space of time, to the unnecessary misery which they and their families now experience? A. They have but one course left for them to pursue: they must unite, as all other associations of men have done, for their mutual safety and interest, and by their union induce the most enlightened of their employers and of the public to aid them to do without the assistance of such of their present employers as cannot be induced to join

them in these fundamental measures for their own security and the regeneration of society.

Q. Is the time arrived for this great change to be effected, without throwing society into confusion, or doing a greater evil by raising some portion of society in the scale of happiness, and depressing other large portions, perhaps the greater number? A. I believe the time is come when this highly-to-be-desired change may be accomplished, not only without any real injury to any portion of mankind, but also with the most substantial permanent advantage to the whole of the human race.

Q. What is the object intended to be attained by the establishment of the Regenerating Society? A. The happiness of the human race.

Q. By what means? A. By introducing into every day's practice the fundamental precepts of the Christian religion; universal charity and kindness through the gradual abandonment of the commercial principle of individual competition, and the adoption of national companies for conducting the general business of the empire.

Q. Cannot the Christian precepts of charity and love be practised under the commercial system of individual competition? A. No, never!—and it is in vain longer to continue the useless attempt.

Q. Then all sincere searchers after truth must ultimately adopt these practical measures before they can become Christians? A. There is no other plan under heaven by which the fundamental precepts of the Christian religion can be conscientiously carried into practice.

These were the outlines which had occurred to him; but he gave them to the meeting as an imperfect sketch, which would be subject to subsequent improvement. It had always been a great mistake on the part of the master manufacturers and tradesmen, that their interests could be permanently promoted either by long hours or low wages. The introduction of mechanical inventions and chemical improvements into the country, ought to have had, and if wisely directed would have had, the very opposite effects to those which have taken place. Instead of the hours of labour being increased daily, they would have regularly and gradually diminished daily, and instead of the value of manual labour being continually diminished, it would have regularly and continually increased. He might indeed have justified his friend Mr. Baines's ultra statement of three or four guineas a-week for six hours daily, for the increase of our powers of production would fully warrant those improvements in the condition of the working classes; but he was aware that public opinion was not yet ripe or sufficiently rational to understand to their full extent the reasons on which such a state of things could be supported. But he should contend that the working classes had a full and clear right to refuse to work more than from eight o'clock in the morning until twelve at noon, and from two o'clock until six in the evening, and to demand in return for it as comfortable an existence as is now possessed by the more rational of the middle class of society. For producing wealth for those who do not and cannot produce wealth for themselves, they are fully entitled to live in a good house well furnished, to have an ample supply of good and wholesome food, to be well clothed, to have their children well educated, and to have the means for rational recreation and intelligent social enjoyment. The working classes have hitherto sold themselves as slaves to the useless members of society, and even now they only claim to be put into a condition somewhat approximating to the slaves in the West Indies. They will not be required at the most (according to Mr. Charles Wood's statement at the Halifax dinner) to work more than forty-five hours a-week, while eight hours a-day would be forty-eight hours a-week. The black slaves were furnished with all the necessities of life, with the addition of medicine and

medical advice, and surely the white slaves of Yorkshire and Lancashire are entitled to approach to the condition of the black slaves in our colonies. The London and provincial newspapers had been teeming with tirades against Trades' Unions, and were calling down vengeance upon them, and recommending their utter destruction. He (Mr. O.) would, however, tell them that the industrious classes had as good a right to form their unions, as any of the political parties of the country had to form their clubs and associations. He would, therefore, recommend them, under no considerations whatever, to consent to give up their union, for in their union alone was safety; they should, indeed, rather sacrifice their lives than give up their union, for it was the only safeguard against a greater degree of slavery than even the working classes have yet experienced.

He had now subjects of a different character to bring before them. It was evident that they were going to attain a new and very different station in society from that which they had hitherto held, and it was necessary they should now acquire a character, fit for the new condition of life upon which they were about to enter. He had, two requests to make, and he earnestly solicited their best attention to what he was about to say. He had perceived with regret that intemperance had become an extensive habit, in many places, among the working classes. He (Mr. O.) was not surprised at that, because men worked as they had been worked in such unhealthy atmospheres, and under such unfavourable circumstances for health and comfort as many of them lived in, it could not be expected that they should not seek for some relief to recruit exhausted nature; and he would tell the master manufacturers, and tradesmen, and the public at large, that by requiring those over-exertions from the productive classes, they were the real cause of those habits of intemperance and of inferior conduct among those classes. There could be no other reason for the ignorance and the vulgar habits among the working-classes than among the middle and upper classes, except the very improper condition in which the two latter have for so long a period kept the former. He would therefore request them, as they valued their future permanent prosperity and the happiness of their families, that they would adopt such decisive regulations in their respective lodges, and in their societies generally, as should discountenance intemperance, and bring it to a termination as speedily as possible; for as long as they retained the habits of intemperance, it was impossible for themselves or their best friends to raise their condition in society. The next request he had to make was, that they would adopt measures, as speedily as possible, to put an end to the angry feelings and causes of division which now too generally existed among them. An extended cordial union was so necessary for their future permanent success, that all petty causes of difference should be now dismissed from their minds. Had they been taught to know themselves, or what manner of beings they were, those divisions would no longer be found among them. When they reflected that their individual constitutions were made for them by a Power over which they had no control,—that the difference between one human being and another, at birth, was not made by themselves, but by the same Power which brought them into existence,—and that their subsequent character was formed by the accidental circumstances in which they happened to be placed,—they would discover that to be angry or displeased with their fellow-men was an act of irrationality, and that those poor individuals who have been the least favoured by nature, were not objects for their blame or punishment, but for their sympathy and kindness. He trusted, therefore, that henceforward they would endeavour to retain those few but important fundamental principles in their minds, and extend the principle to their future

communications with their employers. Many of those, from the position they had long held over them, would at first be displeased and angry with them for asking for their simple rights, and might perhaps, in harsh terms, refuse to listen to any of their applications; but they ought not in return to exhibit such conduct to them—it would be irrational. They ought to recollect the circumstances in which their masters had been placed, their habits of control and direction over them, and forgive them. Let their conduct be mild and forbearing, but firm and decided—let them make use of no harsh language or uselessly irritating epithets, but tell their masters simply that they asked only for their rights, that they were determined to obtain them, and that it would be their masters' interest, as well as theirs, that they should obtain and permanently maintain them. However angry and displeased their employers might be at first, when they had time to reflect upon their own position and theirs, and the relation of both to the public, they would discover that they were the party in error, and that the measures proposed by the operatives would promote their permanent interest much better than their doing it for themselves, under the erroneous principles under which they were now acting. The present position of the parties, however, was not the most favourable for a speedy adjustment of the differences existing between them. An intelligent, disinterested mediating party between them, was required, and he (Mr. O.) was engaged in negotiations to form such a party—one in which the employers and the employed would acquire confidence, and be sure that the interests of neither would be sacrificed. He was in hopes that such a party could be formed, and in that case the most beneficial permanent results might be speedily anticipated. He strongly recommended them to be peaceable in their whole conduct, and never to attempt to carry any of their measures by violence against their employers, or such of their fellow-workmen who were not yet sufficiently enlightened to join them in their honest endeavours to benefit the condition of themselves and of society generally. It had been supposed by many parties that he (Mr. O.) was opposed to the Christian religion, but he would then state, once for all, that he had never been opposed to any thing that was true according to his conscientious belief, and that all his efforts, for the last fifty years, had been to bring the Christian principles of pure and genuine charity and real kindness into every-day practice, and that instead of words upon that subject, they should have practice.

A vote of thanks was proposed to Mr. Owen; but, in conformity with the last recommendation, he advised that these forms and ceremonies should be dispensed with, and that all parties should rather turn their minds to the attainment of the great measures of which he had been speaking. He was no more entitled to their thanks than was any other individual in that room, or the lowest negro in the British colonies. The meeting then terminated.

I have had a great deal of intercourse with, and have acquired a great deal of experience amongst, the working-men, and know their condition in all parts of the country; and I have witnessed a very strong feeling of dislike between masters and men. Nothing, however, is so likely to confuse the country as this, which seems to be increasing from day to day. There are two ways only of preventing the bad effects which must result from this reciprocal hostility and jealousy. The first is, for the operatives to select leaders from amongst themselves, and make these leaders what the masters now are—the controllers of the general affairs of the trades. But when I considered the probable success of a measure of this kind,

it occurred to me that a shorter and a much better course might be adopted. I found that there was only one interest between the master and the men, and that this single and mutual interest was, through ignorance, not perceived by either party. I have found, however, upon the whole, that the operatives are much better informed than the masters themselves; and have met with many masters who did not hesitate to acknowledge this, and to express their conviction of the necessity of a thorough change in the whole system, merely as a matter of justice. Were the masters and the men to separate, the strength of each party would be destroyed, and it would be many years before the working-men could establish their independence; but by a union of skill, of labour, and of capital, the amelioration of society could be effected in a few weeks.

The inequality between the two parties is at present very glaring. Not only does all the power of capital reside in the persons of the aristocratical few, but there is a moral power at their service, which influences public opinion in their favour—justifies all their injustice, and pictures all the discontentment and murmurings of the men as a species of ingratitude and criminality. The daily newspapers may say what they please against the operatives; but if they spoke the truth, they would have much more to say against the masters. However, truth is not as yet the most profitable article of commerce. It is merely the interest of the monied portion of society, that it is accounted reputable, or profitable to defend.

The men toil incessantly; but what do they get for all their labour, and what ought they to get? They ought to get good houses, good furniture, and rational education and enjoyment; and they will be the greatest fools on the earth if they do not make arrangements to have all these. Their employers form part of the producers in some respects; that is, their capital is a species of producer, inasmuch as it is an accumulation of labour; and profits of capital are a species of wages. The first wages belong to the labourer, and they are the necessities and comforts of life; after these are duly paid, there may be a surplus of wages for capital allowed, by making the public pay an addition of 10 per cent. upon the prime cost. But if the public say, "We are not willing to give this per centage; we want a cheap article;" then let the producers reply, "Make the article yourselves, since you are not willing to remunerate those who make it for you." But who is this public? It is composed of those who produce, and those who do not produce. To the former it matters not what they pay, since they will be repaid in the same proportion; but to the latter it is of material importance; for high wages will lower the heads of the aristocracy, and give the poor man his just rights.

There has been a long and a loud cry for cheap articles, and the consequence has been a very great deterioration in the quality of the article produced. The loss to the public has been greater than is generally supposed. When I was a cotton-spinner, I plainly perceived that the public was deceiving itself in this foolish mania for cheapness; and I put the subject to the test of experiment, which demonstrated the truth of my theory. I provided material of the best quality; and got it spun into thread of the best and stoutest make that was consistent with fineness of texture; the

cloth into which this was woven I found to wear six times longer than the common market article; and the extra expense of this superior fabric was only 25 per cent. All the difference of cost lies in the price of the material; the labour is much the same in a good article of that description as in a bad; indeed, the difference is rather in favour of the good material, inasmuch as there is less breaking, and consequently less loss of material, of time, and of labour.

About the beginning of this century, we used 6000 bags of cotton per week, the value of the manufactured produce of which was about 50,000,000*l*. Now, we use 18,000 bags, and the value is no greater. Suppose we were to manufacture the best, instead of the worst article, and allow an extra expense of 50 instead of 25 per cent.; 50 per cent. added to 50 millions would make 75 millions; but as these articles would be six times more valuable and durable, then the 50 millions would be worth 300 millions, deducting 50 per cent. would make the whole value of the present 50 millions equal to 275 millions; from which subtract the present value of 50 millions, and you have a real public loss of 225 millions, arising from the manufacturing of cheap articles.

I met with many intelligent men, who saw the truth of these things, and the necessity of some new practical measures; but then, said they, we are religious men: we cannot act with you, you are an infidel. I said I was very sorry that good men could not co-operate in doing a good action, merely because their speculative faiths were different; but why not give liberty of conscience to all, and bear with each other's infirmities and peculiarities? This, they acknowledged, was very just, and they requested me to make out a catechism illustrative of my doctrine, and they should consider whether or not an union could be effected. Accordingly, I did so.

Next day, I met at breakfast with these gentlemen, one of whom is a clergyman of the Church of England, the rest, laymen of different religious sects; and entered into a treaty with them, which was signed and sealed before half-past four o'clock. They requested that I should strike off the first part of my catechism, because it might prove the subject of religious discussion, which they wished to avoid, and to allow them to support the other part with quotations from scripture, to which I agreed, provided these quotations strictly accorded with the catechism. This catechism was then left with the clergyman, who got it neatly printed and circulated, to the amount I believe of several thousand copies. These men are men of talents, men of eloquence, who are capable of making a very great impression upon the minds of the people; and with their assistance, it is difficult to calculate the amount of good which we may be able to accomplish in a very short time. All of them acknowledge that Christian charity and goodwill can never be established amongst mankind as long as the competitive system lasts.

Here Mr. Owen read the catechism as drawn up by these gentlemen with scriptural references, which we shall publish in our next. It is called the catechism of the "SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING NATIONAL REGENERATION." This was the origin of the above-mentioned society, which is now fairly established at Manchester, and hopes to be supported by numerous other branch societies throughout the kingdom.

Mr. Owen then spoke in high terms of these gentlemen individually, as staunch and zealous friends of the people; amongst whom were Mr. John Fielden, M.P., and his three brothers, all united as one man; the Rev. Mr. Bull; Mr. Sadler, the celebrated advocate of the cause of the factory children; and Mr. Oastler, who has figured of late in the *Poor Man's Guardian*, not very advantageously certainly, but Mr. Owen could assure his hearers that what was there said of Mr. Oastler, was very unjust and undeserved.

The people in the north are far in advance of us, and are really determined to act, and not to speak merely; the ten-hours' bill they mean to abandon; they must have an eight-hours bill, and full wages, and arrangements are making to effect this purpose, by the month of March next. Mr. Wood, M.P., has been telling the people of Halifax what an important object has been gained to the black slaves in the West Indies by the Negro Emancipation Bill, and the national sacrifice of 20,000,000*l.* to effect it. The black slaves are now to work no more than forty-five hours a week, and for this to have good food, clothing and shelter, and medical attendance; and are white men to be denied the same advantages? are a white man's services not as valuable as a black man's?—Yes: and the working men of England will soon convince the nation that their emancipation is quite as practicable as negro emancipation, whatever opposition it may now meet with from the mouths of fools and interested non-producers.

The foundation of new societies is laid in several places, and many of the masters are willing to enter into treaty with the workmen. It is proposed that masters and men should each form a union, and send delegates to treat with each other; and those masters who will not submit to this, will find themselves thwarted; they will get none to work for them, and their trade will go into other hands.

RIGHTS OF INDUSTRY.

Prince's Tavern, Princess-street,
Manchester, Monday, 26th Nov., 1833.

At a meeting called at the above time and place, of the working people of Manchester, and their friends, after taking into their consideration—That society in this country exhibits the strange anomaly of one part of the people working beyond their strength, another part working at worn-out and other employments for very inadequate wages, and a third part in a state of starvation for want of employment;

That eight hours' daily labour is enough for any human being, and, under proper arrangements, sufficient to afford an ample supply of food, raiment, and shelter, or the necessities and comforts of life, and that to the remainder of his time every person is entitled for education, recreation, and sleep;

That the productive power of this country, aided by machinery, is so great and so rapidly increasing, as, from its misdirection, to threaten danger to society by a still further fall in wages, unless some measure be adopted to reduce the hours of work, and to maintain at least the present amount of wages:—

It was unanimously resolved,

1. That it is desirable that all who wish to see society improved and confusion avoided, should endeavour to assist the working classes to obtain "for eight hours' work the present full day's wages," such eight hours to be performed between the hours of six in the morning and six in the

evening: and that this new regulation should commence on the 1st day of March next.

2. That, in order to carry the foregoing purposes into effect, a society shall be formed, to be called "The Society for Promoting National Regeneration."

3. That persons be immediately appointed from among the workmen to visit their fellow-workmen in each trade, manufacture, and employment, in every district of the kingdom, for the purpose of communicating with them on the subject of the above resolutions, and of inducing them to determine upon their adoption.

4. That persons be also appointed to visit the master manufacturers in each trade, in every district, to explain and recommend to them the adoption of the new regulation referred to in the first resolution.

5. That the persons appointed as above shall hold a meeting on Tuesday evening, the 17th of December, at eight o'clock, to report what has been done, and to determine upon future proceedings.

6. That all persons engaged in gratuitous education on Sundays, and during the week days, be respectfully invited to make arrangements for throwing open their school-rooms to the working classes for two hours a day (say from one to three o'clock, or from six to eight, or any other two hours more convenient), from the 1st of March next, and that all well-disposed persons be invited to assist in promoting their education when time for such purposes has been secured to them.

7. That subscriptions be now entered into in aid of the fund to be raised by the working classes, for the execution of their part of the proposed undertaking.

8. That another and distinct subscription be also entered into for defraying the expenses of the persons appointed to visit the master manufacturers, and for other general purposes.

9. That the workmen and their friends use their utmost efforts to obtain further subscriptions, and that all well-disposed females be respectfully requested cordially to co-operate in this undertaking.

10. That a committee of workmen and their friends be now formed,* with power to add to their number, and to appoint a secretary and treasurer for the Manchester district of the society, described in the second resolution.

11. That this committee be instructed as soon as possible to take a convenient office in Manchester, which shall be called, "The Office of the Society for National Regeneration."†

12. That circulars reporting the proceedings of this meeting be immediately printed, and sent to the masters in every trade in the United Kingdom.

13. That such masters as may be disposed to adopt the proposed regulation for reducing the hours of work, and paying the same wages, are hereby respectfully invited to signify their consent by letter (post-paid), addressed to the office of the Society in Manchester.

14. That the Catechism now read, entitled "The Catechism of the Society for Promoting National Regeneration," be adopted.

15. That Messrs. Oastler, Wood, Bull, Sadler, and others, be urgently requested to desist from soliciting parliament for a ten-hours' bill, and to use their utmost exertions in aid of the measures now adopted to carry into effect, on the 1st of

* The following is a list of the Committee:—John Fielden, Esq., M.P., Joshua Milne, Esq., George Condy, Esq., Messrs. John Travis, Jun., J. W. Hodgetts, George Marshall, William Clegg, Joshua Fielden, Thomas Fielden, John Doherty, George Higginbottom, James Turner, William Taylor, Philip Grant, John Whyatt, George Scott, John Scott, Joseph Scott, Henry Greaves, John Broadie, William Willis, and Robert Owen, Esq.

† The office of the Society is No. 48, Pall-mall, corner of King-street.

March next, the regulation of "eight hours' work for the present full day's wages."

16. That the thanks of this meeting are hereby given to the aforesaid gentlemen, for their long-continued invaluable services in the cause of the working classes, and especially in the cause of the children and young persons employed in factories.

17. That Mr. Owen be requested to establish committees of the Society for National Regeneration, in every place or district which he may visit, especially in the Potteries, Birmingham, Worcester, Gloucester, Nottingham, Leicester, Derby, and London; and that he be also requested to report to the office of the Society in Manchester the names of such individuals as will assist in the present undertaking.

18. That in the first week in January next the working men in every district throughout Great Britain and Ireland shall make application to their employers for their concurrence in the adoption of the regulation of "eight hours' work for the present full day's wages," to commence on the 1st day of March next.

19. That this meeting earnestly appeal to their fellow-men in France, Germany, and the other countries of Europe, and on the continent of America, for their support and co-operation in this effort to improve the condition of the labourer in all parts of the world.

JOSHUA MILNE, Chairman.

Manchester, Nov. 27.

MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. John Fielden, who returns this evening to Todmorden, has just sent me the enclosed for you.

We have not been idle since you left us, and we are quite sure that you have not. At our Committee-meeting last night it was decided that the proceedings on Monday (with the names of the Chairman and the Members of Committee) should be advertised in the *London Times* and *True Sun*, and in all the Manchester papers; that circulars should be sent to each of the penny publications; that placards should be printed, containing the substance of the resolutions, and be distributed over Manchester and all the towns in the district; and that short circulars, with copies of Monday's proceedings and of the Catechism, should be sent to each trade and employment, calling upon them to elect two delegates from each, to meet on Monday evening next, for the purpose of naming the persons deemed most competent for the office of missionaries amongst their fellow-workmen.

The general circular and the Catechism are in the press, and I expect to see a proof immediately. No time will be lost in getting them extensively put out.

We have this day taken an office for the Society, which we shall enter upon this week, I hope. It is a suitable room, over Mr. Condy's chambers, which we consider ourselves fortunate in having obtained.

About half-a-dozen of the more active members of the Committee have agreed to meet at dinner every day for some days to come, that we may devote every moment we can spare to the fair launching of the important subjects in hand.

In haste, yours respectfully, W. CLAGG.

My regards to Mr. Pare, and Messrs Welch and Hudson.

To Robert Owen.

PERSECUTION.—It is the essence of injustice to persecute any person for omitting to conform to the established religion. No man should be deprived of any part of his liberty with respect to his opinions, unless his actions, derived from such opinions, were clearly prejudicial to the State. It is not in the power of man to surrender his opinions, and therefore the society which demands him to make this sacrifice, demands an impossibility.

ADJOURNED QUARTERLY MEETING

Of the National Equitable Labour Exchange, for the election of Superintendent and Watchman to the Association, Nov. 25, 1833.

Mr. Carler in the chair.

The Chairman announced the purpose for which the meeting was adjourned, viz.—the election by ballot of two persons to fill the offices of superintendent and watchman and lamplighter to the Association for the ensuing three months. The first business would be to appoint scrutineers. The following six individuals were then appointed: Messrs. W. Wood, Mote, Rofey, Marshall, Newman, and Miss Hadson. It was then resolved that the ballot continue open from eight o'clock until ten.

The secretary then read the report.

"Your committee beg to announce that the new arrangements in the provision store have been partially in operation since last Monday; they say *partially*, because they cannot consider their measure complete until a considerable reduction be made in the price of the meat, which your committee have not been able to effect to so great an extent as they anticipated. This has been attributed to the high state of the markets, and various other causes; but, from whatever cause it may arise, they will not relax in their exertions until the depositors are in possession of all the advantages which are to be obtained from cheap and wholesome provisions. And your committee trust, in their endeavours to carry out this or any other measure having the interest of this Association as its basis, to receive that support from you, individually and collectively, which every well-intentioned effort is fairly and justly entitled to. From the experience of the last two or three days, your committee are induced to think, that the anticipations ventured on by them in their last Report are about to be realized; and that the gloom which various untoward circumstances have contributed to throw over our exertions is fast dispelling; that it was, in fact, but a temporary check, caused by the unavoidable confusion attending the alterations, which are now happily so near completion. Your committee are happy to inform you that the deposits have been manifestly improving for the last two or three days. And they do expect from this evening's proceedings, that the Exchange will receive a most important and salutary stimulus. Thus, your committee are at their posts, determined to do all that honest men can do, *fearlessly and disinterestedly*. They look to you for the power and the means to carry out those measures; and they hope, in all their future operations, to see the most perfect good-feeling pervading all the sections and departments; knowing as they do that this, nor any measure beneficial to the working-man, can ever be effected without a firm concentration of zeal, talent, and honesty.

"The committee of management have but little additional information to lay before this meeting their attention having been taken up since the last report in carrying those measures into execution which were then decided on, and in preparing another and most important measure, which they propose laying before you this evening; and into the merits of which they court the most searching investigation. The necessity for this, or some measure of a similar tendency has become manifest to almost every one who has given the slightest consideration to the subject. Experience has shown that, although labour exchange can benefit, and has benefited, to a very great extent many of our industrious fellow-workmen, yet there are a still greater number who *have not*, who from their extreme poverty *cannot*, participate in its advantages. The great difficulty lies in the absence of raw material from the stores of this Exchange. And yet, your committee are of opinion that it is quite in the power of the members of

this Association to cause the most ample supplies of materials to be brought into this Exchange, in a comparatively short space of time. Your committee have prepared resolutions, which they unanimously recommend for your consideration, as calculated to remove the difficulties which now impede the operations of those who are desirous of benefiting themselves and their fellow-men, by a free exchange of labour for labour. It will be seen that by this measure the note of this Exchange will be made what it has not hitherto been, a representative of labour; whereas it is now of a mixed character, representing cash, labour, and, in many cases, *profit*, which is not the legitimate character of the labour note. Nothing, in the opinion of your committee, is so calculated to make the note respectable in the eyes of the world, as making it what it ought to be, the real, honest, representative of well-executed and beneficially-applied labour; and when it is made truly to assume that character, there cannot be a doubt but that it will be gladly received, nay, sought after, in exchange for any commodity, however useful or valuable.

"Your committee have also to solicit your sanction to three resolutions in connexion with the election of the officers, &c., of this association; the chief object desired by these resolutions is to insure a more regular, convenient, and certain collection of rent, and also to guard against any unfair or improper proceedings at the elections of officers of this Institution. These resolutions have been sent to all the sections, and approved of by all. It only remains for this meeting to give their approval."

"That every person taking out a member's card after the date of the passing of these resolutions, will not be allowed to vote at the elections of officers of this association, unless such member shall have been three months on the Secretary's books.

"That a general collector of rent be appointed in each section, with sub-collectors; and that a card be sent to each section, to be filled up as per card now before the committee.

"That each collector be requested to attend on the day of election, to deliver a balloting list to each member in his collection."

Mr. Tear then moved that the Report be adopted, and observed that any inconvenience which the alteration in the proportion of cash required to be given for provisions would be more than counterbalanced by the increased facility given to depositors to dispose of their notes, combined with the reduction in the price of the provisions. He called on all those connected with the Exchange, to come forward and deal with their ready money as far as their circumstances would admit; whilst it should be the endeavour of the committee to render it beneficial to the cash dealer, by providing a supply of good meat at low prices. He concluded by moving the adoption of the Report.

Mr. Bankhead seconded the motion.

Mr. Pryer said that the resolutions, if carried into execution, will place the Institution on a very different basis from what it is at present. It will make it really an Equitable Labour Exchange; for he was reluctantly compelled to admit that *that* was not its character at present. He would give one illustration in proof of his position:—A depositor brings an article, say worth 5*l.*; the material has cost him 3*l.*, leaving 2*l.* as the labour portion of the article. Another depositor also brings an article of the same value, but the material only cost 2*l.*, and the labour on such article amounted to 3*l.* Now it was clear that, under the present arrangements, these two men could not effect an equitable exchange with each other; and this was only one of a multiplicity of instances which might be adduced to show the want of equality in the advantages offered to depositors by our present arrangements. It was, in truth, a perfect sinking fund; for cash paid for material deposited in this Exchange never could be turned again in the same way. Another evil attending

our present plan was, the absence of variety in our deposits. There was a certain description of goods that could be deposited with greater advantage to the depositor than others; he would give an instance in his own trade, being best acquainted with that, but he doubted not it would apply to most other trades:—a tailor purchased casimere enough for one pair of trousers or four waistcoats; now, if he made this material into waistcoats, the money laid out would furnish the opportunity of double the amount of labour than it would if made into trousers; the consequence was, waistcoats were made and deposited in great numbers, while trousers were a very scarce article indeed. The interest of a depositor was not to bring in those articles which were most in request, but those only on which he could manage to put the greatest amount of labour at the least cost for material; hence some of the articles most essential to the necessities and comfort of depositors could not be procured in this Exchange. He thought this plan would be very likely to cure, or, at all events, most materially to diminish this evil. Another most important consequence of this measure would be a diminution in the amount of notes issued for goods, thus relieving the provision department from a great part of that pressure which has been found so inconvenient. The first step is to raise a material fund, which would be applied, under the direction of the committee, in procuring employment for those of the members who stood in need of it. The goods produced from the material procured through this fund, would be deposited at their real value, which is the cost of the material and the value of the labour expended on them: the depositor receiving and paying cash for that part of his deposit which can alone be procured for cash, the *material*; the *labour alone* being paid for in notes. The committee would take care that those articles most in demand were procured through its instrumentality. Another favourable feature in this new plan was, that no depositor would find any benefit in putting a dishonest value on his goods, because if two suits of clothes of equal value and quality were deposited, the one at a fair value, the other at an unfair value, there could be no doubt which of the two suits would be first sold; and as the depositor would have to wait for the cash part of his deposit until it was sold, it would clearly be his interest to put in his deposit at its fair value, in order to give him an equal chance with his neighbour. It would amalgamate all the conflicting interests of the various classes of depositors into one, and would bring the exchange to what it ought to be, an exchange of labour for labour, cash for cash. He begged to move that the resolutions be received:

[These resolutions were inserted in last week's *Crisis*.]

Mr. Warden seconded the reception of the resolution. He was glad that the final decision on this measure was postponed for a fortnight. He agreed with most of the arguments of his friend, Mr. Pryer; indeed he was once placed in just such a position, pictured by Mr. Pryer. He once, during a temporary stagnation of business, deposited some coarse saddlery goods at the Gothic-hall, because that description of goods cost the least for material, in preference to other goods, which, though perhaps more useful and saleable, cost more for material. He in this instance, as other men, no doubt, would do, studied his own interests more than that of the depositors generally.

Mr. Simplin said, while he gave Mr. Pryer credit for his industry and good intention, he could not support these resolutions; he considered them a decided departure from the principles of labour exchange. If he understood the principles, they intend to give employment to the poor and needy; whereas, by this plan, a person must have money for the material, or he could not be benefited by its operation. Another objectionable feature in the plan was the compulsory clause regarding the

exchanging of 1s. per week for a labour note. He was of opinion, which, however, he knew was opposed to that of many of his friends, that the only way of elevating the Bazaar, and insuring its success, was by lowering the valuation. I myself, said he, would work willingly for 2d. per hour, because I know in six months I should be able to get 9d. or 1s. He was astonished that men were so blind as not to see the truth of that position. He concluded by moving, as an amendment, that the reception of the resolutions be postponed until this day month, and that a committee be appointed to consider the subject, and also the scale of valuation.

A member seconded the amendment.

Mr. Peel said that the first objection of Mr. Simpkin stated that the measure proposed by the committee was opposed to the principle of labour exchange. He could not, for the life of him, think where his friend, Mr. Simpkin, had stumbled over so untenable an objection; if he had stated that our present practice was opposed to our principles, he would have understood him; but this new measure was decidedly calculated to restore the Exchange to what it was not at present, an equitable exchange of labour for labour. Mr. Simpkin said it would prevent the poor and needy from depositing;—he would ask, could the poor and needy deposit now?—certainly not. And it was a most dangerous fallacy to assert that labour exchange was at present, or could be made for a long time, to benefit those who had no money. No, the poor unfortunate wight who was destitute of all means could not benefit by our Exchange at present; but to the poor industrious mechanic, who could only get a part of his time employed, to him it offered the most decided advantage, which would be considerably increased by this new measure. There were but two other points which had been urged on—the depreciating the note, and the high rate of valuation. That the note was now depreciated was a notorious fact; and that the present valuation was too high, he (Mr. Peel) was disposed to admit; but the greatest evil was, that the valuation was not equitable; it was too high in some cases, fair and proper in others, and too low in some other cases. Now, because he saw a certain cure for both these evils in the proposed measure, he gave it his hearty concurrence and support, and strongly recommended it to the meeting.

Mr. Pryer shortly replied, and the chairman put the amendment, which on a show of hands was lost by a very large majority. The original resolution was then carried, and the meeting adjourned to that day fortnight, the 9th December.

A public meeting of the working classes was held at the National Labour Exchange, on Thursday, 28th November; the day on which the Operative Builders of Birmingham laid the foundation-stone of their new Guildhall. Mr. Bankhead in the chair. The day was very unfavourable, so that the meeting was not so crowded as we expected. There was much spirit and sympathy displayed, however, by the different speakers. We have no room for a report, but we copy verbatim the Address to the Men of Birmingham, which was carried unanimously:—

TO THE TRULY NOBLE & HIGH-MINDED MEN OF BIRMINGHAM.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-WORKMEN,

We, the working-men of London, sincerely congratulate you on the great and glorious work you have this day begun, by laying the foundation of a structure devoted to the noblest purpose for which any building was ever heretofore projected in the history of the world, for the advancement of the interest of the hitherto oppressed and condemned millions. May you, by your glorious union, fully complete that truly sacred temple—a temple dedicated to the protection of

honourable honest industry, and hallowed by the all-powerful influence of truth and justice! May this prove but the first glorious example of what may be accomplished by union combined with intelligence! May this, your first glorious effort, dart like an electric flash on the civilized globe, rousing men from the lethargic slumber in which the deadening and prolonged influence of ignorance and superstition has entranced them! May it prove the source from whence shall spring plenty and happiness to the whole human race, by the unfettering of Industry, and by the just distribution of her fruits amongst those who alone have any just claim in the participation of them—the iron-handed, honest-hearted children of industry! The days of war, rapine, and desolation are past. Men are no longer to be made the instruments of ignorant ambitious tyrants, or crafty, short-sighted legislators, and their still more ignorant and short-sighted ally, a hypocritical and foul priesthood. The fiat is gone forth! the mighty truth that "Labour is the source of all wealth," and that those only who produce have any right to enjoy. The sophistry of political economy fades into vaporous insignificance before the unanswerable truths dictated by common sense. The strange anomaly of over-production and over-population can no longer mislead and perplex men who have been taught wisdom by the bitter lessons of experience. If, indeed, there is an over-production of wealth, why are we, who are the creators of that wealth, poor, desolate, and destitute? Who can dispute our natural right to a fair and equitable portion of those good things which never could have existed but for our industry?—wealth, which may indeed be said to be composed of the blood and bones of the enslaved working classes of this country? Is it because, through our industry, the high and mighty are so satiated and drunk with wealth that they become as fools, and order that we be turned adrift as a useless incumbrance on the soil, or to exist only on a pittance which the charitable donors would deem insufficient for their dogs? And, oh! yet what do we not endure!—Long and anxious toil under the most insulting tyranny, and a continual dread of being, either by sickness or accident, deprived of the means of supporting the miserable existence of our wives and children; and when the elasticity of youth and the sturdy vigour of manhood have been prematurely destroyed in administering to the wants, comforts, and luxuries of a proud and thankless few of our brethren, we are cast off as an useless incumbrance, and begrudged the beggarly pittance which their prudent fears, and not their humanity, has assigned to us. And yet, brethren, is not this land richly studded with monuments of our industry? Behold its proud cities, its sumptuous palaces, and its less-contaminated yet happier villages! these, all these, owe all their attractions, all their splendour to you—to us, whom the lordly aristocrats of the day, in the plenitude of their ignorance, are wont to call rabble—swinish multitude. Compare these splendid edifices with the miserable garrets and clay-built hovels of the sons of want! Again, behold our rivers, bearing on their bosoms the mighty monuments of at once our skill and industry, and our ignorance and folly—made by us to bear away the very wealth for which we are famishing! See and compare yon sleek and well-clad idler, lolling in stupid listlessness in a machine which skill, ingenuity, and industry, has contrived to add to his happiness! See and compare him with the lean and haggard wretch (perchance the man whose skill and industry has produced that gay and voluptuous equipage) encased with filth, and barely defended by his rags from the inclemency of the elements! Behold, and blush, for these things could not exist but by your sufferance. Why then do we suffer it? Is not the bountiful bosom of Nature swelling and bursting with all that is rich and luxuriant? Do we not possess industry and skill, to an unlimited extent, capable

of turning all her bonities to the common benefit of all, and make this earth, which now partakes of all that is written of a hell, to resemble all that ancient or modern enthusiasts have pictured of elysium or paradise.

Now is the meaning, the real meaning, of liberty and freedom understood. No longer will we submit to such monstrous folly, injustice, and tyranny. Industry will henceforth assume her proper position, and assert her rights in society. Industry is the source of all wealth, the basis of all power, the giver of all good, the fountain of all happiness. Truth, industry, and intelligence, with union, shall henceforth be the trinity in unity of our adoration. False splendour has lost its power to dazzle; sophistry its ability to mislead. No longer can we be induced by designing politicians to contend and compete with each other. Let us say to our taskmasters, our object is not to despoil, or destroy; keep the wealth our industry has procured for you; Nature furnishes abundant materials for our future industry, and a very moderate portion of that, rightly applied, will suffice to surround us with all that is necessary, all that is desirable for our wants and comforts. In future, we will apportion our time more equally, less to labour, and more to our intellectual improvement, and to rational recreation and relaxation. There is not a member of the human family that is not really interested in putting an end to the present degraded condition of the producing-classes; for in proportion as each individual member of society is free from want, and the fear of want, so is society free from vice and crime. What real interest can our governors and taskmasters have to keep us in misery and want, which they hitherto have done, by keeping from us our natural and undoubted right to the produce of our industry? Does their monopoly of wealth procure them happiness? does it not rather diminish from their happiness? Are they not the slaves of doubts and fears, artificial wants, and vain pleasures? Away, then, for ever with your doctrine of passive obedience! Nature has given to all her children the desire to acquire wisdom, a thirst after knowledge, happiness, and virtue, the certain natural consequences. Awake then, fellow-workmen! awake, rally round the standard of your union. Cease for ever all petty bickering and individual jealousies. We have but one interest, one object in view. Noble men of Birmingham, from the very bottom of our hearts we congratulate you on the good work you have begun; may you succeed in completing your noble structure! May it be your asylum, your palace, your seat of legislature, your hall of science, and knowledge; your temple, dedicated to truth, where the doctrine of peace and goodwill to man may be inculcated! May the noble spirit that animates you, prove epidemic, and seize on every working-man throughout the world. Let not a second Volney, in future, travel, and lament that every where he saw the splendid palaces of princes, the mansions and halls for the wealthy and great; but alas for the working-men, (the working bees of the hive,) he saw nothing but wretched huts, and miserable hovels. It is a melancholy truth, that it is this system of inequality, produced by the demon Competition, that has caused the ruin and downfall of nations. Men of Birmingham, the veil is removed. We know we possess abundant means; we believe we possess sufficient knowledge to apply those means to the removal for ever of want and misery.

Then let us, as our interests and objects are the same, cordially unite to carry those objects out to a successful termination. Although some of us differ from you on some points, yet, let not that difference of opinion prevent our uniting as one man on those other points on which we are agreed: we will do all in our power to assist you. Farewell, brethren, and prosper in your undertaking and may each man of you, as he adds brick to the building, say to himself, "here is

another brick added to the pillar that shall set as the beacon of true liberty to the whole civilized world," and remember, that each member added to your union is another link to the mighty chain that shall bind up the interests and sympathies of the various members of the human family into one indissoluble phalanx of good feeling and brotherhood.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have many articles which we cannot introduce this week on account of the pressure of matter connected with Mr. Owen's visit to the North: our correspondents must excuse us. We are also obliged to omit some reports, the insertion of which was urgently insisted upon. There are some of our correspondents who write so illegibly that it is almost impossible to understand them; this occasions a great loss of time in reading, and makes a very unfavourable first impression. We have been obliged, reluctantly, to curtail one or two articles, but we think we have given the choice to the public, and left the wholy to the composers.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 7.

We have given as full a report as possible of Sunday evening's meeting; but have several other important parts of the matter, brought forward by Mr. Owen, which we must defer till next week. Mr. Owen has certainly been most indefatigable of late, and most successful. The accomplishment of all his hopes seems now to be certain. It is evident that the current of public opinion is taking a new direction towards those views of society which he has been, for many years past, delineating to the public, who, from ignorance and prejudice combined, have discouraged and obstructed the progress of the best and most practical system of society that ever was proposed. The union of the trades may now be calculated upon as a certainty; and this union will create a commonwealth, in which the industrious shall be rewarded, and the idle have cause to reproach themselves alone for the privations they experience, and none but they shall experience them. A COMMONWEALTH is a state of society in which all business shall be conducted upon a large scale by companies, and no individual shall ever take a private job; all orders shall be taken in, all work given out; all wages paid by, and all prices paid to, the company, and justice be done to the workmen. This is not what is generally understood by a community, but it is a state of greater equality than the present, and will materially benefit the condition of the poor, and give the public leisure and good-nature to discuss many subjects which now cannot be settled, more from want of kind and fraternal feeling than from any difficulty in the questions themselves. Men can never settle speculative questions fairly, unless they are in good humour; and the world is all out of humour together at present.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I attended, on Thursday last, the public meeting advertised at the Labour Exchange Bazaar, No. 14, Charlotte street, to commemo-

rate the laying of the first stone of the Builder's Hall, in Birmingham. Now, Sir, I should like to see in print what I meant to say that evening on the subject of labour and capital—for not being used to speak in public, and not being much known at the Bazaar, I knew not how to begin.

I have heard and read a good deal about the claims of labour, land, and capital, upon the country at large; but yet I know of no speaker or author who has placed these different claims in the order consistent with that of their natural rights: for at the same time that all seem to agree that labour is the source of all wealth, yet it is evident that capital, in money, is considered as having the most sacred claim; there, I think, lies the awful mistake which has caused most of our increasing difficulties; and it is most important to lay down the following as the new principle on which must, henceforth, rest all our efforts to better our conditions through industry. Let us only well understand each other, and no power on earth can dispute our right of co-operating with each other for the advantage of all. Since land and capital are of little or no value without labour, it naturally follows that no claim whatever should stand before that of the

LABOUR-HOLDERS

(as one of your correspondents very properly designates the working-classes). Let us but know the value of what we hold, nor part with it but on such terms as will remunerate equally all parties; and it will soon be admitted that, in all well-regulated communities of well-disposed, industrious, and free men, the claim of the labour-holders should always be considered as the first and most sacred.

The second claim in the natural order of things should be that of the land; because it is that on which labour must first have exerted itself to raise food, after it was found that the huntsman and fisherman could no longer supply alone the increasing population; therefore, I say, that after the claim of the labour-holders, came that of the

LAND-HOLDERS,

who would be far more secure, and more happy in their possession, had they always supported and upheld (as they should in their true and permanent interest) the imperative natural claim of the labour-holders.

Now, Sir, after these two claims on the country for a due reward and equitable remuneration, which comes next? why, of course, that of money or capital, which never could have made its appearance among mankind but after the toil of the labour-holders, and the loan of the soil by the land-holders had first extracted it from the mines, and, subsequently exchanged for it agricultural produce, the fruit of labour and land combined. How, then, in the name of common sense, could ever the money-holder become the first claimant as to power, but through the complicated intricacies of an artificial state of society, which having had its origin in times past, when agricultural labour and all kinds of work were performed by bondsmen and slaves only, brings upon us the increasing difficulties of modern times as an irrefragable proof of its incompatibility with constitutional liberty under which agricultural labour and all kinds of work are to be performed by free artisans, enjoying equal rights, as men, with the land-holders and money-holders?

Therefore, I say that, in a natural, wholesome state of society, these three claims should stand thus:—LABOUR-HOLDER, claim No. 1;

LAND-HOLDER, claim No. 2;

MONEY-HOLDER, claim No. 3.

I have seen a capitalist, who tells me "that I am all wrong; that I shall never get this nonsense printed; because," says he, "every one knows that the money-holder having lent his cash in times of still greater difficulties than the present, he must be repaid before any other claim can be

attended to, because it was only with his money that this country could be saved from all the abomination of French liberalism, and that our capitalists have, consequently, actually protected us, first, from Robespierre's cruel philanthropy, then from Buonaparte's mad ambition; and that public faith is pledged to eternity, if he cannot be repaid before," as that he feels quite secure, notwithstanding all the trades' unions of England, France, and Germany.

To this, I answer, very well; may the country be found rich enough to attend to all! but as long as national faith cannot be secured to the labour-holder with the same certainty and regularity as it is secured to the fund-holder, so long will we continue to create justifiable discontent; because, of the two, the former is by far the more important as a principle of social polity; since it is evident that labour is the source of all wealth, we have no other means of securing national faith to the latter but with that which proceeds from the actual toil of the labour-holder; I contend, therefore, that his claim stands first before national justice, and that any other view of this very important subject appears to me an erroneous one.

Such is, Sir, the subject of the speech I intended to deliver, and you are welcome to make of it what use you think proper, subscribing myself
A FAG TO LITTLE PURPOSE.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT, ENDING NOV. 23.

Deposits . . 7,704h. 0s.—Exchanges, 8,961h. 0s.

RECEIPTS. Cash & Notes. PAYMENTS.

Commission £13 17s. 6d. Wages . . 20 18 0

Provisions . 60 16 11 Provisions . 51 19 6

Grocery . 16 13 0 Grocery . 22 11 11

Coals . 3 6 7 Coals . 0 3 6

Rent Sub. . 2 8 11 Rent . . 11 14 0

Lectures . 14 6 7½ Lectures . 6 17 6

Festival . 19 8 7½ Festival . 5 3 7

Charges . 1 0 0 Charges, including alterations . 34 7 1½

131 18 2

147 15 1½

Stock, goods on hand . 58,049h. 5s.

Notes now in circulation 36,324 3

Excess Stock over Notes 21,718 2

Audited by the Managing Committee,
JAMES WILKS, Chairman.

TO THE TRADES' UNIONS AND THE UNIONS OF ALL MANUFACTURES AND EMPLOYMENTS, WITHOUT ANY EXCEPTION.

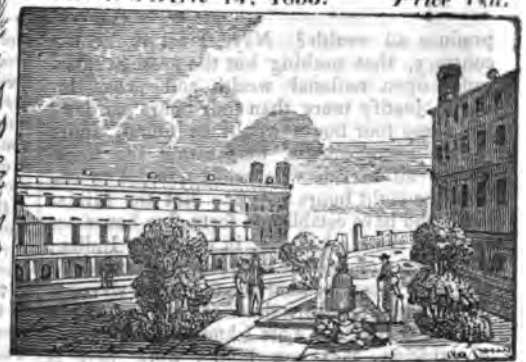
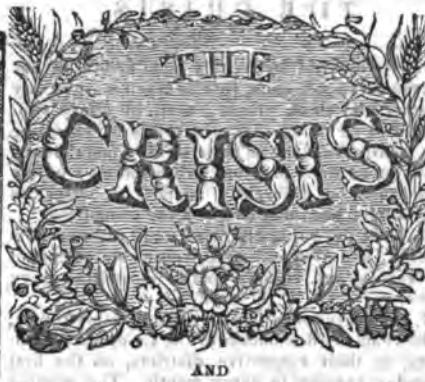
Highly important to all Producers, both Masters and Men.

A MEETING of the Operatives and Masters of all Trades, Manufactures, and Employments in the Metropolis and Neighbourhood, will be held at the National Equitable Labour Exchange, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, Oxford-street, on Monday next, at one o'clock, to take into consideration resolutions unanimously passed at an aggregate meeting held in Manchester, 22d of last month, of delegates from the various trades, manufactures, and employments, and of some of the most extensive Master Manufacturers in Lancashire, and of Merchants in Manchester, friends to the Emancipation of the Industrious Classes, upon just, rational, and practical principles; and further to take into consideration, in conformity with those resolutions, the necessity for, and the advantages to the masters, men, and the public, of limiting the hours of labour to eight per day, and to obtain for this time a fair full-day's wage; the Operatives, and a fair, equitable, and certain profit for the Master.

ROBERT OWEN.

The same evening, the usual Monthly Meeting of the Association and Special Adjourned Meeting will be held.

Printed and published by H. D. CORNISH, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields, and at 378, Strand.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 8.

Mr. Owen lectured in the evening to an immense audience, who, as usual, attended to his discourse with the utmost order, attention, and a sympathy of the most expressive intelligence. In order to leave an adequate space for the all-important business of Monday, we are compelled to compress our present extracts within the narrowest limits.

After reading a letter, just received from the North, relative to the "Society for Promoting

EDUCATION FOR THE POOR.

The different methods in which children are educated in parish-workhouses, and the different results of a bad and a good system, are strikingly shown in some evidence lately published by the Poor-Law Commissioners. We print the details of two witnesses, exhibiting the opposing practices in parallel columns:—

BAD.

Evidence of Mr. Crook, Clerk of St. Clement's Dues.

What sort of education have you for the children of your parish?—The education which they receive, judging from the effects, is of little or no use, for I am sorry to say that the children turn out very badly. We have great difficulty in getting rid of them; the boys especially. There is a large proportion of indifferent characters amongst them.

Does any person of education take any part in the education of the workhouse children?—Their education has been in the hands of a man who has been a sailor and a watchman. The boys under a management were so disorderly that in vexation he attempted to hang himself.

Was this, or the other persons who have had a education of the children, characterised by prior acquirements to those commonly possessed by watchmen and sailors, or persons of the pouring classes; or were they distinguished by superior moral habits?—No, they certainly had no superior acquirements; and as to good moral habits, they were not distinguished; quite contrary. One master was employed in keeping an account of the beer sent into the workhouse the publicans; and it was found that he had only got liquors supplied to himself by various means, and charged an equivalent amount of beer to the parish, but had received money regularly, and charged it under the head of beer supplied to the workhouse. It was believed that scholars had been made agents in the negotiation of these matters. This occurred some years ago.

But I have constant reason to wish that more care were taken of the moral and intellectual education of the children. If government did only see what the course of life of these unfortunate children is, what plagues they are under, and how poor is their education, I think a time would be lost in getting an education which would have some influence on their habits and conduct in life.

National Regeneration," a letter which, Mr. Owen said, showed that, in the country, the people know how to act as well as to speak,—he prefaced what he had then to bring before them by a quotation from the *Penny Magazine* of the 2d of November, a work sanctioned by the government as well as by some of the most active individuals in the empire. Now if, in the following comparison of the effects of good and bad education, we substitute the word *countries* for *workhouses*, and *people* for *children*, it would throw a strong light upon the existing effects of our present erroneous institutions.

EDUCATION FOR THE POOR.

The different methods in which children are educated in parish-workhouses, and the different results of a bad and a good system, are strikingly shown in some evidence lately published by the Poor-Law Commissioners. We print the details of two witnesses, exhibiting the opposing practices in parallel columns:—

GOOD.

Evidence of Mr. Huish, Assistant Overseer of St. George's, Southwark.

We have about seventy boys weekly in our workhouse school. There have been nearly the same number, during the time I have been in office. They have always been very fairly educated. During the last twelve years they have been fortunate in having had very good masters; good moral men as well as good teachers.

How have these boys turned out when apprenticed or got out to work?—The boys who have been apprenticed have on the whole turned out very good boys.

How many per cent. of their masters have received the second premium?—I think about eighty per cent. But the casualties of death, removals, and other causes than the misconduct of the boys, may account for the second premium not being received in a large proportion of the remaining cases.

How many of these boys have you known return to the parish as bad characters?—Since I have been in office, I only remember two cases.

How many have returned from such causes as failure of work or want of competency, or other causes than those not deemed bad, or bad conduct?—I do not know of any other instances whatever, beyond those I have mentioned, where the boys sent out during the last twelve years have returned upon the parish.

Can you state from your observation, that this result of the good general conduct of the workhouse boys has been the effect of their more careful education?—I have no doubt whatever that the great care bestowed on their education, and the general attention paid by the minister of our parish, and a number of well-disposed persons, to their moral and religious conduct, has been productive of these effects. The boys in the workhouse are frequently visited by respectable people, who pay attention to their behaviour and treat them with kindness. I am quite sure that with such care as may easily be given, the children may be made to turn out well; where, had no care been given, they would in the ninety-nine cases have turned out bad.

Hence we perceive, in two different workhouses, the whole of the children in the one were made bad by circumstances of a vicious nature; whilst in the other the children were made comparatively good, because some pains had been taken to make their circumstances comparatively beneficial.

Why have we not a national education, to render all the population good, intelligent, and happy, and national arrangements to uphold this intelligence and happiness? It is the proper business of governments to do these things, and not merely pursue the paltry course of collecting the revenue, whether by force of arms or otherwise. If, instead of this, they would come forward like men, to ascertain the cause of ignorance, poverty, and crime, and apply a small part of their enormous revenues in the arrangements requisite to well train and well employ our population, we should see spring up around us more intelligence, virtue, and moral courage. In one year, than had been produced upon erroneous principles during the last 5000 years.

The cause of those evils is now known to us; shall we longer permit them to continue? It is of no use complaining of or palliating the effects, while the cause remains in force; as well might we attempt to empty the sea with sieves.

It would seem as if the present system of society were made for the support of priests, physicians, lawyers, the army, the navy, and all those who prey upon the wealth-producers. Suppose it to have been thus, yet we owe the individuals no ill-will on this account. They, like the children in the workhouses, have been made to be what they are—if bad, they are the victims of the vicious circumstances which have been permitted to make them thus. I ask you, my friends, if these things are to continue, or shall we unite in measures to change this vile system, without injury to any class, sect, or party? The first practical step will be to institute a maximum of time of daily labour, and a minimum of wages. Now, shall this maximum be in strict analogy with the immense increase of power in machinery, or shall we bend a little to meet the old prejudices of society? Can any one be found to assert and maintain that eight hours per day will be too short for those who

produce all wealth? Nay, I assert, on the contrary, that nothing but the grossest ignorance upon national wealth and prosperity would justify more than four hours per day; and these four hours would be found, under proper arrangements, to saturate the world with wealth. But who will be found to oppose the eight hours a-day? Not the Ministers, who have established forty-five hours per week for the black slaves, in the West Indies; they cannot oppose the forty-eight hours which are now recommended for the white slaves at home, who work three times as hard as those in the West Indies. This I know from personal observation, that one hour's work here is as much as three hours' work in that country. Well, we will begin then, by establishing the eight hours' a-day. I may say, the fiat has gone forth, and that after the 1st March next, no white slave will be found to work more than eight hours per day.

Mr. Owen then illustrated the position of the producing-classes with respect to the minimum of wages, and maintained that nothing short of a full supply of good food, clothing, and lodging, with the means of instruction and enjoyment, could be much longer withheld; and that the least for them now to establish would be a full day's wages at eight hours per day.

POTTERS' LABOUR BANK.

We present our readers with the following resolutions, passed at a numerous and highly respectable meeting, held at the Sea Lion Inn, Hanley, on the 13th of November last. The Potters are evidently far in advance in the march of independence. This is, no doubt, owing to the natural union arising from the concentration of labour in one particular spot. Other trades are more scattered. They are in general to be found in every town and village, and it is no easy matter to bring all their forces together. This circumstance makes it a task of greater difficulty for the most common trades to effect an union; but the success of the Potters, who have already in part attained their object by an increase of wages, ought to be a powerful stimulus for others to unite their forces; for without a general union, all private attempts of local unions will fail to accomplish any object they have in view.

1. That measures be now agreed to for the establishment of a Co-operative Society, for all persons belonging to the potting business, who may wish to unite; but to be quite separate from the affairs of the Potters' Union, having no connexion with it. That any person who has rendered himself unworthy the confidence of his fellow men, by his bad conduct, while in the Potters' Union, be debarred the privilege of entering this society.

2. That for this purpose a bank be established under the title of the Potters' Labour Bank, of which any or all persons connected with the potting business may become subscribers and supporters thereof.

3. That there be a committee of twenty-one members chosen by the society, whose number may be increased or diminished as the society may determine.

4. That this bank be under the management of directors, appointed by the society, who shall sit one evening in every week, to conduct the affairs of the Co-operative Society, in conjunction with the committee.

5. That the capital stock of this bank shall be paid by subscriptions of one pound each, and no

more; to be paid by weekly instalments, of not less than sixpence each, (but as much more as any member may think proper,) until the above subscriptions be paid. All subscribers who shall be one month deficient in their weekly instalments, shall forfeit their previous subscriptions; unless their case be differently agreed on, after its merits have been discussed by the committee.

6. That the bank directors audit the accounts weekly, and give authentic written statements of the results and balance to the committee every week.

7. That the committee give in a monthly report, to be read to all members of the Co-operative Society, in their respective districts, on the first Tuesday evening in every month. The meeting called for the express purpose of hearing these reports, and that no union affairs be brought before the society on that evening.

8. That this society shall not be dissolved, or the stock belonging thereto divided, except by the consent of four-fifths of the subscribers, decided by vote, at one half-yearly meeting, and confirmed by the same proportion of votes at the next half-yearly meeting.

9. That there be a general and also district provision establishments, in connexion with this bank, for supplying its members with provisions, and all other necessities and useful articles of life, of the best qualities, and from the best markets.

10. That this general and these district stores be under the management of officers, appointed by the society, who shall also appoint other efficient persons to take their stock monthly, audit their accounts for the same period, and make their official reports of the state and progress of each to the committee, which report afterwards shall be sent to each district, as in rule 7th, and there read monthly without fail.

11. That, to prevent forgery, all the notes be called in every month and re-issued.

12. That the best qualities intrinsically of each article be alone purchased for these stores, and that the potters' labour bank note shall purchase goods from these stores at the wholesale price; while the ordinary artificial currency, or non-producers' money, must pay the fair retail price.

13. That all purchases for these stores be made with cash only, except the sellers prefer the labour notes, in which case the notes for the amount may be issued, on condition that the price shall be in proportion to the greater value of the potter's labour bank note over the common currency of the country.

14. That, as soon as five hundred pounds be paid, the bank shall be opened, and the stores established.

15. That, after the central provision establishment is commenced, each subscriber do pay as much of his wages as convenient in the bank, in exchange for labour notes, that he may purchase for himself and family all they may require, to be had in these stores, of the best qualities and at wholesale prices, and also that they may assist the managers to purchase the more extensively with cash, where goods can be obtained at the best markets, and of the greatest advantage to the society.

16. That every member, from the time he has paid up his subscriptions, shall at the expiration of twelve months from the date thereof, if the committee and directors, and a majority of the society think fit, receive his subscriptions back, by instalments, in the same manner as they were advanced. But if the said officers and society see necessary to hold the money longer, they shall have the power so to do.

17. That as soon as the profits of these establishments accumulate to the sum of 5000*l.*, it shall then be taken into consideration by the society, to what benevolent purposes the future profits shall be appropriated.

18. That every means be used to put an end to

intemperance—to keep up a good understanding with all—putting a stop, as much as may be, to every dispute arising on the score of politics or religion, and to insure liberty of conscience to every one—returning to all parties good for evil, even when evil may be intended.

19. That the first establishment, or general depositaries, be commenced in either Hanley or Shelton, as being the most central part of the Potteries.

20. That as soon as convenient after the establishment of the central bank and general deposit stores, the district banks and stores, wholesale and retail, shall be opened in properly-chosen situations, that the subscribers and members of the society may transact business without loss of time nearer home.

21. That no business, either at the banks or stores, be transacted on the Sabbath-day, nor any lecture be delivered by the consent of the society.

22. That when this society shall be competent for the establishment of schools, for the education of the children of its members, that education shall be in accordance with the Christian faith.

23. That there be a grand treasurer and secretary appointed, and that it be recommended to each district to appoint a provincial treasurer and secretary, who, to further the interests of the society, shall receive, weekly, the monies of those persons who may wish to become members of this society, and to forward the said monies every fourth Tuesday evening to the grand treasurer and secretary, at some convenient place, to be determined upon by the society.

A General Meeting of the Miscellaneous Department of the Depositors of the National Equitable Labour Exchange was held at the Institution, Charlotte-street, on Friday evening, Nov. 29, to receive the Report of the Committee appointed at the last General Meeting, for the more effectually organizing of the Department:

Mr. Jenkinson in the chair.

The Secretary read the following

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

Appointed at a General Meeting held on Tuesday Evening, Oct. 28th, 1893, for the purpose of preparing a Plan for the more effectual organization of this Department.

Your committee, on reviewing the constitution of the Labour Exchange, and investigating the principles therein contained, and the practice emanating therefrom, find that it is left to each section or department to arrange and manage its own internal affairs, as to the arrangements for producing, the funds, &c.,—the only qualification of membership to the Exchange required under the constitution being the payment of the penny-a-week Exchange Rent, which gives the power of making the laws that govern the Institution, and the election of the officers employed in the operations of the Exchange.

Your committee, on calculating the considerable resources which this department possesses, as to its numbers, their position in society, and other adventitious circumstances, at one glance saw the most pressing importance of an efficiently organized system of transacting the business of this department, by watching its interests, and calling into beneficial operation those energies and means for supporting the Exchange, which have been allowed to remain so long dormant.

Your committee have found, from correct data, the very important fact, that four-fifths of the wealth deposited in the Exchange are deposited from the miscellaneous department alone, at once showing the great necessity for an efficient union. Your committee being of opinion that by this very much more can be done for the Exchange than has yet been done, and what may still be increasingly done, by the individual depositors of this numerous body.

Your committee, after considering carefully, and

reflecting much on several propositions and plans which came within their knowledge, recommend, in their opinion, with the fullest confidence the following principles for union, as the best means, under present circumstances, of organizing this department.

They are as follow :—

By district rent collectors—a fund—and manufacturing; to be managed by a treasurer, secretary, and a committee of twelve members.

The district rent-collectors in various localities of the metropolis will act as agents for receiving the exchange-rent, subscriptions and loans, cashing notes, and giving and receiving every possible information of Exchange affairs, and the business of the department.

The fund to be formed by means of cashing notes, by loans, subscriptions, and profits from the employment of the fund in manufactures.

The manufactures to be a tailors' department, and a boot and shoe manufactory.

Your committee have the fullest confidence that, if these plans be put into action, and carried on in a business-like way, the results that will follow will be of that advantageous nature that, ere long, we shall have the means of adding other manufactories to our department.

The first part of the plan is one which, in the opinion of your committee, is one of much advantage in the dissemination of the principles and practices of labour exchange; as also affording a considerable facility in operating on the public mind, by friends undertaking those duties, and your committee know many who will perform this important task,—a part of the arrangement being for giving and receiving information of labour exchange, and making public, by placards, &c., notices of meeting and other co-operative business that may arise. These local offices will also enable those friends who live at a distance to obtain immediate information of the operations of our proceedings; and to those who are so situated they will be found a great convenience, also securing to the department the periodical subscriptions of small amounts, which sometimes, when left uncollected at short periods, are allowed to run up to large sums, which very frequently go beyond the means of the most friendly.

The second part, or the fund, is one your committee feel to be a simple, yet comprehensive plan, and one founded on right principles. It is proposed to be raised by subscriptions, loans, and by cashing notes to support the manufactories. Therefore the benevolent and wealthy can give; they who have money by them, and do not want it for their immediate uses, can assist by lending it; and thirdly, by the connexion of the manufactories, an inducement will be given to the parties cashing these fund-notes who want the particular articles made in them, as the materials can be procured at the first markets by the aid of this fund, and the charges for distribution, which are the middleman's profit, will be considerably lessened, thereby rendering a great saving to all who cash the fund-notes. The fund will also embrace many persons who now subscribe to clothes and boot and shoe-clubs, and pay weekly sums for their supplies, and many others who save periodically proportionate sums from their incomes for the purpose of furnishing themselves with the articles your committee propose to have made in their manufactories.

The third part of the plan is the manufactory, or arrangements for producing, which, if conducted on scientific principles, cannot fail of being successful. Your committee suggest, if the funds admit, that a clothes and shoe manufactory be immediately commenced, for the following weighty reasons :—First, there being a considerable amount of labour, particularly in these trades, lying inactive for the want of the materials to work upon, and ready to be employed for labour-notes. Second, the obvious utility and ready market for productions of this nature. Third, se-

curing correct valuation in two important branches of production. Fourth, making up to orders for the Institution of the Working Classes for the labour-notes required to pay the labour performed, and in many instances for the raw material also. Fifth, A commission to the Institution, derived from the new wealth thus created.

Your committee, in conclusion, recommend to your serious attention the above measures with the fullest confidence, that if they be strictly acted on, they will be followed up by extensive support, as these plans propose it to be for the interest of all persons to do business with us; and then we shall possess a union for producing, which your committee feel to be a most important feature in the science of co-operation, and which, if correctly established, will not cease in its influence and extent until it shall have included the whole circle of manufactures; the gross proceeds of the whole will speedily obtain land, and thus, while we are acquiring wealth, a necessary ingredient in our combinations, we can also by knowledge be improving our physical, mental, and moral condition, which will be fitting as for that delightful state of existence, which to co-operators is their ardent hope and object, viz. community!

After which the following Resolutions were unanimously passed :—

1. "That the Report just read be adopted."

2. "That the present Committee be re-appointed, for three months, to carry out the Report just read."

3. "That any Member of the Committee being absent for one month, be considered as vacating, and the vacancy to be filled up by the Department."

The following gentlemen were then unanimously elected as a Committee, some of the late Committee retiring, on account of their engagements in the trades' lodges, co-operative business, &c.—Messrs. Mountford, Hunter, Rofey, Horne, Boyes, Boaden, Smith, Cox, Hewitt, Kerawill, Langham, and Dearnle.

Mr. Wood was re-appointed Secretary, when, after some minor details, the meeting adjourned until that night week.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM.

MY FRIENDS,—The success of any measure may be estimated by the amount of public opinion in its favour; for although a system may have true principles for its basis, yet if it has not a preponderance of public opinion on its side, it cannot be said to have had a fair trial, and consequently its success must be but precarious; but its failure does not affect the principles themselves. A machine may be perfect in all its parts, and yet stand still for want of the proper means to work it. Now, public opinion is the moving power we must obtain in order to insure success. Hence, although we have witnessed the failure of many attempts to carry out a part of the Rational System, we should not be discouraged, nor deem it impracticable, but, relying on its truth, we must find out the causes of failure, and avoid them in our future endeavours. The chief cause that appears to me, is our endeavouring to amalgamate the new and old systems, and we must necessarily do so until we have the majority, or nearly so, in our favour. That you cannot unite the two systems or any part of them together, must be evident to the most superficial observer, for nothing can be more opposite in their natures; besides, the new system cannot act in a confined space; though simple, it is universal; and

* For the same reason, the National Equitable Labour Exchange does not come up to the expectations formed by its well-wishers; and yet it is the nearest approximation we can make to the Rational System, being at the same time obliged to admit a part of the irrational, or old system.

It would be just as reasonable to expect that a frigate could perform all her beautiful evolutions in the little river in St. James's Park. This may appear discouraging to some, but it ought not to be, particularly when we look back, even for the last three years, and reflect on the gigantic strides that the Rational System has made on public opinion. Now, public opinion does not progress in a regular ratio, but, like a falling body, its velocity is accelerated every inch it moves. Thus, you see, my friends, there is nothing to make us dissatisfied with our progress, but, on reflection, every thing to make us rejoice; even the many failures that have taken place ought rather to be matter of congratulation than regret, inasmuch as they fully demonstrate the impossibility of uniting the two systems together, or any part of them; for who would wish to continue the victim of the misery that the old state of things is sure to engender, it being a law of nature, that the same causes will always produce the same effects?

I would now wish to call your attention to the fact that difference of opinion is a sure sign of a misunderstanding, and a misunderstanding is conclusive evidence that we all do not understand; therefore, instead of resorting to invectives or irritation, we should unite heart and hand to acquire a knowledge of the true principles, so as to come to right conclusions. There is another error that we are likely to fall into, and that is *self-sufficiency*, or a too great confidence in ourselves and not sufficient in our great and benevolent teacher, this is another cause of the failures that have taken place. The proverb says, "There is a time for all things;" our time is not yet come; the majority is against us; every obstruction to the formation of communities will be thrown in our way; it would be folly to risk our reputation against such fearful odds; for although the eyes of the world are turned on our proceedings with no small degree of interest, yet it is not prepared to assist us, but, owing to existing prejudices, would rejoice in our downfall. Let us not then, by any futile attempts, which for the reasons above-mentioned can never succeed, blindly throw obstacles in our own way; rather let us continue our united efforts in battering down old prejudices and preparing the way for a public opinion in our favour. There are not wanting friends to assist us when the crisis arrives.*

Your sincere friend and brother co-operator,
Poland-street, Nov. 16, 1833. UNITY.

THE NEW SYSTEM.

(From Cobbett's Register.)

"As to what is now to take place, it is very difficult to say: that the landlords should act a just part towards the people, and that they should show sense and spirit in their own defence, is much more anxiously wished for, than it is expected, by me. The state of things has long been pregnant with revolution, owing, I confess, to the folly, and, indeed, the wickedness of the landlords,—wickedness not at all apologized for by the folly. If you, Sir, be a farmer, you have seen a cow at a time when that operation of nature was approaching which is the natural termination of her pregnancy. You have seen her sides distend; you have seen her lips fall; you have seen her joints widen; you have seen a sort of dislocation of the bones, and sinews, and tendrils, all preparatory to the final event. Look at this nation now: look at Brougham's projects of law and courts; look at the at once rude and tremulous hand which is laying hold of the corporations and the church; hear the opinions of the people, down to the very hedger and the ditcher: come and see the hares and pheasants, and partridges in Leadenhall market, while the jails are full of men who have dared to be seeking after these wild

* See Mr. Owen's declaration to the Trades' Delegates, in the Crisis, 9th Oct. 1833.

animals; see the sleek Quakers creeping into Parliament, and do, for God's sake, see the hook-nose Jew behind them, and peeping over their shoulders. Above all things, hear the timid and faltering tone of the noblemen and gentlemen when speaking in the presence of a monopolizing Quaker, or a damnable Jew or loan-monger: look at English noblemen and gentlemen sending bags of taxes to be invested in American stock and canals. Compare all this with the preparations that nature makes in the case of the pregnant cow, and then say, whether a YOUNG ONE of SOME SORT OR OTHER does not appear to be at hand. I hope that, if it be to come, it will, at any rate, come without a pen behind its ear; and without a buttonless coat, and also without hooked nose and round eyes."

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 14.

WE are sorry we are not able to furnish our readers with a more particular account of the proceedings of the public meeting, held last Monday, at the Institution, Charlotte-street; but we have not space. There was a good deal of conflicting feeling displayed, but upon the whole it was a very great improvement in point of decorum and order to what would have been exhibited a few years ago. Whatever opposition was displayed, was displayed in a rational and orderly manner; and though we regret to think that a few personalities were employed, and some sectarian and party-feeling evinced, we have nevertheless good reason to congratulate the people on such a display of talent, good sense, and sober resolution manifested by men, who all belonged to what are generally called the lower classes. Amongst the speakers, though not audible to all, was one belonging to that sex which, in respect to public speaking, may be called mute; although in private pos-
sessing and exercising a very great volubility of speech and power of oratory. She spoke in a kind of whisper, and observed, that a great deal was said of the slavery of the working classes, and the inadequate wages of the men, but never a word of the slavery of poor women, who were obliged to toil from dawn to midnight for seven or eight shillings a-week. This is the still small voice of woman, which we fear must be suppressed for a season, till man be served; but it will yet speak aloud like thunder, and make even the male slaves blush to think that they also have been tyrants.

In alluding to "producers," several spoke as if they gave a very contracted meaning to this term. There are three kinds of producers—tradesmen, who produce necessities; men of science, who study the laws of nature, and thus give birth to new arts and improvements in manufactures, without whose assistance the mere labour would be but a fag to no purpose; and artists, who embellish life by the study of the fine arts, which, although they have contributed hitherto chiefly to the happiness of the rich, shall yet be rendered instrumental in the promotion of happiness to the whole mass of mankind. These three are all producers, and are to be included in what are called the illustrious classes. The common trades,

however, are first in order by nature, and, therefore, from them we must expect the act of laying the foundation-stone of a new system. All the three will at length unite upon terms of equality and kind feeling, but the same order must be preserved in the renewal of society that was pursued in its formation. We must begin with the useful, and end with the ornamental.

As a specimen of the folly of the masters, and a proof that good policy does not exclusively belong to one order of society, we may mention the following interesting fact, which has been transmitted to us from Derby:—The manufacturers in that place are exceedingly alarmed at the increasing circulation of the *Pioneer*, which they dread as much as they do the Unions themselves. One silk manufacturer has told his men that they may return to work (they having lately struck for an increase of wages), provided they give no more encouragement to the *Pioneer*. But what has been the consequences? The Publisher has received an order to send DOUBLE the former quantity of the *Pioneer* to Derby this week. Why, then, do the men murmur at opposition? Opposition is the strength of their cause; and if no one opposes them they are sure to succeed. "All for the best," as the *Pioneer* saith.

A SHANDEAN OPINION OF CIVILIZATION.

"I thought, brother," quoth my Uncle Toby, with surprise, "we were a civilized nation." "Pray, Toby," said my Father, "what is a civilized state?" "Not a savage one," replied my Uncle Toby. "Tis very civil, and, in truth, Toby, very *unlike* a savage," quoth my Father, "to deprive millions of men, who will not shed blood, of the produce of their own country, and so starve them." "Tis very refined, Toby, to attempt driving the real possessors of an Island into the most barren parts of their own territories, in order to seize on the most fertile—because—the drivers were a civilized people, and happened to fancy themselves stronger—which, by-the-by they were not; for a *pin* of virtue has more power—than a *sword* of vice, Toby."—"Not in battle"—quoth my uncle Toby.—"It is merciful and civilized, because some of our relations (branches of the same tree) scattered over a country far away from us, would not suffer their purses to be opened against their consent; that the civilized people should murder the rebels, and burn their habitations. It is the highest picture of civilization, Toby, to tear friends and relations, mothers and fathers, brothers, sisters, and daughters from each other, and drag them from their country, because their noses are flat and their faces black. 'Tis humane to lash them like obstinate beasts, in order to render them as civilized as their whippers. It is liberal to burn the house of the *man of science*, because the *owner* does not think corruption, soundness; and self-interest, generosity. Isn't this civilization, Toby?"

"I thought brother," quoth my uncle Toby, "that these things were *only* practised in a savage state."

"The *civilized* savage, Toby, is the *worst* of savages," replied my father.

UNION HALL.—THE CRIME OF POVERTY.—John Metcalf, a distressed-looking object, in worn-out sailor's clothes, was lately brought before the magistrate under the following circumstances:—A policeman stated that, on the preceding evening, while on duty in Dover-street, he saw the defendant carrying a large placard, on which was written, in large characters, the under-mentioned appeal to the benevolent. The placard was headed, written backwards, "A Painter out of Employ." It then went on thus:—
"Whilst aliens with dogs and monkeys may address

The belles and beaux that on the footpath walk,
A wretch like me must not his state express
Of wanting labour, with a bit of chalk.
Shameful perversion! now grown old and poor,
That policemen, at their capricious will,
May drag me hence to pass a month or more,
In 'durance vile,' upon the treading mill!
Britons! full fifteen years I struggled hard
With foes by land, and storms upon the sea:
View my sad state, how ample my reward—
Perverse justice, rage, and poverty!"

Underneath the above poetical effusion, which the defendant said was his own composition, were the words, "A Freeborn Englishman, the admiration of the world, the envy of surrounding nations." It was stated that the defendant pointed out to the spectators the words just quoted, at the same time exhibiting his own deplorable person, ejaculating, "Here I am, the envy of surrounding nations!" It was further stated that the defendant collected a crowd, so whose feelings he made a strong appeal, and some were given to him. It appeared that the defendant had formerly served in the navy, as captain's clerk, and since then he had led a wandering kind of life. Being a bit of a poet, he had one or two works published; but finding it a most unprofitable speculation, he determined upon having no more to do with publishers, and commenced giving his productions to the world in his own way. With this intention in view, he began to write his verses with chalk on the pavements of most of the cities and towns in England and Scotland, and by his own account made out a very decent sort of livelihood in that way. He had recently arrived in town, in the expectation of reaping a harvest here on the chalking system; but the first day that he exhibited in public, which was in one of the streets at the West-end of the town, a policeman made his appearance, and, having rubbed out the chalk verses, insisted upon his leaving that part of the town altogether. He tried the experiment in other parts of London, and met with the same degree of success; until at length, exasperated beyond measure at the treatment he experienced, in a fit of anger he composed the verses above-mentioned, and exhibited them on a board which he carried. He was committed for 14 days.

CULTIVATION OF GRAIN.—Mr. Lance, a deep-thinking agriculturist, and author of the "Golden Farmer," and the "Cottage Farmer," exhibited at the Gallery of Science, Charing-cross, his prodigious growth of corn, seven feet high, the ears seven inches long, containing in each ear 80 grains, and each root bearing from 20 to 30 such ears; and there is the result of one division of a wheat-root into seven roots, producing in one season 13,000 grains of wheat from one grain. He also shows the produce from an old stubble of wheat producing 80 ears of corn. Oats and rye in the same proportion obtained by the expenditure of more labour around the roots whilst growing, and by not crowding the ground so much with seed as is generally done, sowing half a bushel per acre instead of three bushels, as is often done. He has also presented to the Mechanics' Institution his specimen of this year, viz. 48,000 grains of rye obtained from one, the root having been divided into twenty parts last year, and a specimen of fifty heads of corn from a single root.

THE CATECHISM.

The following is that part of Mr. Owen's Catechism which was agreed to by his Christian coadjutors in the North, with the scriptural comments appended. This is chiefly addressed to the religious world—intended to conciliate their affections, and to show them that the plans proposed by the Regenerating Society are in strict accordance with their own standard of truth and good morals.

CATECHISM

Of the Society for Promoting National Regeneration: whose object is, to remove as far as possible the social and commercial evils now existing, and which by their rapid increase are fast destroying every vestige of happiness and order.

"Judgment is turned away backward, and Justice standeth afar off; for Truth is fallen in the street, and Equity cannot enter. Yea, Truth faileth; and he that departeth from Evil, maketh himself a prey: and the Lord saw it, and it displeased him that there was no Judgment."—Isaiah lix. 14, 15.

1. Q. What is society? A. A number of rational and moral beings, united for mutual happiness and preservation.

2. Q. Explain this further. A. It is an association of human beings, to enable the individual members to produce wealth and distribute it—to form the character of the rising generation, and to govern the whole body in such a manner, as to obtain the greatest possible amount of happiness, health, intelligence, and wealth.

3. Q. Explain further the legitimate object of human society. A. The happiness of the human race, without distinction of class, sect, party, country, or colour, in obedience to the divine command,—*"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,"* and in accordance with the Christian principles of universal charity and kindness.

4. Q. Is the present state of society such, as generally to enable honest and industrious men to practice these golden rules, without being in danger of going to bed penniless every night? A. No.—*"He that departeth from evil, maketh himself a prey."*—Isaiah lix. 16.

5. Q. What obstacles now exist in society which thus prevent the observance in practice of these golden rules? A. Individual competition, and unrestricted though mistaken selfishness, are the obstacles which require to be removed, in order to obtain the legitimate and beneficial purposes of society. *"They hunt every man his brother with a net. The best of them is a bribe—the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge."*—Micah vii. 2, 4.

6. Q. What are the most obvious means for producing the contentment and happiness of society under its present circumstances, or in other words, its regeneration? A. First, the inculcation and old assertion and maintenance of Christian principles; and in connection therewith, properly devised arrangements, to enable society to produce the greatest amount of the most valuable wealth in the shortest possible time, and with the highest advantage to the producers; and to distribute this wealth the most beneficially for society at large. Secondly, by other arrangements, combined with the first, to nourish and cultivate the physical, intellectual, and moral powers and faculties of every individual, in order that it may become as useful, valuable, intelligent, good, and happy as possible, and to unite these separate arrangements in their proper proportions, that they may always proceed together in order and harmony, and thus effectuate the greatest permanent benefit to every member of society.

7. Q. Is it now practicable to form arrangements throughout society that will produce improvements so extensive and important? A. It will be comparatively easy of accomplishment, when liberty of expression without evil to the speaker, can be secured for the conscientious views of every individual upon the state of society, and the operations of our present commercial system, without prejudice on account of the political party or religious section to which a man may be attached: and also, without prejudice on account of the relative situation of persons, especially that of masters and servants.

8. Q. Then you consider this liberty of expression without offence or prejudice, to be a first step towards the practice of real Christian charity? A. Yes; for until this great change be effected in the practice and dispositions of men, it will be vain to expect any essential improvement in the worldly and moral condition of society, or in the practice of social virtues, inasmuch as the truth, regarding the sources of social and commercial evils, cannot be established without this free discussion.

9. Q. State further what it is which now prevents the introduction of practical measures to effect a beneficial change in the present deplorable and increasingly disastrous state of society. A. The want of correct views—First, in those who govern the most civilized nations. Secondly, the want of that knowledge in their subjects; and Thirdly, in this country especially, the overwhelming ascendancy of the love of our money over the love of our neighbour.

10. Q. What powers do governments possess to remedy these evils? A. Much that is required to make the population of every country rich, healthy, good, and contented.

11. Q. In cases where these governors do not exercise this beneficial knowledge and power, what practical measures would you recommend for adoption? A. It is recommended that the productive and more useful classes of society, in all countries, should unite among themselves, to accomplish peaceably, and by moral force alone, those changes, which it would have been far better for the governments of the civilized countries of their own accord to have commenced and effected.

12. Q. Suppose the union of all the industrious and more useful classes to be effected, what ought to be the first measure for them to adopt? A. They should fix a maximum of time, and a minimum of remuneration, for their daily labour.

13. Q. What ought to be the maximum of time? A. Eight hours a-day—or from eight o'clock in the morning till mid-day, and from two o'clock in the afternoon till six o'clock in the evening.

14. Q. Why would you fix eight hours? A. 1st. Because it is the longest period that the human race (taking the average of strength, and allowing to the weaker the rights of existence as well as the stronger) can endure, of physical exertion, so as to be healthy, intelligent, virtuous, and happy. 2dly. Because, of the modern discoveries in chemistry and mechanics, which render it unnecessary to require a longer period of physical exertion. These discoveries, which Divine Wisdom and Goodness hath permitted and intended for the relief of his creatures, and to lessen the duration as well as the intensity of their toil, have been hitherto prevented by mistaken selfishness, and individual competition: so that with these improvements, human labour has increased, and its rewards have proportionably diminished. We hold these mechanical and chemical discoveries to be the gifts of God, and that by the present system we virtually despise and pervert them: and we perceive that the practice of doing so has been partly introduced from ignorance, and acting upon mistaken theories; and much more so by the baneful selfishness of a

few artful capitalists, who sacrifice the interests of millions to enrich themselves. And thus, from these causes principally, what happened of old hath happened unto us, and *"That which should have been for our welfare has become a trap."*—Psa. lxxix. 22. 3d. Because, by eight hours' labour, under proper arrangements, a superfluity of wealth may be created for all. 4th. Because no man has a right to require his fellow-men to be employed longer than is generally beneficial to society, merely that he may grow rich by making many poor. 5th. Because it is the real interest of every human being that every other human being should be healthy, intelligent, contented, and wealthy.

15. Q. What other considerations should lead us to strive for the attainment of these objects? A. Above all, we should consider that mankind are possessed of immortal souls, and of minds capable of incalculable expansion and enjoyment; and although man in his present state is necessitated to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, yet it should be the endeavour of all classes to mitigate, and not to aggravate, his physical toil, to redeem time for his spiritual enjoyment, and for the cultivation of social virtues, to the greatest possible extent. Thus we conclude that any state of society which dooms man to mere physical exertion, is unnatural, and opposed to the intentions of Divine Goodness.

16. Q. What ought to be the minimum of remuneration for eight hours' daily employment in the service of mankind; that is, in producing food, lodging, clothes, furniture, or knowledge or pleasure, for our fellow-creatures? A. The return for these services ought to be a sufficiency of all these things to the honest and industrious producer. The original imposition of labour was manifestly attended with this promise—*"In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread"* (Genesis iii. 19); but the present system tends to reverse this merciful condition, and in effect says—*"In proportion as thy face shall sweat, thy bread shall fail."*

17. Q. What other advantages is the honest and industrious labourer entitled to? A. Sufficient time for religious duties; for *"What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"* Also, for mental improvement and rational pleasures.

18. Q. Can men who wilfully and knowingly uphold and perpetuate a system, which thus tends to impoverish and brutalize mankind, be entitled to be considered honest men or sincere Christians? A. By no means, for *"by their fruits ye shall know them."*—Matt. vii. 20.

19. Q. But suppose such men to make great professions of piety, and to be highly and generally esteemed as such? A. *"Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light."*—2 Cor. xi. 14.

20. Q. Can the physical and mental powers wisely applied produce all these necessities and comforts of life, and a surplus? A. Yes; and if there was either necessity or utility in it, they could in a short time, under a wise direction of human powers, applied to land and capital now in existence, produce wealth, to which no assignable limit can be fixed.

21. Q. Then you, in fact, recommend that knowledge and happiness should, by these means, be insured to the productive classes? A. Yes; we recommend also, that for this end all the producers of wealth and knowledge, whether employers or employed, should unite to obtain for their productions, and in return for their industry, from those who neither produce knowledge nor wealth, nor any thing really useful to mankind, a sufficiency of the necessities and comforts of life. But that if those who do not produce wealth, will not thus remunerate the producers, they break the natural compact of society, and ought at least to be left to produce these things for themselves.

22. Q. The first step you recommend to the union of the productive classes being, to fix a maximum of time and a minimum of wages, what do you *secondly* recommend? A. That they should zealously endeavour to put an end to all injurious and immoral habits, now prevalent amongst them, and especially intemperance; which habits, their excess of labour and deprivation of moral and intellectual culture have greatly tended to produce; and that they should daily exhibit in their intercourse with each other and with the world, the Christian virtues of forbearance, charity, and kindness, and upon all occasion show a readiness to return good for evil, and blessing for cursing, after the example of the great Redeemer of mankind; until by a perseverance in such conduct, the evils which now afflict society shall be greatly diminished, if not removed.

23. Q. Do you believe that an union of the productive and useful classes is calculated to bring about such a virtuous, intelligent, and happy state of society? A. Yes; by the blessing of God, great advances might be made towards it, if both employers and employed can now be induced to unite in measures the most obvious for their mutual benefit.

24. Q. But should either one or both be yet too ignorant to comprehend this enlarged interest which you have described, what course should be adopted? A. If both parties are not yet sufficiently informed, to perceive the overwhelming interest which they have in these measures, then the intelligent and best-disposed who do understand these principles, and know the benefits they will produce when applied to practice, are called upon by their desire for happiness, to use every means in their power to enlighten both parties for their mutual advantage.

25. Q. But suppose that the employers should not now perceive these things, as they do not suffer so much evil from the present practices as the operatives whom they employ, and that the latter should discover the full extent of the errors of the principle by which their labour is called into action, what course would it be wise and prudent for the employed to adopt, to put an end, in the shortest time, to the unnecessary misery which they and their families now experience? A. They have but one course left for them to pursue—they must unite as all other associations of men have done for their mutual safety and interest, and by their union induce the most enlightened of their employers and the public to aid them to do without the assistance of such of their present employers as cannot be induced to join them in these fundamental measures for their own security and the regeneration of society.

26. Q. Is the time arrived for this great change to be effected, without throwing society into confusion, or doing a greater evil by raising some portion of society in the scale of happiness, and depressing other large portions, perhaps the greater number? A. We believe the time is come, when this highly-to-be-desired change may be accomplished not only without any real injury to any portion of mankind, but also with the most substantial permanent advantage to the whole of the human race; and moreover we are persuaded that the present system cannot proceed without producing the violent and complete breaking up of society; for it is evident that the diffusion of knowledge (partial as it now is) and the existence of almost any degree of liberty, are utterly incompatible with the increasing depression of honest industry, in our own country especially.

27. Q. What is the object intended to be attained by the establishment of the Regenerating Society? A. The happiness of the human race.

28. Q. By what means? A. First, by introducing into every day's practice, the fundamental precepts of the Christian religion; universal charity and kindness; secondly, through the abandonment of the commercial principle of indi-

vidual competition; and thirdly, by a suppression of immorality.

29. Q. Cannot the Christian precepts of charity and love be practised under the commercial system of individual competition? A. No, never; and it is in vain longer to continue the useless attempt.

30. Q. Then all sincere friends of Christianity and truth must ultimately adopt these practical measures? A. Without the adoption of such a plan, we do not see how the fundamental precepts of the Christian religion can be effectually carried into practice.

31. Q. What will be the consequences of delay and procrastination? A. NATIONAL CONFUSION AND RUIN.

PUBLIC MEETING,

For the purpose of forming a branch of the National Regeneration Society of Manchester. Mr. Austin called to the chair.

Mr. Owen opened the proceedings; he stated that the origin of this day's proceedings might be found in a report of the committee of the House of Commons, which attempted to prove that this country was in a more prosperous state than it had been for a long series of years. Messrs. Fielden and Attwood were the only two friends of the people that were appointed to form that committee. But that committee were men who were unacquainted with the condition of the people, and the means of relieving them; they were men of fortune, and only knew, as appeared from their cross-examination by Messrs. Fielden and Attwood, the method of aggrandizing themselves, by appropriating the fruits of others' labours. Messrs. Smith of Manchester, Stocks of Huddersfield, and several others, proved the condition of the people to be gradually deteriorating for the last fifty years, and from the termination of the war especially. But, indeed, observed Mr. O., it was not necessary to produce any evidence of this, for the principles of action which the legislature have followed, are of themselves sufficient to demonstrate that this must be so. When I was a manufacturer, forty years ago, I published the consequences of this ruinous system, which are now being developed. I stated that the measures of government and society were such that working-men must soon either starve or emigrate. I presented documents to the Congress of Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle, in which I pointed out to these authorities how the increase of machinery on the one hand, and of knowledge on the other, would quietly take away the power which they then possessed; and now, whilst these authorities are talking and thinking of matters quite foreign to the purpose of promoting human happiness, events are occurring amongst their industrious subjects, that sufficiently declare to all that the power of domination is gone; for these subjects are now determined no more to apply to the legislature for relief, but to seek that deliverance from them themselves, which they have sought in vain from their rulers, &c.

It is impossible for us to give the reader even a summary of Mr. Owen's address, which occupied more than an hour and half; he took a discursive glance of several political and commercial subjects; pointed out the errors of political economists on the subject of population and private competition; good times and bad times, which distinction he said might easily be removed, seeing they might with the greatest ease convert all bad times into good times. He then spoke of the spirit of union which prevailed in the North, and the

resolution which the workmen had taken to amend their circumstances next year, by a general demand for higher wages and less time. He concluded his address by reading a copy of the resolutions which were to be proposed.

The first resolution—"That it is most desirable to form an auxiliary society in connexion with the parent society formed in Manchester for promoting National Regeneration," was moved by Mr. Smith, who observed, that partial or detached unions in any part of the country would effect nothing; it must be a general union, and recommended the utmost toleration in respect to religious differences of opinion, otherwise they would throw barriers in the way of an union of interests.

Mr. Phillips objected to the use made of the Trades' Unions, and said that none ought to interfere with them who were not members. Mr. Owen said, that the Trades' Unions did not as yet know the amount of their power, and what they were finally destined to accomplish; they did know their power and their plans, but they did not mean to go so far as Mr. O., for they had no objections to work for masters that were well-disposed.

Mr. Hamilton from Liverpool, highly approved of Mr. Owen's System; but agreed with Mr. Smith that there was a necessity for unanimity in religious feeling to bring it about. The state of Liverpool at this present moment did not present a scene of concord, for the utmost confusion prevailed in the minds of the tradesmen. He agreed, with the last speaker, that Mr. Owen had no right to interfere with Trades' Unions, he not being a member. In making some other observations, a person on the right hand of Mr. Hamilton gave a contemptuous laugh, upon which Mr. Hamilton observed that such a circumstance was sufficient to convince him of the impracticability of an union until men's minds were reconciled to perfect toleration.

Mr. Sharpless, carpenter, Manchester, expressed the same opinion as the two last speakers.

Mr. Owen—These gentlemen (the members of the Building Union) do not know that I have been earnestly requested to meet the Building Trades' Union in different parts of the country. Liverpool was the last we met; and when we found that they were not sufficiently enlightened, we thought it advisable to give them a little more time to acquire sufficient knowledge of their own interests. We did not communicate with the Trades' Unions as unions; but we communicated with the leaders, and recommended them to communicate to the members. The real seat of union is Yorkshire, and Huddersfield in particular. Mr. O. then read a letter from Mr. Pitcaithly, in justification of his conduct, and the truth of his assertion; and observed that the Trades' Unions were so connected with the Regenerating Society, that it could at any time raise a body of 150,000 men.

The Resolution carried.

2nd Resolution. "That, to effect this object, a committee be formed, to consist of producers, both employers and employed, and also of friends to the emancipation of the industrious classes out of every other class."

Mr. Cleave seconded the resolution, and observed, that the working-men cannot be too careful how they allow those who are not immediate producers to interfere with their interests—men who know nothing of their trials and experience, and would not sym-

this with their feelings. He also observed, in respect of religion, that there were as great bigots on one side as on the other—but that the main object of every society should be to promote the increase of the substantial comfort of the working-men. Mr. Cleave indulged in some personalities, to which we do not allude, and defended the *Morning Chronicle* and *True Sun* from a kind of general assertion of Mr. O.'s, that the editors of newspapers had been more instrumental than any of the literary world in retarding the progress of the cause of the people; but Mr. O. did not mean to affirm that there were not honourable exceptions, as well as degrees of opposition to truth, to be found in the public press.

Mr. Peel seconded the resolution.

3rd Resolution. "That the cordial thanks of this meeting are hereby given to Messrs. Oastler, Wood, Bull, and Sadler, for their strenuous exertions to obtain some relief for the children employed in factories, and that they be earnestly requested to use all the means at their command to assist to emancipate the industrious classes from their oppression, and more especially, as a preliminary measure, to obtain eight hours as the maximum of a day's work, and the present full day's wages for the minimum of remuneration; and that a copy of each of these resolutions be transmitted to each of those gentlemen."

Moved by Mr. Owen, seconded by Mr. Hetherington.

Mr. Owen observed that many of these gentlemen differed from him upon religious subjects, but that they had agreed to overlook this distinction altogether, and to co-operate with him in the work of doing political good.

Mr. Hetherington—I willingly second this resolution, because in my journey through the North I found, in the *Guardian*, several passages containing injurious reflections on the character of Mr. Oastler, whom I found, wherever I went, was highly esteemed by the working-classes. I came here to acknowledge the wrong which was done to that gentleman. Mr. Hetherington, in a very neat speech, maintained the necessity of the interference of the Trades' Unions with politics, observed that the French unions were so much in advance of the English in this respect, that they required not only more wages and less time for work, but also the power of making laws, which latter privilege some supposed was of no material importance. He was of a different opinion. The change which we want cannot be brought out by secret lodges, which, indeed, had noistence, whatever the members might imagine; he was well aware that the government are acquainted with all their proceedings. That eight hours a-day is quite sufficient for four, observed Mr. H., is borne out by the fact that the Duke of Wellington declared that could not help the condition of this country, *as the people could actually produce in two years as much as they could consume in three.* Mr. Duffy, in a very eloquent speech, to which we cannot do justice, observed that Mr. Hetherington differed in some respects from Mr. Owen, but he was as much at a loss to see plan of operation proposed by the one as the other. The Unions, he observed, were doing the very best of all plans; they were trying to reconcile all men; they were banishing religion from the system entirely; they were attempting that which is practicable because that which is just; they have struck upon an of combining men of all classes, and of

all opinions; as for secrecy, there was no secrecy in the matter; they merely wanted more leisure-time to themselves, and more wages; "and if that be a secret, I make a present of it to Earl Grey and the ministry." We looked long for Reform, and we expected much from it; and Trades' Unions are the effects of political disappointment.

Mr. Guthrie objected to Mr. Hetherington's view of the subject, and made some very good observations, for which we have not room.

Mr. Mudie proposed as an amendment, "that 5s. a-day be fixed as a minimum," and observed that sailors and soldiers should have that sum allowed them.

Mr. Adams supported the amendment, and was supported by Mr. Cameron, and opposed by Mr. Nichols.

The original motion was carried unanimously.

4th Resolution. "That a communication be immediately made to the National Regeneration Society, in Manchester, to request a copy of their latest regulations and instructions as to future proceedings."

Moved by Mr. Wood, seconded by Mr. Carter.

5th Resolution. "That such gentlemen and ladies as desire to become members of the Society for Promoting National Regeneration, give in their names to the secretaries."

Moved by Mr. Styles, and seconded by Mr. Lee.

6th Resolution. "That the Rev. J. Smith and Mr. Samuel Austin, be appointed secretaries to this auxiliary Society for Promoting National Regeneration."

Moved by Mr. Bankhead, and seconded, in a very eloquent and fervid speech, by Mr. Pryer; but we could not do justice to it by a short summary, even though our space permitted.

7th Resolution. "That each of the Trades' Unions be requested to send an individual to be a member of the committee, to act in conjunction with the secretaries, and that they add to their number such other persons as are likely to be useful, and are willing to assist in the objects of this society."

Moved by Mr. Pryer, and seconded by Mr. Bankhead.

After this, Mr. Owen shortly addressed the meeting, which dispersed about seven o'clock, having lasted more than six hours. There were between two and three thousand present.

TRUTH IS OUR OBJECT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—The advocates of the Social System are devoted to the cause of truth, and to the *Crisis*, their holy bible, and which should contain the truth, not mere individual opinions. I allude to the whole truth, founded upon the immutable laws of nature. I have written the truth as a disciple of the system: it is now for those who say I am in error to prove it.

ADDRESSED TO THE ADVOCATES FOR IMMEDIATELY ESTABLISHING COMMUNITIES.

Man is a progressive being; he walks, and does not leap, to improvement and truths. Upon a general acknowledgment of truths, an aggregate opinion arises, which eventually, but still gradually, produces actions in unison with such truths. If any given number of men and women could be placed directly in a machine, (which machine

is impossible to exist, no human being possessing the requisite power to arrange such an one,) they could not rationally act in the aggregate; and why? I will tell you: simply because the two great omnipotent primitive powers of nature—attraction and repulsion—are now in opposition to such effects being produced. How these powers are opposed to such consequences, philosophy shall teach us. The powers of attraction and repulsion are the consequence of there being peculiar qualities in matter: they cannot exist independent of matter, but are in consequence of matter being what it is. A difference in qualities and quantities of material bodies again ensues from the action of these powers. Every sound thinking being will admit that man is one of these peculiar quantities and qualities of matter; that his sensations and actions are the result of processes of development, or consequences of the great powers of attraction and repulsion existing between him and other material bodies, just in proportion as these various qualities and quantities of matter are dissimilar,* so will the powers of attraction and repulsion have more or less strength and durability; so that, in proportion as the material beings, men and women, are similarly, rationally, and beautifully developed, so will the great power of attraction increase and strengthen; and in proportion as they are irrationally developed, will the great power of repulsion become more fixed and permanent. Where is the philosophical individual that will say, that any material beings, as yet, have been sufficiently, similarly, and rationally developed, to induce even a slight supposition of success in any immediate practical arrangements for communities? I say distinctly again, "that the existence of such arrangement is in opposition to nature." The material theory above proves it; for this theory is in unison with the laws of nature; which laws are in unison with the development of matter; which development can only be brought about in the course of gradual progress.

Similar attempts or modifications of the plans and arrangements that now exist have been before attempted, and failed in producing effects anticipated; proving, as Bacon says, "that it is a fallacy and contradiction to expect that things which were never yet performed can be effected except by means hitherto untried." If, then, any parties desire more facts to prove the above theory to be correct and unanswerable, let them look at the many plans, societies, and arrangements existing, even amongst the small body of the advocates of the Social System; the effect, first, of great extremes and difference in the original quality of matter; and, secondly, of difference of causes acting upon and differently developing this matter; producing varieties of thoughts and actions, or repulsion more or less strong, consequently disunion or errors in and failure of plans.

If this plain and, I feel, beautiful theory is not considered (after deep reflection) to be correct, let those who differ from me prove by facts that I am in error, and I will openly acknowledge it: if correct, let those who have opposed my first address "On the folly of attempting to establish Communities," as openly and fairly acknowledge that I have taken a sound view of the mental, moral, and physical powers possessed by the advocates for communities, and that I am right when I say, that, attempting to establish Robert Owen's communities now, is to attempt impossibilities, is acting in opposition to the philosophical theory of matter, to the immutable laws of Nature.

J. H.

* And they have become extensively dissimilar in the mutations of time and things; and thus have ensued very different and peculiar developments, so as almost to produce individual isolation.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

Report of Monthly Meeting of the Association.

Mr. Fearn in the chair.

The Secretary read the report. It was not quite so flattering as that of the preceding month with regard to the business of the Exchange, in consequence of various causes, which were severally assigned, and it proposed several measures

STATEMENT FOR THE FOUR WEEKS, from 2nd to 30th NOVEMBER, 1833.

Deposits for four weeks										31,080h. 4s.					
RECEIVED.										Cash.		O. Notes.		N. Notes.	
Provisions	195	16	11											5285	5
Rent	20	7	10												
Charges	5	2	0			10	0							1	
Commission	59	14	6												
Festival	37	2	11			88	3						75	4	
Lectures	38	12	9			280	3						373	3	
Coals	20	11	0										715	5	
Grocery	86	13	2										203	0	
	2464	1	2			379	0						6654	0	

Mr. Warden repudiated the statement that any rumour had been the cause of the falling off of the deposits, but referred the real cause to the business being carried into other channels, the Trades Societies doing a great deal of business out of doors, in order to evade the commission, as much business was done as ever; but not in this place.

The resolutions proposed at the last adjourned meeting, and subsequently revised and amended in committee, were then moved by Mr. Pryer and ably seconded by Mr. Warner. Amended they are as follow:—

[The resolutions appeared in the *Crisis* of Nov. 30, but as the two following have been altered, we re-insert them.]

Fourth Resolution.—The material so purchased, to be distributed to members, who shall (in addition to their usual weekly subscription of one penny to the Exchange rent) subscribe one shilling per week in exchange for a two-hour labour note. Members so subscribing, shall be entitled (if they desire it) to a check to the amount of one half of their subscriptions, which check shall be available as cash in payment for goods manufactured from the material purchased by this fund.

As no checks will be issued until the material is actually manufactured, and deposited in the Exchange, no member will be entitled to the above privilege until he has paid up to the amount of five shillings.

“6. All goods manufactured from the materials of this fund, when placed in the Exchange for sale, shall be sold or exchanged on the following terms: The material to be paid for in cash or checks, and the labour performed on such material in the notes of the Exchange.”

Several members who spoke to the resolutions said, they regarded them merely as preliminary to a general combination of their funds, and a still more intimate union of the members. Some objections were urged; but the resolutions were finally put and carried.

CATECHISMS.

The *Trades Union Regenerating Catechism* may be had at the *Crisis* office, in a neat pocket size pamphlet; price 1d.

Also may be had, the above Catechism, with Scriptural References and Explanations.

THE THIRTIETH SOCIAL FESTIVAL, will be held on MONDAY EVENING next, December 16, at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square. On which evening a Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert will take place, and the Amusements will be extensively increased, by the Superior Accommodations and the Opening of the Organ. Terms as usual. For further particulars see Bills.

which are certain of successful and remedial operation. It congratulated the Association on the increased accommodation of the members, friends, and strangers, at the lectures and festivals. The making of the alterations in the premises had entailed considerable expense, which it was expected would quickly be returned.

The statement of the monthly account was as follows:—

Goods delivered					34,383h. 3s.
PAID.		Cash.		New Notes.	
		£	s.	d.	h. s.
Provisions	238	13	11		832 5
Rent	21	14	0		
Charges	77	10	9½		1896 1
Wages	54	12	0		1033 0
Festival	19	1	2		32 0
Lectures		4	5	2	149 3
Coals	17	5	4½		746 4
Grocery	83	8	8		
	514	11	1		4980 1

LECTURES, &c., NEXT WEEK.

Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

Sunday morning, at half-past 11, by the Rev. J. E. Smith, and evening, at 7.

Sunday afternoon, at 3, the members of the Social Community.

Wednesday evening, at half-past 7, public discussion of the Social Community.

Thursday evening at half-past 7, the Trades.

Friday afternoon, at 4, the Female Association.

Mr. Desrosier will lecture on Tuesday evening.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT, ENDING NOV. 30.

Deposits 7,306h. In-Exchange, 3,745h. 4s.

RECEIPTS. Cash & Notes. PAYMENTS.

Commission 13 19s. 0d. Wages 17 7 6

Provisions 34 4 4 Provisions 44 14 9

Grocery, &c. 31 3 6 Grocery 22 8 7

Coals 3 8 3 Coals 21 18 8

Rent Sub. 5 6 2 Lectures 5 4 0

Lectures 8 10 9 Charges, including alterations 12 10 2

Charges 2 0 0

98 11 5

124 3 9

Stock, goods on hand 55,603h. 5s.

Notes now in circulation 35,182 1

Excess Stock over Notes 20,421 4

Audited by the Managing Committee,
C. MACKENZIE, Chairman.
W. HOARE, Superintendent.

THE ATLAS UNSTAMPED SHEET

ALMANACK, beautifully Printed on a large Sheet of thick Vellum Paper, containing all the most necessary information appertaining to Almanacks. The ATLAS contains also a Victorious Calendar, containing upwards of 365 Battles gained by British Arms, being a Conquest for each day in the Year—a useful document for reference.

Also the MAN ALMANACK (price 2d.) for the Second Year of the Advent of Human Liberty and the Year of real Christianity 1834.

Also the London PADDY'S WATCH ALMANACK. Price One Penny.

Also, the SOCIAL ORACLE, a Book Almanack. Price Two pence.

Also, LORD BROUGHAM'S Penny Almanack, for the year 1834.

Printed and Published by Benjamin Franklin, at the Reformer Office, No. 378, Strand, and R. E. Lee, Office of the *Man*, 31, Marylebone-lane; and sold by all the Venders of the Unstamped.

BLAKE'S GOUT and RHEUMATIC PILLS, a pleasant, safe, and effectual cure for every description of Gout and Rheumatism, are recommended to the afflicted with a confidence arising from experience; are one of the valuable results of the improved state of Medical Science, and the only efficient remedy ever discovered for these excruciating Disorders. In Gout, Rheumatic Gout, and acute Rheumatism, these Pills will have a most wonderful effect in most cases, giving relief from the intolerable pains in one or two hours; and one box will frequently carry off the attack in two or three days, even where the patient has usually kept his bed for as many weeks, and sometimes months. They are equally certain in Lumbago, Pains in the Head or Face, frequently treated as the Tooth-ache. Rheumatism of long standing will be perfectly cured by a slight degree of perseverance in the use of these Pills, which require neither confinement nor attention during their use; and the continued decided approbation sent unsolicited to the Proprietor, from all parts of the kingdom, and from all classes of society, fully warrants the assurance that no person subject to these disorders will, after a trial, ever be without them.—Sold by Thomas Prosser, 229, Strand, London, seven doors from Temple Bar; and, by his appointment, by Beiby and Co., Birmingham; Mosby, St. Ann's-square, Manchester; Rennie, Lord-street, Liverpool; and all other Medicine Venders through the kingdom.

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A YOUNG MAN, 24 years of age, wants Employment as a LIGHT PORTER, or otherwise; he has been employed by his Father in a Cheesemonger's Shop, and has attended the Lectures at the Institution; having heard the Principles advocated by Robert Owen misrepresented, he has endeavoured to expose the misrepresentation. On that account, his Family has thought proper to discharge him at this season of the year, when Employment is so difficult to be obtained; has not the least objection to go in the country. The necessary particulars as to character may be obtained. Address, if by Letter, post paid, to W. Mr. Starke's, Bookseller, 7, Museum-street, London.

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ANTICHRIST, or Christianity Reformed; being a series of Discourses written and delivered by the Rev. J. E. SMITH, M. A.; in which is demonstrated from the Scriptures, in opposition to the prevailing opinion of the whole religious world, that evil and good are from one source; Devil and God one Spirit; and that the one is merely manifested to make perfect the other.

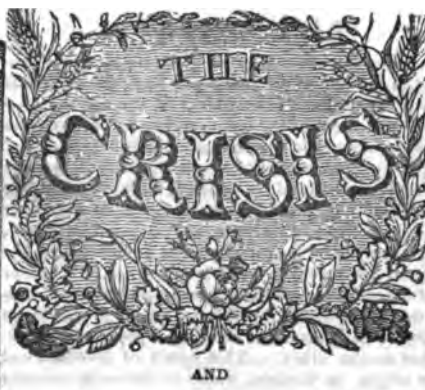
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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15.

Mr. Smith lectured on "UNITY and PROGRESS."

All the sciences are one science, all the trades are one trade, and all the arts are one art; and these three are all one; one in three, and three in one. What is science? The true meaning of science is knowledge; a knowledge of what? Not a knowledge of mere isolated facts only; that is not accounted science; but knowledge in the finest sense of the word; a knowledge of the laws by which nature acts. That is science, and there is no other science in existence. Men have divided this science into a multiplicity of parts, for the sake of helping the memory, and arranging the ideas; and this division has given rise to many erroneous notions in people's minds; namely, that the sciences are really distinct from each other, as their names import; but the same laws prevail in each, and they are all linked so closely into one, that you cannot tell where one begins, and where another ends. Thus, mineralogy treats of minerals, zoology treats of animals, and botany of vegetables; but a coral is both animal and mineral, and a sponge is both vegetable and animal; and the latest discoveries seem to confirm the idea, that every atom of matter which exists is a living thing, and that there is no death in existence. Botany, mineralogy, and zoology, therefore, are one indivisible science. But botany, zoology, and mineralogy comprehend all the sciences; for mineralogy treats of the mineral kingdom, and botany of the vegetable kingdom, and zoology of the animal; and these are the three kingdoms of nature which comprehend all that is; and you cannot study these three, or one of the three, without studying all the rest. Do you want to study mineralogy?—then you must examine not only the varieties of minerals; but all the laws by which they are governed; and as these minerals embrace every thing, you have an infinite field before you. Thus, for instance, if you investigate the properties of iron, it will lead you to magnetism, and magnetism to electricity, and elec-

tricity to galvanism: and this will lead you a course through all the invisible spiritual fluids of nature. It will also lead you to study the gases of which it is composed, and one gas will lead you round the circle of all the gases. It will also lead you to the study of life and organization, for you find minerals in the animal body the teeth are minerals; and if you inquire where the teeth came from, you will find they came from the blood, and by investigation, you will find iron in the blood; and if iron be in the blood, it must be in the flesh, and so on for ever. Study mineralogy only well, and you study all nature. The same may be said of botany: it also will lead you a dance over all the universe for if you analyse a plant, you will find that it is composed of minerals and gases, and electric matter; and this will lead you the grand circuit once more. Thus, for instance, there are vegetables growing upon animal bodies, hair, and wool, and feathers; these are merely a species of plants. Where do these come from? they come from the blood. Thus botany is connected with life, with minerals, and with gaseous and electric fluids; and all these will lead you from earth to heaven, and include infinity in the embrace of a single science. So it is with the trades; what can a tailor or a shoemaker do without the blacksmith and the cutler? What can the blacksmith and cutler do without the carpenter? and what the carpenter without the cutler? and what can either do without the collier? and what the collier without them in return? They are all dependant on each other; they are all one trade, with different members; and the destruction of one would be a dismemberment and mutilation of the whole. So it is with the fine arts, they are all built upon one principle, they are all imitations of nature; the sculptor imitates nature by cutting a piece of marble in the shape of man or beast; the painter imitates nature by painting the likeness of some natural object on a flat surface. The actor imitates nature by making use of his own body, changing his dress and giving an artificial expression to his countenance and voice. The poet imitates nature by conveying similar ideas in words and measured lines. All go upon one single principle, that of imitation; therefore they are all one thing, one art, modified by the versatility of human genius. Thus,

you see, all employment divides itself into three parts,—labour, science, and the fine arts; and these, like the Christian Trinity, are one, three in one, and one in three, and may all be arranged under the name of INDUSTRY.

Another view of the science of unity and progress of nature towards perfection, is most remarkably brought to light by the interesting science of geology. Geology has now arrived at such perfection that we are enabled to class the different strata of which the earth is composed, and assign a sort of determinate epoch for the formation of each. There is a regular gradation of layers of earth and rock, from the first or fundamental series of granite up to the surface upon which we tread. In these layers of earth and rock, which have been successively deposited upon the top of each other, we find the remains of plants and animals such as at that time abounded on the surface. These plants and animals begin at the very lowest scale of creation: first we have the lowest species of water-plants; then the lowest species of water-animals; then shell-fishes of a very simple kind; then fishes of a higher order—tortoises, reptiles, and crocodiles. In the oldest rocks there are scarcely any vegetables to be found; from which it is evident that creation began in the waters, at the very lowest scale of organization, sensation, and intelligence. Before this period, it is evident that the whole surface of the earth must have been covered with water. The appearance of crocodiles and amphibious animals about the latter end of it, shows that the dry land must then have begun to make its appearance. After this we begin to perceive the remains of vegetation; the earth was, soon after it arose from the waters, covered with innumerable varieties of plants, and then animals that feed upon herbage make their appearance. These appear to have lived a long time in joyous tranquillity, and attained an immense size, their remains being of much greater magnitude than any living species with which we are acquainted. The reason of this is to be found in the analogy of nature and the circumstances of the times: then there were no carnivorous animals to destroy them, nature having invariably produced the proper food in abundance before she produced the animal which was to subsist upon it. By-and-by, however, carnivorous animals make their

entrance into the world, and many of the older species disappear, being probably driven out of existence by the persecution of those new lords of the universe, lions, tigers, and wolves, whom Nature had brought forth to introduce the iron age of despotism, which she began with the devouring jaws and paws of a hyena or a tiger, and has now completed by the more brutish selfishness and insatiable bloodthirstiness of man, who is not contented, like a wolf, with merely devouring one victim for immediate use; but his relentless cruelty goads him on to devour his victims by thousands, leaving their dead carcasses to putrify the air, or their ruined fortunes and desolate homes to torture their despairing hearts with a wretchedness which is worse than death.

Thus we arrange the present and the past, and thus we would teach mankind to arrange themselves, for this is the end of all progress, to bring the scattered tribes of trade, of science, and the fine arts into one, that universal union may take place, and all nature rejoice in the fraternal compact. This is a simple view of the subject, which must come home to the conviction of all, for it is seen at once; but it is not so easy to show them how history has all been linked together in a grand chain of union, which has been gradually advancing, and never retrograding; always curing former errors, and bringing in new experience where experience was wanting. But history presents as fine a chain of progress of one kind, as the unity of the sciences does of the other; there has been a regular system of progression, physical, moral, and intellectual, going on from first to last; and this system is so perfectly in accordance with the analogy of nature, that it cannot but strike every attentive mind. Thus we know from experience that the sun rises in the east and sets in the west; and according to this original prototype, we ought to expect the same of the old system of science, of trade, and of society. History, then, demonstrates this to be a fact. Men first made their appearance, according to history and according to all the monuments of antiquity, in the east; there all the arts originated; there the light of intellect and genius arose, like the great luminary of the firmament, and like him, also, it proceeded regularly westward, from the east to Chaldea, from Chaldea to Egypt and Asia Minor, from Egypt and Asia Minor to Greece, from Greece to Rome, from Rome to France, and from France to Britain; and this is the westernmost extremity of the old world. America is a new world entirely—but it is emphatically called the land of liberty. Thus you see that science and liberty have been proceeding as regularly westward as the sun himself; and if you examine attentively the globe, you will find that they have also been preserving the same inclination to the equinoctial line as the ecliptic line of the winter hemisphere; that is, that they have proceeded just so far north as the sun does from the equinox to the solstice, and no farther; that is, we have always been going downwards in competitive strife, like the sun in winter, or upwards in intellectual progress, like the sun in summer, which gradually descends until the end of December, and then regularly rises until the middle of June. This is a sublime and a literal fact, and there can be no doubt that it has been occasioned by the very same law of nature that guides the sun in the heavens; but men, for want of a due appreciation of the doctrine of the unity of nature, and the science of systematic progression, overlook some of the most beautiful and cheering facts which science presents for our contemplation.

This tract which I have now pointed out is the grand line of progress, and it divides itself into two grand departments, Asia and Europe. The first of these is the sphere of unlimited despotism; and the second of limited despotism, or despotism mingled with popular and aristocratic government; and last of all, in America, which is the

last in the line of progress, you have the democratic or republican government of the old world—the beau-ideal of the old system; but so far from possessing any of the characteristics of justice and equality, that, were it not for the extensive tract of unoccupied land by which it is surrounded, we question if it would possess much advantage over the despotisms of Europe. In this line of progress, then, we perceive two important peculiarities; the one of individual tyranny, the other of popular interference; creating an everlasting scene of agitation and turmoil, by the two active principles of despotism on the one hand, and popular interference on the other. This spirit of freedom had its origin in Greece, which is the most easterly portion of Europe; and there also, along with liberty, sprang up all the offspring of liberty, the fine arts, and all the refinements of classic taste and of social intercourse. From Greece, according to the everlasting and unalterable law of nature, the light of science and literature proceeded westward, and settled for some time in Rome, the mistress of the western world, the mother of civilization, of Christianity, and the fine arts. From Rome, it proceeded westward to France and Britain, where it now resides.

It is needless to say that industry has always travelled along with civilization and the sciences: they all go hand in hand, but it may be proper to remark here, that there is one other peculiarity in the two grand divisions of the line of progress which I have drawn out, and that is, that the idea of unity has always been more or less taught, but taught in mystery in such a way as the people did not comprehend the true meaning of it, and that it has invariably prevailed pre-eminently in the east. Thus the Jews taught in a most exclusive manner the unity of God, and the Mahometans do the same, without knowing what God is; and other nations have borrowed from them, but have understood as little the doctrine of unity as the Jews themselves. All men have talked of unity, and recommended unity: but they have recommended it in such a way that it could never be reduced to practice. They have always been so presumptuous as to insist upon bringing all others over by force to their own peculiar opinions, without consulting the will of the individual, or making allowances for the difference of organization. But the Roman Catholic church made a splendid attempt at unity, the most splendid that is to be found in the history of man. After the unity of the political empire was destroyed by the inroad of the northern Barbarians, the spiritual tyranny of Rome succeeded the temporal, and one of the most sublime superstructures of human sovereignty, ingenuity, and craft, that the ages of fable and romance have recorded, was reared. The Roman church was a perfect unity, as far as unity could be effected by means of terror, and by working in opposition to the will and the feelings of mankind. It was an attempt, I have no doubt a well-meant attempt, on the part of the spiritual rulers of Christendom: they themselves were ignorant, and their followers were more so. Superstition reigned triumphant, and division was to be prevented by every means which could be devised. Accordingly, the wit, and the learning, and the wealth of Europe, were all at work to entangle the population in one grand net of superstition, which for ages presented such an appearance of unanimity and concord, that although these ages are by us denominated the dark ages, they were not the most unhappy ages. But that union was an union of violence; it was not liberty, it was not cordiality and love, and it was accompanied by the extremity of slavery on the one hand, and tyranny on the other; men's eyes were at last opened to the fact, that it was not the unity that it was essential to the happiness of society; the reformers rose up against it, broke it all up, and now once more Christendom is divided into innumerable sects and parties, little republics, like the age of feudalism, when the northern nations broke in upon the

empire and scattered it in fragments. But then observe how beautifully and uniformly nature works! unity was taught in the east, in the land of despotism, and republicanism or division risen in the west and north; so Protestantism followed the same law, and the west and the north separated from the unity of Rome, and became the land of religious liberty. Hence we see that the north and the west become, by a law of nature, the grave of the old unity of despotism; and from them must arise the new unity, the unity of mind, the unity of interest, the unity of affection, which the Jewish church taught in a mystery, which the Roman church attempted to establish by pure force, but which the working-men of England, at the extremity of the world, will alone discover and establish in truth, and send forth the new light of science and society to the east, as the old light came to the west; and then shall be fulfilled the prophecy of Mahomet, the Arabian prophet, that in the latter days the sun shall rise in the west.

These are not fancies; they are facts which cannot be disputed; and they are facts which demonstrate that there has been a regular and systematic progression going on in human society, observing the same laws which govern the seasons, preserving the same curious phenomena, and, at the same time, all tending to the establishment of a great principle—that of unity; first attempting to establish that unity by despotism in Asia; then breaking up the unity of despotism in Europe, and introducing a new species of unity, by an union of minds and an union of interests. The first is a false unity, the second is true; the first is evil, the second good. Asia is the cradle of the evil, Europe the cradle of the good; the east is the original source of the evil, the west is the original source of the good; and, as we stand at the very western extremity of the old world, it thus follows, as a conclusion deduced from facts, which the science of progress presents to our view, that we live on the very soil which Nature has ordained to give birth to the future world, which will assuredly rise out of the crust of the old as the butterfly from the shell of the caterpillar, and following the very same law, too; for as the head of the new butterfly is formed at the tail of the caterpillar, so the head of the new world is formed at the tail of the old—another proof of the truth of the science of progress, and of its strict accordance with universal nature.

ON VALUATION;

Showing that a low scale of valuation would (at the present time, as regards labour exchange) be more beneficial than a high one.

It is, I believe, a received opinion, that every evil has an antidote in its own kind; thus it is said that the bite of a serpent is to be cured by the application of its own fat; and thus, in medicine, is one poison ejected from the stomach of a human being by the administering of another. So, in like manner, must competition be by competition destroyed. Many will say, how are we to compete with old society? By lowering the price of labour. Do not start! I myself am a labourer, depending for my daily bread on my own industry, and therefore would not advise any thing detrimental to my own interest; therefore, as I said before, do not be alarmed, but look well at the subject.

The nominal value of the hour note at the present time is sixpence. But is it really worth that sum? I think not; and for this reason—the labour-note is not always available for our purposes. We cannot always purchase what we require with it, and consequently its value is depreciated.

It matters not (with regard to the trade societies) what scale of valuation they adopt, whether it is a high one or a low one—whether it is a shilling or a penny an hour, so that they have labour

for labour. But if we wish to extend our operations—if we wish to draw from old society our supplies of food and raw material; in fact, if we wish to concentrate within ourselves the power of producing and distributing wealth, we must act upon the selfishness and cupidity of the non-producers, we must make it to their present interest to deal with us, by underselling the present retail market; and this can only be done by lowering the present nominal high standard of labour.

From the causes which I have before assigned, I take the hour-note to be actually worth (at present) no more than fourpence-halfpenny, while the nominal value is sixpence. With this high nominal value, and deteriorated real value, the articles in the Exchange are so high in price as to make it an absolute sacrifice on the part of the public to bring in their money, provision, raw material, &c., and consequently our operations are confined to the mode of exchanging our labour with each other.

Now, let us see what would be the results of a low scale of valuation—we will say 3d. per hour, nominally. With this scale of valuation, we should be able to undersell the present retail dealers considerably, and as such it would be the interest of the dealers in provisions, raw material, &c., to bring their articles in exchange for our manufactures; it would be likewise to the interest of professionals, fundholders, and all kinds of non-producers, to bring in their money; thus should we have a continued supply of every thing we require; there would be no necessity for any restrictions on the provision-store, or any other store, as the labour-note would be immediately equally as negotiable as money.

Every article in provisions and raw material would, of course, be purchased at the very first market, and as our business would be sufficiently extensive to admit of such a regulation, I would advise that all provisions and material purchased for notes by the consumer, should be subject to no commission, but those sold for cash should be charged the regular per centage. This would be making the labour-note bear a premium, and persons would of course be willing to take them for rent or any thing we might require; thus, as provisions, raw material, and manufactured articles might be purchased for notes 25 per cent. cheaper than in the present retail market, the real value of the one-hour note would be 4½d.—*the same as now.*

Still there may be some who may object to these arrangements, and say that the non-producers would get too much of our labour. All that I can answer is, let them have it—let them gorge upon it till they surfeit, so that we get possession of their money; for with that money will we most assuredly destroy the old competitive system.

Under these arrangements the increase of consumption would be enormous, as there would be no want of a circulating medium; and the idea of any one being out of employ or in a state of destitution would be at variance with common sense.

Having thus shown the immediate benefit that would arise from a low scale of valuation, I might stop here, but I think it would be as well to go one step further, and look at what would be the probable results, and see how we might take advantage of the circumstances that would inevitably arise.

As there is no doubt but that we should be very soon in possession of a great portion of the producing power of the country, we might open depôts in various parts of the town and country, for the sale or exchange of our goods, and thus we should immediately exterminate the present slavish mode of employment.

As we shall then have concentrated within ourselves the powers of producing and distributing, we shall then be in a situation to turn our attention to the non-producer, who can only be deprived of his present unjust and unnatural position by our possession of land, and to this object we must apply the whole of our surplus wealth.

G. SIMKINS.

UNION! UNION!! UNION!!! AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

LETTER III.

It has been said that the Labour Exchange is not, nor can for a long time be made to be, beneficial to the destitute and poor; or those who have no money: and in the way the exchanges have been hitherto conducted, this is undoubtedly true. But, this being the fact, it is one which demands the serious consideration of all the industrious producers of wealth, for they are all most deeply interested in removing destitution from all their fellow-producers, and this is most easy if they will but unite to effect it.

At the same time that it is said that there are amongst the shoemakers and tailors, numbers who are so destitute that they cannot procure the material to make up any article for the Exchange, although they are without other employment, the Exchange is unsupplied with the very goods which these unemployed parties could make up for it; and manufacturers of other articles cannot deposit their goods, because there are no shoes or clothes in the Exchange, of which they are much in want. Thus, we have the *Exchange without goods, and the people without employment!* This is an anomaly which ought not to continue, particularly when these very parties wanting employment are often forced by distress to offer their labour in the competitive market at very reduced wages, thereby injuring their fellow-workmen, and perpetuating their own destitution! But how is this state of things to be avoided or remedied? By union, and union alone! The tailors, I rejoice to see and hear, have discovered the necessity of this, and have therefore determined, and a unanimous determination it is, to lay aside all the petty differences that have hitherto divided them, and apparently given them interests opposed to each other, and have resolved to form one union of their whole trade; and not only so, but have also determined to form a junction with the other trades. Most sincerely do I hope that this excellent example will be immediately followed by the boot and shoe-makers,—men's and women's men, cappers, closers, makers, and binders; let them but form themselves into one consolidated union, and distress may *thenceforward* be banished from amongst them for ever. The tailors, and the boot and shoe-makers of the metropolis, if thus united, could mutually aid and assist each other immensely; and they would soon be followed by all the other trades, when, by the assistance of the Equitable Labour Exchange, they would insure full and constant employment to every member of the union; to effect which, they have only to adopt some such plan as the following. Let them ascertain the number of workmen in each trade, and the average time which they have been employed during the last year, or for several years past; and supposing this should turn out to be ten months out of twelve, it will then appear that there are one-sixth more workmen in the trade than can obtain constant employment in the competitive market. The trade, then, should immediately determine to employ one sixth of their number to work for them; not wait until these are thrown out of employment, but make arrangements to purchase material, and without delay set them to work to produce boots and shoes, or clothes, and deposit them in the Labour Exchange; and thus will they furnish a good supply of those articles to the Exchange, draw off all the superabundant producers from the competitive market, insure themselves constant employment, at good wages, and, in addition, they will remove all the destitution from every member of their respective trades, and supply themselves with all the necessaries and comforts of life. It has been objected that this proposal embraces a principle, and recommends a line of conduct, which are too complicated for the generality of workmen to compre-

hend, and that the only way to get them to do any thing is to show them that it is their interest to do so. I am quite aware that it is not very likely that, trained and treated as the great mass of producers have been, they can be induced to move out of their usual way, unless it can be shown that they will derive some positive advantage by so doing; and this advantage must, also, be an immediate one; and they must not be called upon to make great sacrifices to obtain it, or they will doubtless hesitate long before they will decide upon adopting the proposed course. Still, I think, the step which the tailors have recently taken to form all the operatives in their trade into one union, plainly shows that they are quite capable of acting upon a comprehensive principle, and of taking an enlarged view of what is for their real interest; although it may be contrary to the practice which they have followed for many years past, of seeking their immediate individual interest, although the course they took was injurious to other members of the trade, who had not been so favourably situated as themselves; but they have at length discovered that this course, although apparently beneficial to them, is not really so in the end, but that the injury thereby done to their less-favoured fellow-workmen is at length visited upon themselves, in the general reduction of wages and the want of constant employment. Now, then, is the time for them to follow out the principle, and effectually provide the remedy for these two great evils—the want of constant employment, and insufficient remuneration; but this can only be done by some plan that will provide for all! The Labour Exchange, then, as I have before said, furnishes the plain and easy remedy for both these evils. Let each member of the respective Unions subscribe one-fourth of his weekly earnings to purchase raw material, and set to work for the Exchange *one-sixth* of the operatives in the trade to which he belongs, by which himself and his fellow-producers in other trades will be well supplied with the article which he manufactures; and these, in return, will well supply him with the articles which they manufacture; and thus a constantly well-stocked market will always be open for the producers, each of whom will have only one-fourth of his weekly earnings in notes, and will, therefore, always be able to get plenty of the best provisions, and every thing else, at the Exchange, better and cheaper than he can obtain them elsewhere. A plain, easy, and efficient plan is thus presented to the producers of wealth in the metropolis, if they can only be induced to unite, by which they may immediately emancipate themselves from poverty, and all its attendant evils, and render themselves for ever independent of the capitalists.

But it may still be objected that the members of the various trades are not likely to be induced to subscribe one fourth of their weekly earnings in cash and take notes for it; seeing, that they cannot obtain what they want in the Labour Exchange, and that the notes are not of equal value with cash. I grant that this is a solid objection, if a true one, and I am obliged to admit that, hitherto it has been too true. But what is the reason of it? Why is it that the Exchange is not well supplied with goods of all sorts, and why is it that the notes are not even of greater value than cash? I will tell the producers of wealth why this is so; it is because they have never yet been really united! All their unions, as yet, have

* I have taken the amount at one sixth, supposing this will be found to be the proportion of the superabundant producers in the trade; this, however, will probably vary in different trades, and the amount of subscription will, of course, be determined by the number of workmen to be employed; and this will be determined by the average proportion of employment which can be obtained by the several trades in the competitive market.

been so only in name! This is now plainly acknowledged by the tailors, who are therefore resolved that it shall be so no longer. Let all the other trades do the same; let them not have one single member of their respective trades who does not belong to the union; *and then*, for not till then, can any permanent good be effected, *then* let them employ their superabundant producers, as I have before said, to supply the Exchange, and not leave this supply, as hitherto, to mere accident, or the will of individuals, who resort to it when reduced to the greatest distress; let them do this, and they will then remove at once all future complaint of the Exchange not being supplied with every description of goods, and give such a value to their notes that any one will be glad to obtain them for cash. This can they do! *aye*, and much more than this, *if they can only be induced to unite!* It is *union* then, *union and equitable labour exchange*, that should henceforward be the great object of the operatives, as the means by which they may relieve themselves from the evils of competition, and work out their complete deliverance from ignorance and poverty.

Although I feel that I have employed considerable repetition in these remarks, yet the importance of making the subject distinctly understood, to do which I had no better way, will, I trust, be a sufficient apology for this, and also for recapitulating the principal points which I have laboured to establish.

These are, 1st. The necessity of union, complete union, including in it every individual of each trade, to effect any permanent good.

2nd. To ascertain the average employment the members of each trade obtain in the competitive market.

3rd. Not to wait until some are thrown out of employment, but immediately to employ all the superabundant producers in each trade, to produce on account of the members of that trade, and to deposit these productions in the Equitable Labour Exchange.

4th. That the result of this will be to prevent all future competition between the operatives of the respective trades, and to insure constant employment at good wages to all these remaining in the competitive market.

5th. That by this means the Equitable Labour Exchange will always be well supplied with an excellent assortment of every description of goods, and the labour-note will soon become of more value than cash.

6th. That thus the operatives may be rendered independent of the capitalists, and poverty and all its accompanying evils be for ever banished from amongst them.—Thus my design has been to lead the operatives to perceive that it is of no use to complain of want of employment and insufficient remuneration, when the remedy for all the evils they are labouring under is mainly in their own hands, and my great object is to induce them to adopt this remedy; and if I shall succeed in any degree in the attainment of this object, I shall be abundantly satisfied.

S. AUSTIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I must crave your indulgence and pardon for the trouble this may occasion you, but trust your benevolent disposition will prompt you to give an early reply in the *Crisis*.

I have been through life engaged in shopkeeping, and am now much embarrassed to know what course to take to support a large family, namely, a wife and five children; and finding it impossible to do so from the proceeds of trading, &c., I shall feel much obliged by your informing me whether there is not existing, connected with that most excellent establishment in Charlotte-street, some society that teach adults the different trades, as the evident prospect of a distressed family renders it

imperative on me, if possible, to learn some business by which I can get an honest livelihood.

I am, Sir, yours, &c. A SHOPKEEPER.
London, December 4, 1833.

(This letter must have escaped our notice, as it is dated a fortnight back. We recommend it to our friends for a reply.—Ed.)

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have still many articles on hand, which we have not rejected, though they have not yet made their appearance. Some, perhaps, are now too long deferred to be interesting; others will suit all seasons.

Our friend J. S. need not have been so much offended at our good-natured remarks upon Old Aristotle; what matters it to him though we should indulge in a little humorous abuse of a dead man? It is quite in consistency with our principles, for we hate corruption of every kind. It was only a joke; and if we are not to be indulged in passing jokes in the new world, we hope it may never come. "God save the old system!"

We have received several letters respecting the debates of our committee-men, but we are disposed to wait another week before we insert or reply to them.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 21.

THE following extract from a letter of Mr. Fielden, member for Oldham, will be read with interest by our friends. It is addressed to Mr. Cobbett, and copied from his *Register* of last week. We subjoin one short and appropriate extract from Mr. Cobbett's reply:—

MR. FIELDEN'S LETTER TO MR. COBBETT.
Waterside, 16th November, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am persuaded we are on the eve of very important changes; the working people will not long submit to the chains with which they are enthralled; co-operative societies, trades' unions, &c., exist in almost every manufacturing town and village throughout the kingdom; these societies hold their meetings, discuss their grievances, and concert plans of relief.

An organization has been thus formed, which, if properly directed, may be productive of good; but, unless the wise and the good amongst masters evince a disposition to hearken to the complaints of their ill-treated work-people, and endeavour to get them a redress of their wrongs, consequences the most appalling may ensue. The disappointment, on being denied the ten-hour bill, is not yet forgotten, and active measures are now on foot to obtain by unions such regulations, as to time of labour and amount of wages, as the work-people may think (and I agree with them) they are fairly entitled to.

Mr. Robert Owen called on me last week; he had been amongst them in Yorkshire, recommending them how to act, if the threat of the masters to dismiss every person in their employ who would not abandon the unions, were attempted to be carried into effect. Mr. Owen, as you know, has some very peculiar opinions or notions; but he is, notwithstanding, a very intelligent, humane, and benevolent man; he has great influence with many of the most intelligent of the working-classes, and he has long been very actively engaged in endeavouring so to change the constitution of society, as would, in his opinion, insure to all, both rich and poor, a much larger share of happiness than they now enjoy.

I will not attempt to describe Mr. Owen's schemes, nor attempt a defence of them, because I

think some of them impracticable; but his love of the labouring-classes, and the exertions he has made, and is making, with a sincere desire and intention, as I verily believe, to better their condition, entitle him, in my opinion, to the respect and regard of all who are labouring in the same vineyard, and to their cordial co-operation, to the extent they can go with him in promoting his object. And having him with me, as I have before stated, and learning from him the feelings (which I before knew) of the labouring-classes, and their determination to attempt by co-operation and union to better their lot, I thought it desirable to suggest a mode of procedure on the part of the work-people in factories, which, if successful, would supply the defect in the factory bill passed last session, and do away with the necessity for further legislation on the subject.

The plan is, that about the 1st of March next, the day the said bill (*now act*) limits the time of work for children under eleven years of age to eight hours a-day, those above that age, both grown persons and adults, should insist on eight hours a-day being the maximum of time for them to labour; and their present weekly wages for sixty nine hours a-week, to be the minimum weekly wages for forty-eight hours a-week after that time.

Mr. Owen said, the plan was the best he had ever heard suggested; it was practicable, and it should be adopted; and he is now at work in Yorkshire promoting the object.

I have broached it in Manchester this week to several parties and individuals; several spinners have expressed their willingness to adopt such a regulation if others would. The short-time committee is taking it up, Mr. Condy will advocate the measure in the *Advertiser*, and considerable exertions will be made to carry it, whether successful or not.

You will be startled at my boldness, but something must be done, the legislature is too slow for the people, and the working-people, as Sir R. Peel wished they would, must take their affairs into their own hands; and the adults in factories must, by unions amongst themselves, do what Lord Althorp told me and the short-time delegates (when we had our interview with him) he had rather see done in that manner, than by legislative enactments, viz.—*make a short-time bill for themselves.*

His lordship was right; I approve of his suggestion, and will do my best to encourage such a step. My partners and I have resolved to set the example when the time arrives, and I hope many manufacturers will join us.

I am satisfied the masters would not suffer by the change, if *general*; for the lessened quantity produced would command as much money as the larger quantity does now, and they would have the satisfaction of being surrounded by more contented and happy work-people. Time, too, would be afforded to train and educate themselves, and instruct the females in that useful and indispensable knowledge requisite to make them good housewives and good mothers, and in which they are now so lamentably deficient, and must continue so while their long confinement in factories goes on. And the men, blessed with wives and children so trained, would be more happy at home than at the alehouse and the gaming-table, and would spend what time they have to spare in cultivating a bit of ground, or other useful pursuits, beneficial to themselves and their families. A system of daily education would thus be introduced into our manufacturing population, without taxing the people; far superior to any which government will establish.

Suppose the plan carried into effect, the manufactures made from wool, cotton, silk, and flax, would rise in price, probably on the average about twenty-five per cent.; this rise would give for the lessened production the present amount or more for labour expenses and profit which the manufac-

ture now has, and also enable him to give to the foreigners and others the same quantity of his manufactures for the same quantity of raw material as the manufacturer now gives, and which quantity the foreigner will have, or not continue to trade with him; but these proportions will be adjusted in time by the parties trading with each other, and cannot be prevented. I only mention it to show that we should not lose our foreign trade, the *bugbear*, which almost all the manufacturers profess to dread. Our foreign trade, as you know, resolves itself into barter, or an exchange of our surplus productions for the surplus productions of foreigners. And I find, during the last twenty years, that in cotton goods (and it must be the same in other goods) any given quantity of cotton twist or cotton cloth has commanded the same relative quantity of foreign produce, or very nearly so, in every year in that period; when it has been different in any one year, it has arisen from unwise speculations, producing an unnatural rise or fall in prices, and consequent variation in the proportions, to sometimes above and other times below the standard. And this has gone on while the consumption of cotton has increased from 6,000 bags a-week to 17,000 bags a-week, and the prices of both cotton and cotton goods have fallen in the same period about 70 per cent. See my letters on Banking—my tables in "Flash in the Pan," and the evidence of GEORGE SMITH, JAMES GRIMSHAW, and JOSHUA MILNE, before the select committee on manufactures, shipping, and commerce. But an advance of 25 per cent. in our manufactures, would be a very different affair to the home consumer, and unless all engaged in other trades effect a corresponding rise in the price of their productions by diminishing the quantity (and which for their own protection they ought to do), they would suffer from the change, inasmuch as they would only be able to procure three garments or three other things after the advance, where they now purchase four; and those employed in factories in making cloth, &c., would not be able to get more; but they would cheerfully make this sacrifice, in the first instance, to secure such an abridgment of the time of labour as they ought to have. This diminution in manufactures, and the product of other trades, would however very soon be followed by a comparative scarcity of these things; a rise in price would consequently take place exceeding the increased costs of production, and the productive classes, both masters and workmen, would thus secure for themselves a greater proportion for their own use, with working eight hours a-day, than they now have for working a longer time. And the political economists of our day would perhaps be spared the mortification of having to complain any more of distress arising out of over-production.

EXTRACT FROM MR. CORBETT'S LETTER.

What is the proposition? Why, that the working people shall work eight hours in the twenty-four; and, now let us see how the matter stands, as to the showing of the Government and the Parliament. We now sell the immense sums of public money which have been expended for the purpose of promoting that passes under the general term of *emigration*; we know that, to discover the means of getting the working people out of the country has been a thing most eagerly desired by the *feelosophers*, by the financiers, and by repeated Houses of Parliament, as most amply recorded in the reports of divers committees of those Houses. The assertion of all these *monks*, and bodies of persons, has been, "that the market is over-supplied with labour;" that it is the taxes that cause the misery of the people, but an overstock of labour in the market; and the *feeling brutes*, educated in the Scotch school of politics, have had on their lips everlastingly the phrase, "that labour, like meat or wheat, must be regulated in price by the amount of the demand compared with the amount of the supply." This is a favourite expression of RICARDO, who said that

it was no consequence *whether any corn was grown in England, or not*; and who was actually called an oracle by WILBERFORCE and BROUGHAM. Besides this, when have we ceased to hear it asserted that a surplus population was the great cause of the misery of the people! How often have we seen it stated, that the workmen were reduced to *half-work* by their masters! In short, upon the showing of the Government, the Parliament, and all the sticklers for the debt and the taxes, it is proved beyond all contradiction, *that there was too much labour in the country*. This being the case, what impudence must that men have, who shall dare to lift his voice in condemnation of any persons who are combining for the purpose of *diminishing the hours of labour*, and thereby making labour not superabundant "*in the market*;" making the "*supply*" not so far to outstretch the "*demand*!" For my part, my only fear is, that the combineers themselves will give way, and not effectually enforce their laudable intention. The work is now done by a too small number of hands; the work now costs too little to those who enjoy the benefit of it. Perhaps, you yourself are not aware of the comparatively small number of persons who actually do the work. And now let me beg your attention to the following facts upon this subject. In the year 1801, the first population return exhibited to us this curious spectacle.

Population of England.

1. Persons employed in agriculture	1,524,227
2. Persons employed in trade, handicraft, and manufacture	1,789,531
	3,313,758
3. All other persons	5,017,484
Total	8,331,192

This was a damning fact for the boroughmonger and fundholder system. Here were almost two idlers for every one working man. In this statement alone, which is their own statement; which is the statement of the Ministers and the Parliament; in this statement alone, we have more than enough to justify the proceeding of the "TRADES' UNIONS," and all other combinations; nay, here is more than enough to impeach them of a want of spirit in not having sooner taken measures to assert and enforce the rights of industry.

THE struggle seems to have already commenced in Derby. The masters are the first to show the example of violence, by asserting their right to supreme and unlimited despotism. They seem to think themselves independent of the working men. They have resolved that "each of them shall immediately cease to employ *every* man (they should have said *any* man) who is a member of the Trades' Union, and will not receive or take back into his service any man who continues to be a member of that union, or of any other union having similar objects." The spirit of Chaos seems to have taken possession of these masters; they hate organization and order, for a lucky cast of the die has given them the precedence, and if justice should henceforth be substituted for chance, they know or fear it is all over with them. Well, the workmen have a good cause, it is the cause of peace, of order, and of justice, and the whole country is alive to the truth of the principle, for the practical establishment of which they contend. They cannot fail—their cause is now a national cause, a cause which eclipses all parliamentary politics, foreign treaties and protocols, and every true Briton, every true man we should say (for nationalities ought for ever to be abolished, and no man ought hereafter to pride himself

in country, any more than in rank), will identify their cause with his own, and exert himself in the work of human redemption. The *Pioneer* of last week is quite illuminated with the subject, and it is one of the highest compliments which we can pay to that spirited publication, that it is the object of especial jealousy to the masters of Derby. The first resolution of the Derby masters is a sample of the intellectual shallowness or sophistry which characterizes their fraternity:—Resolved, "That this meeting acknowledges the right of workmen to give or withhold labour, and asserts the *equal* right of masters to give or withhold employment." Pray, by what species of logic is this latter proposition demonstrated? Are the masters the original source of employment, or the public that consumes the produce of labour? A school-boy may answer the question. Were the masters all swallowed up by an earthquake to-day, the men would find employers; but were the men swallowed up, pray, what would the masters do? at present the masters are merely factors or agents for the public; and thus the public becomes both master and man; that is, one part of the public employs another part of the public, by an exchange of productions; and there is no right of control or domination inherent in any part; nor can it be acquired without a violation of justice. The public is its own master and its own servant, and what it gets by industry ought to be fairly divided. The working men of London have resolved to hold a public meeting on Monday next, December 23, to take into consideration means for assisting their brethren in Derby, to maintain their independence.

SOCIAL COMMUNITY CLASS MEETINGS.

- A, at 2, Squire's-street, Bethnal-green, Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock.
- B, 54, Ewer-street, Union-street, Borough, Friday evening, at 8.
- D, 5, Little Howland-street, Tuesday evening, at 8.
- E, 18, Cleveland-street, corner of London-street, Fitzroy-square, Tuesday evening, at 8.
- F, 20, Little Harcourt-street, Marylebone, Thursday evening, at 8.
- G, Chapel, Bowling-square, Whitecross-street, Friday evening, at 8.
- H, Palmer's Coffee-house, Silver-street, Falcon-square, Friday evening, at 8.
- I, 23, Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn-fields, Monday evening, at 8.
- K, 23, Duck-lane, Edward-street, St. James's, Friday evening, at 8.
- L, 7, Queen-street, Soho, Monday evening, at 8.
- M, 38, Poland-street, Oxford-street, Tuesday, at half-past seven.
- N, Knightsbridge Coffee-house, next door to Knightsbridge Chapel, Tuesday evening, at 8; Sunday morning, at 9.
- O, 30, Henry street, Hampstead-road, Friday evening, at 8; Sunday morning, at 9.
- P, 82, Upper Seymour-street, Euston-square, Monday evening, at 8.
- Q, 77, Judd-street, Brunswick-square, Monday evening, at 8.

The Community has voted 30s. as a donation to the widow of their deceased brother of the G class.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

Nothing has done greater harm to society than placing individuals in professions and situations for which they are unfit, not only through the want of some necessary faculties, but also through the inordinate activity of some of the opposite ones. If every one were employed according to his natural gifts, a double advantage would result; arts and sciences would be cultivated with more success, and many persons would be better pleased with their situations in life.—*DR. SEUR-ZHEIM.*

In the house adjoining that occupied by my family when I was a child, there resided an elderly gentleman, named Vansnipem, who used annually to steal our young hearts by inviting us to come frequently and look at his gorgeous display of tulips, and by sometimes enriching us with such as had not the true mark of tulip nobility impressed upon them. He had one peculiarity at which, I am sorry to say, we were constantly laughing; he had a mania for cutting his trees into shapes and figures, all and any of which he might safely have worshipped without the least apprehension of breaking the second commandment; for they certainly resembled nothing in the heaven above, nor in the earth beneath, nor in the water under the earth; and though there were some non-descripts, which he used to call birds, they, like the famous sign-post, required a note-bene to explain what they were intended to represent; then there were hedges cut into scallops, and avenues into vandykes, to the great admiration of our village damsels, who slyly protested that old Mr. Vansnipem must have been a wag in his youthful days, "he had such a pretty notion of borders and trimmings, such as are worn upon ladies' dresses;" be that as it may, at the time we knew him, he wore a brown wig, clouded stockings, with gold buckles in his shoes; and never attempted to take even a kiss, which, be it said sotto voce, he would not have been refused *them*, in exchange for the pleasure he afforded us. Poor Vansnipem! methinks I hear, even now, the sharp snap of the guillotine shears cutting, now this way, now that, now here, now there; and, indeed, this office of clipping down nature to rule and compass was no sinecure, as the shears might have testified could they have spoken; for no sooner were the vandykes peaked to the exact angle, than the scallops had lost their symmetry; and by the time these were properly rounded, the birds, like the stag mentioned by the voracious Munchausen, had a great branch growing from the top of the head. Still on the old gentleman went, and the great cause, Shears *versus* Shoots, occupied his whole life.

I have before acknowledged that we used to laugh at his peculiarity; but as time has enlarged my sphere of observation, I have met with Vansnipems in almost every family, who have made me sigh; whose taste for cutting and pruning having been exercised upon human beings, has produced more mischief, waste, and misery, than a casual notice would discover; they have limited the exercise of one inclination, they have misdirected the energy of another, they have produced deformity here, they have succeeded in destroying there, and, by a pernicious interference with natural and individual talent, they have robbed life of its verdure and beauty, they have stripped society of its blossoms and fruits. Go where we may, we find moral Vansnipems, who cut

and trim according to their own false standard of morality, and in utter ignorance of that most valuable science—the moral science of man; turn hither or thither, we meet with intellectual Vansnipems, who condemn to the pruning-knife all that does not lead to wealth or preferment; and if we think to find that, at least, the body may be left to nature, we shall be disappointed; for there are physical Vansnipems, who sacrifice health and all its blessings, alternately to injurious excitement and destructive inactivity. We read of a race of Indians, who, not satisfied with the natural shape of the head, use metal plates either to give it a conical form or entirely to flatten it, according to the notion of beauty possessed by the relatives of the tribe; and we usually remark, "How like savages!" What, then, are our proceedings like?

The consequences of this system are of such importance, that an inquiry into the causes cannot be useless, and these, we shall perhaps find, may be traced to be twofold—ignorance of individual character, and ignorance, or a mistaken idea, of real interest. The first makes us neglect to notice those minute, but numerous, indications of natural inclinations which furnish us with a key to the whole character, and which would enable us to surround the individual with those circumstances the best calculated to perfect the work begun by original talent or ability. Where children have not been educated in the baneful system of artificial reward or punishment, there is an ingenuous display of preference and aversion; an honest avowal of feeling,* which at once tells what is most congenial to the individual organization. In vain, however, are these tokens exhibited; they speak a language our ignorance cannot comprehend, we continue our ruinous course, original taste is repressed, talent remains uncultivated, the child, not having been taught a knowledge of himself, submits to our regulations, and finds, when too late, that he has neither inclination nor ability for that occupation which has been forced upon him. How many a man has gone through life with the epithet "blockhead," attached to him, who, had he or his parents been aware of his powers, might have proved a benefactor to his race!

Full in the midst of Eosfid dip at once,
And petrify a genius to a dunce.

But, again, where we cannot plead ignorance of this strong bias—where, indeed, there is a manifest opposition to the pursuit recommended, a false notion that it is our interest to compel the inclination to yield, urges us on. We talk of the advantage, the gain, the ease of this profession, of that business; we call this accomplishment fashionable, that indispensable; and thus bribe to a decision or an exertion against which nature loudly pleads, and, happily, not always in vain, as the lives of many illustrious men will prove. Sir Humphry Davy, we are told, was placed by his father with a surgeon at Penzance; but as this situation was little suited to his mind, he and his master agreed to part. He was then sent to

* A late justly celebrated and estimable writer, in his work on "Demonology," asserts, "that children are naturally addicted to falsehood." Must he not have been compelled to believe this monstrous libel from his ignorance of what human beings really are? Did he not employ his microscopic eyes in reading and analysing society, rather than nature?

another surgeon, with no better success; when, being permitted to follow his own plan, he obtained, before he was eighteen, a thorough knowledge of the rudiments of natural philosophy and chemistry; knowledge which, in his hands, became the source of the most splendid and useful discoveries of which modern times can boast. We may easily imagine Raphael and Mozart exchanging professions; but vainly, then, might we have listened for the spirit of music, which the latter, by a touch, could awaken and cause to breathe forth strains of such perfect melody, such melting harmony; it would have been silent—dead! Vainly might we have looked for that creative power, by which the former has bequeathed to posterity the very concentration of grace and loveliness; those glorious visions which he has so well embodied, would, if pent within his own breast, have been only a perpetual incubus—a haunting dream.

But how frequently this is the case, or how extensive in this waste of talent, none can tell. We know not how many "mute, inglorious Miltons"—how many "village Hampdens," this mistaken system has condemned to obscurity; we only know from our own sensations, and from the confessions of others, that thus it is; and we also know, that while society continues as it is, thus it must be. Happily, however, the time cannot be far distant when we shall look back upon such ignorance as almost incredible. The day is coming—nay, already dawns, when talent and industry, receiving a right direction, will fill the earth with joyful tokens of their operations; when the intelligence, the power, the moral integrity of mankind, developed under the most favourable circumstances, will prove that human nature is indeed a beautiful, a glorious compound, capable of receiving and imparting a happiness now unknown, and formed for high and lofty attainments, which are, at present, but faintly shadowed forth. Is it then for us, whose souls are lighted by this grand conviction—is it for us to throw impediments in the way of this happy change? to set up our own mischievous individual interest in opposition to its victorious progress? Oh! no, no! Let us at upon the knowledge that self-love and social are the same.

CONCORDIA.

"Every one shall be equally provided through life with the best of every thing for human nature, by public arrangements, which arrangements shall give the best known direction to the industry and talents of every individual."—Rational System, Law viii.

ON THE FORMATION OF COMMUNITIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—The singular and truly complicated reasoning of your correspondent, J. H.; his dignified pompous style, and high-sounding announcement of "Truth is our object," at the front of his letter on "Communities," is sufficient to deter working-men from answering his production; can J. H. dream that any working-man for one single moment expects that "Mr. Owen's Community" will ever be established by a first effort? What would it cost to establish this first community? According to J. H. and Mr. Owen, one hundred thousand pounds!! If men and women are too dissimilar, mentally and physically, to form communities, will J. H. have the goodness to inform us when they will be fit for this state; and whether the *competitive school*, that has made human beings what they are, is the best for, or most favourable school to, this high state of

provement? We have been too long deluded with the idea that we are not fit for a community; we will put that fitness to the test; the only practical test—the test of actual experiment; and, for the consolation of J. H., I tell him, ere another year has transpired, notwithstanding all the stumbling-blocks in our way, even those wearing the high-sounding name of philosophy, this will be done; for, so firmly fixed is the truth in the minds of numbers, “that the sooner we get out of bad company the better,” that we are determined to have some little control over the circumstances by which we are now surrounded. The benevolent William Thompson, a name never to be pronounced without a feeling of gratitude in the bosom of all who knew him, thought the very opposite of J. H.; he not only thought so, but sealed his conviction with the whole of his property, nearly 15,000*l.*, for the formation of communities. William Thompson’s communities will be *practical*, not *theoretical* ones; they will be associations of the working bees—no drones amongst them. But what say *FACTS*, J. H.? facts developed by experience? Ask the men who were at Orbistree, wretched as was their arrangement. What say the men and women who were in the “Christian community,” some three years ago, in Bermondsey? Each of these declare they never were happier in their lives than when in these communities, defective as they were; and they will, if in health and able, join the first communities that may be formed. Look at the existing societies of Shakers and Harmonists in America; look at them, with all their superstitious notions, and then tell me, J. H., what becomes of your *attraction and repulsion*. You may say again—aye, again and again, “that the existence of such arrangements is in opposition to nature;” but they still exist, in spite of your assertion; and every thing that exists, being produced by nature, is natural; therefore they cannot be in opposition to, but in accordance with, nature. Man in stature is small and feeble before he is large and strong; all communities must be small before they be large; they will grow with their means; a nucleus will be formed, and the seed will be sown; it may perish, but, depend upon it, it will have the fostering hand of the most experienced *practical*, not exclusively *theoretical*, horticulturists. Remember, J. H., others have “reflected” quite as deeply as yourself on the formation of communities; they have looked on every side; they have examined their present position, their present power to devise and execute, and more than one hundred men and women unanimously conclude they can form a community. This conviction is not singular; the Socialists of Manchester, even without communication or consultation, have come to this conclusion, and there are now some thirty or forty men and women, with their “lamps trimmed,” waiting for the appearance of the bridegroom. Pray, what is the cause of this *attraction and repulsion* you speak of? Not, surely, the dissimilarity of organization; not the curse of Adam. But, with a good pair of spectacles, J. H., will perceive that the cause exists in the INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIETY, in the use of mine and thine, in that demon of eternal infamy and discord called PRIVATE PROPERTY. This cause we intend to remove as one step to peace and concord. You say you have written the *truth*, as a disciple of the system; and, according to your invitation, I have endeavored to prove the contrary. I am a disciple of the social system, in the strictest sense of the word, and if age is any argument, which I believe it is not, I am far your senior; the mere failure of an experiment is no argument with me; without failure we should have no experience. *Truth*, upon any subject, does not burst upon us in its meridian splendour. No, J. H., truth is gradually acquired by human beings; its healing beams first appear upon the horizon; the dark mists of inexperience gradually vanish before its rays; the light becomes ultimately diffused; and

splendid communities are scientific machines, as much so as the steam-carriage. How many attempts have been made and failed, before their present perfection has been attained? Lectures are now on record in print, as delivered in various eminent scientific societies, some forty years ago, showing the utter impracticability of the steam vessels and coaches. If the past age had listened to these philosophers, science applying steam and gas would have made little progress. J. H., have the goodness to show us, and I ask it respectfully, what *kind of knowledge* we are deficient in. But if the deficiency does not exist in the head, but in the organization, pray communicate to us the *best mode* to supply that defect, and amend our organization. If you tell us the right feeling does not exist; pray tell us how to create that right feeling; for it is a law of our nature, that our feelings and convictions are not under the control of our will, and as such we cannot feel as we like, but must feel according to the impressions made upon us by others. Confident I have trespassed upon your valuable columns, and wishing, if aught I have stated be unpleasant to J. H., most respectfully to beg his pardon,—I remain, Sir, respectfully,

MR. NOBODY.

THE WILL AND TESTAMENT OF MR. THOMPSON.

At a meeting of the Social Community, on Wednesday, December 11th, the above will was read by Mr. Warden, who made a very appropriate comment.

Mr. Bawme then moved the following resolutions, which were carried unanimously:—

“1. That this meeting view with disgust and alarm the attempts now making by a party of idlers to deprive the industrious classes of about 10,000*l.*, bequeathed for their benefit by that highly-gifted philanthropist, the late William Thompson, of Cork (Ireland), and that we pledge ourselves, individually and collectively, to give our utmost support to the executors of that will, during the performance of their arduous task.

“2. That the following ladies and gentlemen be now appointed a committee, with power to add to their number, for the purposes of organizing the most effectual system of subscription, through Great Britain and Ireland, and devising every other means of insuring the fulfilment of Mr. Thompson’s will:—Mrs. Wheeler, Mrs. Grenfell, Messrs. Warden, Austin, Sault, Alsop, Hoare, O’Neil, Boyes, and Eyre.”

The meeting then adjourned to each successive Wednesday evening; and a subscription was immediately begun, when Messrs. George Farr, Charles Lemon, Charles Johnson, and Henry Harrison, gave sixpence each; Robert Roffin, a Friend, William Brenning, Miles Habeland, Henry Wilkinson, and Henry Donford, one shilling each; G. Lupton, Wm. Hartnell, Mr. Crow, and Mr. Canham, half-a-crown each; Mr. Nicholls, twenty shillings; and a Gentleman (second subscription), five pounds; total, six pounds eighteen shillings.

The Committee have since engaged the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, for Christmas-day, Wednesday, the 25th December, when a splendid entertainment will be given, on the same terms, and at least equal to, any of the *Social Festivals* previously held, the profits of which will be entirely applied in the reclaiming of Mr. Thompson’s property. Tea and Coffee will be served at six o’clock. The Concert will continue from six till eight, when the dancing will commence, and continue uninterrupted till one o’clock.

We understand the demand for the *Pioneer* is so great, that the whole of the back numbers are being re-printed. A few complete sets may now be had.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—As it is not expedient that erroneous opinions should pass current without refutation, at the commencement of a more refined and better order of society, I think it very proper that your correspondent “The Fag to Little Purpose” should be set right as to his notions of labour, land, and money. He says, “since land and capital are of little or no value without labour, it naturally follows that no claim whatever should stand before that of the labour-holders. Granted. But who are the labour-holders? Why, the money-holders to be sure; they are in possession of the representative of labour, *bond fide* created labour, which all must acknowledge to be more excellent than labour in embryo, or not brought into being; and it is quite palpable to every one, how very superior labour in store is to labour in prospect; five; that it is in many cases extremely doubtful whether or not the latter can be made productive, without the aid of the former, which has been sufficiently exemplified in the hitherto workings of the National Equitable Exchange, to require any further proof. Therefore, I say, that in a natural, wholesome state of society, the above-mentioned should stand thus:—

1. Money, as the representative of realized labour; a bird in the hand being better than two in the bush.
2. Land: for without it labour would be useless.
3. Labour in prospective: of no intrinsic value till exercised.

It may be urged in detraction of the first of the before-mentioned properties, viz. money, that much of it has been unjustly withheld from the labouring and industrious mechanic, artisan, and agriculturist, to the enriching of their inordinate speculating employers; but as these are circumstances over which there could (for the time) be no control, but was and still is owing to the improvident and degraded state of the generality of those orders of society, it does not follow that such injustice, although much to be condemned, does or should in the least disparage it to the injury of those who have acquired much or little of it by honourable means: let us not be led away by sophisticated arguments, but let truth prevail; the former is only fitting for old society. As long as money is the medium of exchange from one nation to another, and the representative of labour and wealth among ourselves, so will it continue to be of the first importance; and therefore let us hear no more such fallacies; they can answer no good purpose, but may tend to engender and puff up with conceit many industrious and well-disposed persons, who only view such matters and things very superficially, and are too apt to take in all they hear and read as undeniable facts. Hoping that I have set these matters in their true position, and if so, I am entitled to the appellation of

A FAG TO SOME PURPOSE.

Walling-street, 9th December, 1833.

[We beg leave to suggest to our correspondent that his order of succession is also wrong. The true order is, land—labour—capital: that is the first course of progress, the course of the old world; but the new world begins with capital and labour, and works upon land: land first produces labour and capital, and afterwards labour and capital act upon land and make it more productive. Capital is only labour preserved, or past labour, or EXPERIENCE; and is of no use without present labour, which is the real active principle, or male; land is the producer, or female. The end of the old world is the accumulation of capital; the beginning of the new is the appropriation of that capital by the people, and their application of it to impregnate the soil; and unless they have that capital they will fail, for it will be the same as a retreat to savagism, to employ labour without capital. But it is wrong to say that capital is more valuable than labour: you may as well affirm that the head is more valuable than the heart, or the heart than the head. Without labour men could not live—without capital he might live. Our correspondent seems to imagine that money is a *live thing*, and can till the ground of itself.—Labour is our FATHER, land our MOTHER; but

our father is twofold, past and present; or, in other words, capital and labour. This is the relationship of the three—they are like the Christian trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the son being the active principle, labour—but yet he cannot do without his father, capital—and these two are of no use without the comforter, land—the mother of all living. These three are equal and UNITY, —THE NEW TRINITY OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM.]

EXTRACT FROM THE RELIGIOUS CREED OF THE NEW SYSTEM. BY ABRAHAM COOMEK.

"When we turn to the written revelations from which the various nations derive their information regarding the authenticity of those doctrines which are opposed to nature and reason, such productions, as far as we can trace them, extend only to the agency of man.

"Human beings like ourselves made the paper and the ink, and wrote the words upon that paper. Human beings copied those words over and over again. Human beings told us that human beings told them that God, or Nature, made a partial revelation of certain mysterious doctrines to other human beings, which, in our own days, are explained by fallible men in a way which is opposed to nature and to reason; while the past and present experience of the world has invariably shown that every thing which is opposed to nature and reason is, and has been, productive of nothing but evil continually.

"On the other hand, we have, in the works of the creation, a display of wisdom, power, and benevolence, emanating directly from the deity, which require no copying—has always been directed by the same laws of nature—which is given to all nations, and may be understood by all—which can neither be disputed, suppressed, nor subverted—a positive revelation, which affords unspeakable pleasure both to those who study it and to those who have it explained, (which circumstance is the clearest mark of the approbation of divine intelligence,) and which, in its effects upon the character and conduct of individuals, is productive of the most beneficial consequences; so much so that the history of the world does not exhibit an instance of a single individual, who made the true and positive revelation of nature his study, who, at the same time had a propensity to injure his fellow-creatures; while universal history concurs in affirming, that in every age, and in every nation, those individuals whose minds were opposed to nature and reason have been invariably instrumental, in a greater or less degree, by their cruelty and injustice, in adding to the sum of human misery.

"It thus appears to me, that no doctrines or precepts, which can only be explained in a way which opposed to nature and reason, can be at all entitled to the name of divine revelation. Their instability and inutility (not to mention their evil consequences), the disputes and dissensions that perpetually attend them, the continued changes which they undergo in different nations and ages, all furnish the most indubitable proof that their origin is of yesterday; and that neither in their origin, nor in their effect, do they at all resemble the undisputed works of creation, or of the deity.

"Every mode of proceeding which in its ultimate consequence tends to increase the happiness of the community, bears upon the face of it the genuine stamp of divine intelligence and approbation. There is no course of duty, or no study in which a human being can engage, where the effects are in every instance so decidedly beneficial as they are in the study of nature.

"The pleasure which is uniformly experienced both by the teacher and the taught, is the reward which Nature or God bestows on those who pursue the right course. When preachers endeavour to go beyond Nature, and to oppose reason, their labours are painful to themselves and useless to their hearers. The dull languor of the former,

and the drowsy listlessness of the latter, convey to the mind of the intelligent observer the most undisputed marks of divine disapprobation. It is not uncommon to find individuals, who have steadily persevered for more than half a century in the irksome and painful task of opposing nature and reason, with minds in a much worse condition than when they first commenced this insane course of tuition.

"These doctrines are painful to those who teach them, they give no pleasure to those who hear them, and they have the most injurious effect upon the general conduct and daily practice of both. They have been perpetuated in the world hitherto altogether by artificial means. They have been mixed up with much that is natural and rational, and consequently with much that is useful and valuable. Pecuniary rewards have been given to those who support them; and summary punishment has been inflicted on those who have called them in question. To those present artificial supports have been added promises of reward, and threatenings of the most cruel punishment in a future state of existence. Yet, notwithstanding all these extraneous supports, it has also been found requisite to suppress the evidence which exists against them.

"If truth, supported by nature and reason, is gradually gaining ground, in spite of the accumulated prejudices of a thousand years, what will it not accomplish when every thing that is unnatural and irrational shall be shown by itself in its native deformity? when those who are paid for teaching others shall confine their efforts within the limits appointed by nature; when the minds of the weak and the ignorant shall be no longer haunted with the idea that they are liable to punishment in another world, for listening to the voice of nature in this? when men shall cease to expect supernatural rewards for opposing the clearest dictates of nature and reason? Surely, the victory gained by truth will be complete; and the KNOWLEDGE OF NATURE, by which is to be understood the true knowledge of the Lord, will cover the earth as the waters cover the sea."

RICH AND POOR.—A CONTRAST.

POLICE MAGISTRATE'S LAW.—A few days ago, at Marlborough-street police-office, a young female was charged by a gentleman with having obtained money from him by false pretences. On investigation, it turned out that she was a finished adept in all sorts of swindling. On searching her lodgings, Sergeant Deering found a written character, signed "John Burke," and the prisoner, somewhat reluctantly, informed the magistrate that that character was given by Sir John Burke. On Sir John Burke making his appearance at the office, Mr. Chambers inquired of him if he knew any thing respecting the prisoner? The prisoner replied, he knew nothing more of the prisoner than that she called on him at the Quadrant Hotel, and related a very distressing tale of her seduction, and her desire to return to her uncle, Mr. Morrison, an hotel-proprietor in Dublin. Sir John acknowledged that he had written the character, and, in explanation, observed, "her story had so imposed upon him, that, out of pure humanity, he had been induced to give her the false character, for the purpose of helping her to a situation." It appeared that he had recommended, in the strongest manner, "Mary Morrison, alleging that she had lived in the service of his sister for a length of time, and that she had left her place with an irreproachable character." Sir John, however, admitted that "she had not, to his knowledge, lived in any capacity in the service of his sister." The prisoner declared "that the character was not given to her from solicitation. The whole contents of it were pure invention, and emanated from Sir John Burke himself, who told her if she got a situation she might refer to him, and he would give her a character." Mr. Chambers could not have acted more handsomely to Sir John

had the scene been in the county of Mayo or Galway, and they had been brother fox-hunters. The reporter says, "he did not pursue the inquiry as to the false character any further; but folded up the paper, and kindly placed it in the hands of Sir John Burke, with the remark that such a document had much better be in his hands than in the prisoner's." If the inquiry had been pursued further, there is, we believe, independently of the indemnification to which the aggrieved by false character are entitled, a heavy penalty (30l.) attached to it. The English proverb says, one man may steal a horse, while another is hanged for looking over the hedge. At the Queen-square office, on the same day, there was a case of a man named James Day, of St. Leonard-street, Chelsea, who had pawned the stock of a boon companion for threepence. The magistrate convicted him in the penalty of 1l. for the illegal pawning, and in default of payment he was sent to goal for one month. He had not the good fortune to find a magistrate to do the thing handsomely by him. We do not blame the Queen-square magistrate: we only contrast the different modes of dealing with baronets and men who want threepence.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT, ENDING DEC. 7. Deposits . 8,764h. 3s.—Exchanges, 7,044h. 3s.

RECEIPTS.		CASH & NOTES.		PAYMENTS.	
Provis. (Meat)	31 19 14	Provis. (Meat & arrears)	43 11 2		
Grocery, &c.	44 0 7 1/2	Grocery, &c.	23 17 4 1/2		
Coals	4 13 0	Festival	11 15 9 1/2		
Festival	23 16 10	Lectures	3 3 0		
Lectures	18 17 4 1/2	Rent Sub.	10 0 0		
Rent, Subs. &c.	5 13 6	Wages	16 0 0		
Commission	12 11 10 1/2	Charges, including alterations	24 8 3 1/2		
	141 12 3 1/2		132 15 7 1/2		

Stock, goods on hand . 57,323h. 5s.
Notes now in circulation 35,277 5

Excess Stock over Notes 22,046 0

COMBINATION OF THE MASTERS AT DERBY, AND THE WITHHOLDING OF EMPLOYMENT FROM THE MEN FOR BELONGING TO THE TRADES' UNIONS!

A PUBLIC MEETING of the Members of the "Trades' Unions," and other Operatives, and of all Friends to the Emancipation of the Industrious Classes, will be held at the National Equitable Labour Exchange, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, on Monday Evening next, December 23, at Seven o'clock precisely, to take into consideration the best Means of Supporting the MEN OF DERBY, and enabling them to provide permanent beneficial Employment for themselves.

SMITH AND AUSTIN,

Secretaries of the London Auxiliary Society for Promoting National Regeneration.

CHRISTMAS GREAT SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the Useful Classes and their Friends will be held at the Exchange, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, on CHRISTMAS-DAY. The proceeds of the same will be devoted to the Thompsonian Community Fund. Doors open at Six, Tea on Table at half-past Six, Dancing to commence at half-past Eight o'clock. Tickets, One Shilling and Sixpence each, Tea included, may be had of Mr. Hoare, Superintendent to the Exchange; Mr. Baume, Experimental Gardens, Holloway; B. Warden, 17, Little Chesterfield-street, Marylebone; Man Office, 31, Marylebone-lane; Club Office; 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's inn-fields; Guardian Office, 13, Kinggate street, Holborn. Several of the most influential Friends of the Working Classes are invited to attend.

The Premises are well warmed.

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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 22.

Mr. Smith lectured on "MONEY."

Upon this subject the most erroneous ideas have been entertained, both by governors and governed; but the governors have rather been in advance of the governed. It has been a prevailing prejudice, imbibed from infancy, and augmented by the daily habit of bartering gold and silver money for goods, that gold and silver possess a real inherent value, for which it would be dangerous to substitute any thing else. That gold and silver are valuable metals, there can be no doubt; they possess many incorruptible properties, which do not belong to other metals. They may wear, but they do not decay; they preserve their original lustre without canker or rust, which destroys almost every other kind of substances. But this value of theirs is merely an ideal value; they are of no use whatsoever in rearing the necessities of life; they cannot be employed in machinery or manufacture, as iron, brass, and copper; they are merely a species of toys, valuable only as ornaments, for setting jewels, making breast-pins, bracelets, watches, and snuff-boxes. They are valuable as luxuries, not as necessities. They may be considered, therefore, as a species of aristocracy amongst the metals. They have attained the very summit of power. Like a king and a queen, they govern the whole civilized world, and tyrannize over all other metals, as sovereign despots tyrannize over the common people. It appears, also, that they have attained this supremacy by the very same means, that is, by doing nothing but making a figure. The baser metals, as they are called, do all the work, and the precious metals, which do nothing, enjoy all the honour. There is not a more valuable, hard-working metal than iron; it plows our fields, and prepares the soil for the reception of the seed; it harrows the seed after it is sown; it is used in cooking all sorts of victuals; it is used in eating; it is required for weaving our clothes, for machinery, and all sorts of manufactures. There is scarcely an art, which deserves the name of a useful art, in the exercise of which iron is not an indispensable requisite.

Yet, for all that, iron is held in such low estimation, that an iron penny would not pass for a farthing; and if any man presumed to pass iron shillings or sixpences amongst his majesty's loyal subjects, he would be treated as a felon. It seems to be a law of nature, that that which works least shall be held in the greatest estimation, and that which performs all the labour shall be treated with contempt.

Gold and silver are of little or no use in the arts. Without the use of iron civilization could never have advanced. Man is indebted to iron more than to any other metal. To gold he is not indebted directly; it has proved of no immediate service to him in rearing the necessities, or even the luxuries of life. But although it is of no immediate use, it must not altogether be condemned. It has certainly created much evil, but it has also accomplished its share of good. It was necessary in the early stages of society, and is always necessary, as long as men compete with each other in trade and commerce, to have a medium of exchange. Without money, the commerce of the world could not be conducted, and the smaller and the more valuable that money is, the more convenient it becomes for society. Hence, it follows, that a metal so common as iron could be of no use as a medium of exchange in a commercial country. The ancient Spartans made all their money of iron, to prevent the people from carrying too much about with them; but they were not a commercial people. The Roman money was originally brass, but they soon found it necessary to resort to more rare and valuable metals; and as the commerce of a country increases, this necessity will gradually increase along with it. Men will be obliged to employ lighter and lighter materials, until they advance to the very lightest material which has yet been discovered, namely, a bank note, or a bill of exchange, which is the perfection of the money system.

This system, however, cannot be introduced in the early ages of society, for it possesses a species of refinement which is not compatible with an age of ignorance. In order to create such a species of money, it is necessary, in the first place, that mankind should have invented the art of writing; and, in the second place, it is necessary that the public should be generally educated, in order that they might be able

to discern the respective values of the different notes and bills. This preparation of the people is only to be found in a country where the arts and sciences have been brought to considerable perfection—where schools are universally established, and the whole population enjoy the opportunity of acquiring the elements of education. Before that can be accomplished, there must be a substitute for paper, and that substitute has been gold, silver, and copper, in all civilized nations. Iron was too common, and paper was too refined, for an illiterate age; and nature provided a very suitable medium to suit the exigencies of mankind. In this view of the subject, therefore, we can see no evil in gold and silver money, as there was a necessity for money of some kind less common than iron and brass, and less refined and intellectual than a bank-note.

After some remarks on money-hoarding, Mr. S. proceeded:—Money-hoarding is one of those necessary evils which will gradually destroy themselves by growing to excess, and arousing popular indignation. But, perhaps it is not every one who can see the good results which, in the beginning of society, proceed from the hoarding of money. Some may imagine that it would have been better to have adopted the Spartan model, and used iron money, or no money at all, and thus prevented all the accumulation of which we complain. But, in that case, we must have continued savages till now; for the arts of life could never have been cultivated under any other system than that of individual competition and accumulation. After they have attained to some degree of perfection, and have been regularly systematized, that competition may be terminated by a general union. But as all the arts began with individuals, they continue to be prosecuted by individuals, until the evil of individual competition cures itself by its own excess. Money has proved a powerful stimulus to action in several different respects. In the first place, the love of accumulation has proved a strong motive to industry, at a time when nothing could be done without human labour; when machinery had not been brought into operation, and mere brute force was employed in raising the necessities of life; or when that machinery was so imperfect that it required the greatest assiduity to supply its defects.

well as genius to remedy them. Men have been principally urged to action, both bodily and mental, by the prospect of reward. And in the infancy of society this is more especially the case, as then the mind is less refined by intellectual and scientific training, and can only be awakened to action by mere sensual rewards, or such rewards as will purchase sensual gratifications and distinction of rank. In the second place, money has been the means of overcoming the natural indolence of men, by putting the power into the hands of one party to control the actions of another. Had it not been for this power of the master, it is probable there would have been little or no work done; both would have yielded to the impulses of nature; but necessity is the mother of industry; the power was assumed by one party, and the other was compelled to overcome its native sluggishness, and work for the tyrant. Thus industry was, at first, literally forced into action. In the early stages of civilization, men cannot afford to be idle; they have not the elements of nature trained to work for them; they may yoke a horse to a plough or a gin, and thus save a little human labour, but still their own time, and part of their labour, is required, even in this operation, although the labour of five men is gained by the use of one horse; but what is this horse-power, compared to the strength of some modern engines, which do the work of one thousand horses, or five thousand men? or Braham's press, which produces a pressure of forty thousand tons upon a square yard of surface? These are merely specimens of the power which man has called to his aid from the elements of nature, by means of his own mechanical genius, power sufficient, if judiciously employed, to save himself the necessity of any severe labour hereafter, and which now entitles him to relax his labour, and to enjoy the fruits of his own industry and the industry of his ancestors. But before man had subjected the elements to his control, there was a necessity for him doing the drudgery himself; and this was accomplished by means of power in one party compelling the weakness of the other party. Without this contrivance, there could have been no work done; and this contrivance was effected by means of money. There must be for ever the distinction of master and servant in nature; but it is not necessary that that distinction exist for ever amongst men, so as to make one party the slave of another. The elements are the true servants; it is their final destiny to serve man, and his final destiny to be their master and control their movements. This mastery is gained by industry and genius; and, until it is fairly accomplished, one portion of mankind are obliged to become subservient to the other, to supply the place of the elements, until the elements are sufficiently controlled and disciplined to do the work of all. Then every man becomes a master, and no more earns his bread by the sweat of his brow; he merely directs and regulates the machinery of his own construction, and the power of the universe, which is always ready to give motion to his engines of labour, and to keep them in continual action.

Gold and silver are the money of tyrants; they make it: they employ their slaves to dig for it in the mines; and when they have got it, they strengthen their own hands with it, and become more and more oppressive. The true money of liberty is the money of the people; the money that comes from the mint of the working man, and which no king, no aristocrat can make, unless he condescend to become a working man also, and earn it by the sweat of his brow. This is the very reverse of the other, and its introduction into the commercial world will have the very same effect as the institution of republican principles in the political world; it will reduce the amount of private capitals, bring down the high, towering heads of monopolists, and create a species of equality which will only be broken by the greater or less exertion of each member of society.

Money of this description would not be hoarded as gold, and would be abundant, and produce a free circulation. It was upon this idea that Pitt acted when he introduced the paper currency into this country; as scheme, which, however much it has been reprobated, was, no doubt, the salvation of the country at the time, and the main cause of the extraordinary increase of industry and manufactures. But this money of Pitt's was not the labourer's note; it was the capitalist's note—it was the rich man's note; and hence the rich have enjoyed all the benefits of it, and these benefits have been very magnificent. We need only look at the increase of the capital within these last forty years, the increase of palaces, of carriages, of livery servants, and all the other symptoms of wealth, to convince us that rich men have been flourishing like the green bay-tree. True, the country has been falling deeper and deeper in the mire, the poor have been increasing in number and in wretchedness; but this is not the effect of national poverty, it is the effect of the rich man's good fortune in being able to command the labour of the poor, and reward him with half a bellyful, keeping the other half to himself. The poor man would make an equal advance in good fortune by coining his own money, as the rich have coined theirs. His bank will eventually swallow up the banks of the rich, inasmuch as from him proceeds all the life and vigour of society.

But why not use gold? why is paper better than gold? Paper is better than gold because it is cheaper; it costs less labour; we do not require to send abroad for it at an immense cost of production, which is all labour thrown away; and, in the second place, though more destructible, it is all the better for that, as it is the more likely to be kept in circulation, and when destroyed it is no loss to the community, for it is not worth its professed value; whereas gold or silver, when taken out of the country, are a loss to the community to the full nominal value. Paper, on the contrary, would be a gain to the amount of its nominal value when taken away. Paper is also preferable, because its value is always the same, whereas the value of gold is for ever changing according to its scarcity. Paper is also preferable on account of its abundance to supply all the demands of the currency. Gold is a rarity, and men are obliged, for want of sufficiency, to give bills and transact business upon credit, which has proved the bane of commercial intercourse, of public morals and private happiness. In fine, there is nothing which can be urged with much effect against paper money, except that it is liable to forgery, and this can, with equal effect, be urged against gold. To prove the futility of this objection, I need only instance the banking system of Scotland, upon which there are very few, scarcely any, forgeries committed; it enjoys the confidence of every Scotchman, and every Englishman also, who takes up his residence in the country, who will be very glad at any time to exchange a sovereign for a Scotch note; for he finds, from experience, that a sovereign is received by a Scot with a very jealous and suspicious look, but a pound note is handled with the skill of a master; and so rare is any instance of private loss sustained by forgery, that the paper money is received even by the blind, some of whom know it by the touch, like silver or gold. This security is occasioned by the number of banks and the small sphere of circulation. A national bank of paper money is a national folly, it is too ponderous to manage. A forgery may be committed at one end of the country, whilst the other is not aware of any increase of circulation, and the spurious notes may circulate for years before they come to the fountain. Upon a national bank, a forgery may be committed to a large extent before it is perceived, but upon a provincial bank, the thing is impossible: it is felt immediately, and precautions are immediately taken. Were each trade in each province to have its own labour bank, instead of a general bank for the whole, it would have very

little occasion to fear the utmost ingenuity of the foe. Another reason why paper money is preferable to gold is, that it is merely a representative of real value, whereas gold has a value of its own; gold is valued on account of its rarity and its beauty, &c.; but labour is truly valuable: a note, then, which represents labour is the only true species of money, for labour only is truly valuable, all metals, more especially gold, being useless without it. The value of gold is an imposition upon human vanity, it arises from childish conceit, from the same sort of conceit which causes a girl to take delight in the fine sky-blue glass eyes of a doll and its vermillion cheeks, "so beautiful, so very pretty." This is all the merit which the present legal tender possesses; but labour is really useful, and therefore is in fact the only species of money that exists, and to this true money does the progress of civilization rapidly advance, beginning with shells and pebbles, as amongst savages; then iron, brass, copper, silver, and gold; and last of all—labour, than which it can advance no further.

It may be safely affirmed that the root of all evil lies in money. It sours our temper; it disturbs our peace; it kills our friendship; it is the cause of everlasting disputes and jealousies; it makes men liars, deceivers, tricksters, thieves, murderers. By means of money, you may create love: by the want of money you are sure to create hatred. If you want to try a friend, you have only to apply your test to his purse; that is the pulse of friendship: if it can stand this shock, then you may be sure it is genuine. Most men are aware of this, and therefore are very cautious how they profess friendship to a poor man; but to lords, dukes, and rich commoners they are most profuse in their professions; "their most humble servant to command; would be most happy to assist them in any embarrassment," &c. On them they will lavish thousands, whilst they solemnly swear to a poor man that they have it not in their power to assist him. I don't blame them, I merely describe human nature as it is in every individual without an exception; it is corrupted by money; all its deformities brought to light, and all its native beauties are either destroyed or sadly debased. Who can support such a system as this system of money, unless it be a man who rejoices in the degradation of his species, who delights in human misery and moral deformity? And what says the pious Christian to this beautiful system: he that is so holy, so pure, so full of charity and good works, what does he think of money? Oh, how beautiful a thing is gold to a pious bishop, and a devout churchman, or even a dissenter! They love it, however, not for its own sake, that would be idolatry, but because the Lord in his kind providence has sent it them for the edification of his church, and an encouragement to others, and it would be wrong to refuse the Lord's presents; but they receive it with humility and prayer, and that is an antidote to every evil. They pray to the Lord that they may not be corrupted by prosperity, and no doubt they sincerely believe that the Lord hears them, for such is the blinding nature of money, that truth becomes invisible to him that is touched by its magic substance. However, if we may give credit to the Bible, we may safely come to this conclusion, that if these pious Christians say their prayers to the Lord, it is the devil who answers them; for such a contrast as subsists between a rich Christian and a true one, could scarcely include our modern devotees in the ranks of the faithful. "The love of money is the root of evil, which, while some coveted after, they have all erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." "Love not the world nor the things of the world; for if any man love the world, the love of the father is not in him." So decided is this antipathy against money in this standard of morality, that the prophet Isaiah, in alluding to the preaching of the gospel, as the commentators affirm, uses these emphatic

words, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money come; come ye, buy wine and milk without money and without price." This is the Christian gospel, and a cheap gospel it is, for it is got for nothing. But it is very evident that this prophecy is not fulfilled yet, that the messiah has not yet come; that the gospel of the churchman is a hoax upon public credulity, and ought to be tried by the test of the book, as well as the test of utility. It will stand neither test. The book condemns it; and as for its utility, inquire at the tithe-payer, what is the use of the church? Hodge would give you a most significant answer, without saying a word. But the parson will tell you that Jesus Christ preached without money, and gave his salvation to all mankind free of expense, a free gift from God. Then what is the use of our paying his ministers? Oh, you must pay the ministers of the altar for telling you that Christ has saved you free of expense.

The abolition of money would be by far the most splendid deed that ever was accomplished; whoever accomplishes this feat, will prove the saviour of the world; he will prove a political saviour, inasmuch as he will relieve society from all its embarrassments; he will prove a moral saviour, inasmuch as he will deliver mankind from the most dangerous of all temptations; and he will prove a religious saviour, inasmuch as he will deliver the world from those hypocritical pests, who make long faces, and put on austere and sanctified looks to impose upon the simple, and gain a living from the poor man's earnings. He will produce a splendid change in every department of life, and will merit, if ever man merited, the everlasting gratitude of his fellow-creatures, by realizing all that has ever been predicted of the greatest deliverer whom society has been taught to expect; for assuredly peace will prevail where money is not to be found; assuredly all the generous and social feelings will flourish. The wolf and the lamb will then lie down together, and the lion eat straw with the ox; human nature will be thoroughly tamed, its cruelties will cease, its sensibilities will be awakened. Friendship will not be destroyed by an appeal to the purse. Love will not be bought and sold like a piece of bacon. Frauds will not be practised upon the ignorant; poison will not be substituted for medicine. Falsehood, craft, and deception, will all cease. Truth will begin for the first time in the history of human society to prevail; man will have confidence in man; faith will be restored to the earth, and every virtue which adorns or can adorn humanity, will be exhibited in full-blown beauty, when money, the curse of social happiness, is gone.

FOR THE CRISIS.

If the importance of a subject is proportionate to its influence on the condition of mankind, the subject upon which I propose to engage your attention is in the highest degree important. From the first step which man advanced from savagism, towards the so-called civilised state, he appears to have entirely overlooked a great truth, the influential import of which will be estimated, when it is seen that a neglect of it is the primary source of those desolating evils now so generally felt and deplored. While progressing in the acquisition of knowledge, and having solely in view the promotion of his own happiness, man, it would seem, failed to perceive a truth, in the absence of which this is impossible of attainment, viz. that his happiness is dependent equally on a cultivation of his animal powers, a development of his intellectual capacities, and a complete training of his moral feelings.

Without a cognition of this valuable truth, the most direct means of supplying their animal wants, and of obtaining wealth, became the only

pursuits deemed worthy by our ignorant progenitors; and the mechanical and physical sciences presenting these means, these sciences have been assiduously cultivated, and have engrossed the attention of mankind to the almost complete exclusion of all the other essential branches of knowledge. To create the necessities of animal subsistence, in the first instance, and subsequently to facilitate their production for the economy of private means and the accumulation of individual riches, have hitherto constituted the ennobling objects of human life and actions; while the formation of a correct code of morality, and the devisal of means for its practical and universal application in society, together with the equally important results which our political institutions should be designed to effect, have been disregarded as of secondary import to human welfare.

The mischief necessarily occasioned by this neglect in seeking the truth, has been increased by the introduction into all our public institutions and private arrangements of the most abominably false errors. The inconveniences and insufficiencies of a half civilized life were ignorantly conceived to be inseparable from human existence; and this popular misconception presenting a doctrine well calculated to induce contentment and resignation under the mal-administration of minister leaders, who undertook the duties of the offices both of earthly rulers and spiritual guides, was insidiously propagated by them, while the misdeeds into which our forefathers were frequently betrayed by their pristine ignorance, even by a most glaring perversion of reason and common sense, were ascribed to an original sin of man—or rather woman-kind!

These doctrines, by restraining the march of improvement, and impeding the progress of truth, tending to allay that discontent with existing acknowledged evils, which first prompts to exertions for their removal, and, furnishing an apparent justification for the imaginary attributes of heaven, hell, and the devil, have not merely confirmed and consolidated the ignorance in which they were created, but established a code of error, falsehood, and deception, which, in its influences on the character and condition of mankind, has generated a frightful anomaly, presented in constant idleness and slavish industry, heart-consuming wealth and life-destroying poverty, the means of happiness in the greatest abundance, and universal misery and dissatisfaction.

Reasoning from the past, however, and thence presaging the future, it would appear that the progressive and inevitable effects of error are now about to work out the redeeming truth; for the intensity of the evil entailed by the one has engendered such a rational spirit of inquiry, and a rigorous determination for improvement, that the discovery and recognition of the other, and the reformation of society upon its basis, may be contemplated as the certain and speedy results. In every step advanced in the path of improvement, it has been seen that "knowledge is power and success," and that in proportion to the amount of knowledge engaged in the work, has been the value and importance of the progress. When it is recollected that the stride we are now aiming at is beyond doubt unprecedented in extent, it is self-evident that knowledge must form its distinguishing characteristic. What, then, so essential to promote the great object of human redemption, at this time, as correct information of the true principles of social science?

In the certain belief that, by diffusing as much of this knowledge (however small in amount) as I have been enabled to acquire, I shall the most efficiently serve the cause of humanity, I have ventured to address the public mind, and if our future progress should sustain the reflection that my exertions have contributed, even in the remotest degree, to the accomplishment of our common object, the permanent happiness of the human race, my fondest hopes will be gratified.

Every page of history furnishes concurrent testimony to the truth of a fact, which gladdens the heart of each well-wisher of his species, and stimulates the philanthropist to renewed and confident labours.

At many stages of his career, the exertions of mankind have been rendered for a while nugatory; but, never since man entered on the path of improvement, and this he most assuredly did at his creation, has he been forced to a backward progress or to retrace his steps; in other words, the march of human improvement, though at times interrupted by a halt, has never been retrograde.

He who has acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the true elements of happiness, and who can accurately appreciate the relative value of each successive step in its pursuit, needs no reasoning upon this fact; but there are few among us possess this knowledge, and may accordingly deduce incorrect and unsatisfactory conclusions; indeed, there are individuals, who, at the present day, contend for the superiority of the ancient Grecian and Roman nations over our own comparatively modern one. A learned disquisition on the point, which empire deserves precedence, would here be impertinent; but a few words will serve to set this question on its proper basis, and at the same time elucidate the distinction between national supremacy and popular prosperity.

All who have perused the histories of Greece and Rome are aware, that while the former was remarkable for her philosophers, her stoics, and her learning, the latter was eminent for science, wealth, and absolute dominion, well deserving the title granted her of "Mistress of the World." Superficial reasoners, and the philosophers of the day, who have learnt all they know of human history from the incomplete, but in many cases perverted, testimonies of popular historians, but who are entirely unacquainted with the gradual and irrevocable progress of improvement, and the efficient means by which mankind advances towards true happiness and prosperity, deceive themselves and those whom they lead, by estimating the advancement which those empires had attained by the national character affixed to each.

This is the sort of error on which the majority of writers on the elements of social science have split, and which has rendered their theories not merely useless, but positively detrimental to the public interest. It is this error which pervades all the political schemes promulgated by modern political economists, which makes their doctrine theoretically false, and practically unjust and oppressive, and which alone justifies, at this time, the depression of the people into a state of brutal ignorance, houseless destitution, and starving poverty, by a system of dishonest individual appropriation, which, by accumulating immense heaps of wealth upon the surface of society, sustains an imaginary national elevation. In short, it is this blind error which has made us boast of our unrivalled commerce and our unbounded wealth, and fancy ourselves the "envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world," because we can inundate all Europe with our productions, and support the richest and the largest aristocracy in the world in idleness, profusion, and dissipation; while the producers of all this wealth, and the founders of all this commerce, are tame and ignorant enough to starve upon twopence-halfpenny per day, in requital for their incessant toil, and die unnoticed, in the wasted prime of life, at the bottom of ditches.

If, then, we desire to ascertain the truth upon the question before us, we must banish all preconceived notions of national greatness, and be careful not to confound the aggregate character which a nation may sustain with the individual condition of the people who compose it; as the former, arising from their collective capability of surpassing contemporaneous nations in the production of exchangeable wealth, or in military success and extent of colonial dependencies, has no

relation to their actual prosperity, happiness, or intelligence, which are alone cognizable as the feature of an improved social state.

It is this consideration, then, which enables us to estimate correctly the advancement attained by the ancient Grecian and Roman empires, and which at once admits the truth of that which their histories record, viz. that however self-denying the stoics of Greece, or however learned her philosophers, the Grecian people had neither learned to live upon air, or to find happiness in slavery; and that, therefore, the poverty into which they were depressed, and the rigorous and tyrannical laws imposed upon them, and obeyed under the fear of forfeiting life itself, prevented their acquisition of intelligence and attainment of independence, and presented insurmountable barriers to the pursuit of happiness.

The Roman people, likewise, although they had won a high and mighty name for their military enterprise and prowess, and possessed, as a nation, absolute dominion over nearly the whole of the then known world; although their national treasury might boast more riches than, at that time, apertained to any other kingdom; and although works of art and mechanical sciences might adorn the public avenues, and foreign luxuries and ornaments abound in the villas of the high and the honoured; yet they, the people, the component members of this powerful, wealthy, and luxurious nation, were not, individually, either rich or independent; and the lowest class of them were little better off than slaves, being serfs and vassals; while, moreover, all prisoners taken in warfare, being made actual slaves, and the frequent martial engagements engendering in the leader of the Roman armies a spirit of despotism and revenge; it must remain an uncontroverted deduction, that the honourable and respectable consciousness of equality, which is one of the first essentials to a state of advanced civilization, was not only unknown to and unappreciated by the Romans, but that the very antipod of this pervaded the whole population, exhibited in the tyranny and cruelty of some classes, and the obsequious vassalage and cringing servility of the remainder.

Thus, then, it appears that, when the real advance attained by the aristocrats is estimated with a correct knowledge of the essentials to human improvement, they were as far behind us as they preceded us chronologically.

This fact holds equally true with regard to every preceding stage of social existence; and a careful examination of the recorded histories of empires would satisfactorily demonstrate, that time and improvement have advanced together, and that although some few nations may, at certain periods, have risen in nominal political importance, and acquired celebrity for luxury and riches beyond that of immediately succeeding empires, it will be found that such have, in many instances, suffered a sudden and severe declension; and having become exalted by the oppression of the mass and the disparity of social condition which belonged to some former age, have been, by the inevitable equalizing influence of knowledge, for ever flowing onward, irresistible as the tide of oceanic waters, subdued into the position which the period of time assigns them in the scale of human improvement, and from which contingent and extraneous influence alone had forced them.

That we, of the present age, occupy a superior position to that of all preceding ages, and have attained a point of social advancement far beyond that to which they had arrived, is incontrovertibly established upon the consideration, that the most important step of the progress of mankind in the institution of general happiness has been secured within the last twenty years. The Grecians, the Romans, nay the English of the 18th century, our own fathers, knew nothing whatever of social science; the study of the human character, and the application of the knowledge acquired to the correct education and virtuous training of the species, constituted no part of their learning; and the true principles of government, for the attainment and consolidation of the happiness of the governed, were as totally unknown to them.

No! the knowledge upon these important subjects belongs especially to the present century; it is the

main feature of ameliorative advancement, and will be found the grandest step yet made in the acquisition of general permanent prosperity, and the accomplishment of universal happiness. Men have ever yet lived and acted blindly with regard to their true social interests. The light of philosophical truth has been permitted to gleam upon them only at intervals, and their past history abundantly testifies that, in the majority of cases, they have been prompted to the investigation of those causes which omnipotently rule their destinies, by their painful experience of general destitution and wide-spread misery.

Totally ignorant that the human character can with ease be moulded to coincide with, and insulate the strictest virtue, or the most detestable vice, upon principles as truly scientific and demonstrably true as are the elements of mathematical science, and by the adoption of these principles in practice, with as much inevitable certainty of securing the end intended, as exists in the construction of a steam engine; and equally unaware that the aggregate creation of wealth, and its equitable distribution, can be regulated to promote the best interests of every member of the community, and that the most enlightened national policy and rational civil government would, under their arrangement, become practicable and easy; totally ignorant of this important knowledge, which the last twenty years have developed, men have acted with individual selfishness, regardless of the effect engendered immediately upon society, and ultimately upon themselves, and have credited him for the possession of the only valuable knowledge, who could, with cloaked villainy and deceptive representations, defraud his fellow sufferers of their acquired wealth.

True it is, indeed, that the inestimable importance of this knowledge, the development of which so solidly establishes the superiority of the present over all preceding ages, has not yet received any practical illustration by the consequent attainment of general prosperity and happiness; but let it be borne in memory, that not only does the lapse of every day evidently forward us in the pursuit, but that the infliction of each new misery, and the hourly accumulation of general (and as far as legislative influence extends, irremediable) poverty, accelerates our progress by mighty strides; while the obstinate and infamous imposition of restraints upon the flow of intelligence, with the barefaced coeval encouragement of alluring temptations to immorality and drunkenness, tend only to the generation of that enormous amount of dissatisfaction and distress, which neither the laws nor the penalties of the laws now enacted will be able to suppress or control, and from which the adoption of national and efficient measures, based upon the redeeming knowledge of our own times, will alone be found adequate to relieve us.

Having thus, too imperfectly I fear, established the position, that mankind has really advanced in the attainment of permanent happiness, by the recent discovery of those invaluable, and as yet unappreciated facts and principles, which form the only secure foundation for human beatitude, I shall reserve for my next a consideration of the circumstances and reasons which inculcate and demand charity in our proposed investigation of the science of society.

D. G.

CHARACTER OF MAN IN CIVILIZATION.

(SENT BY A LADY.)

Who knows thee best
Will quit thee with disgust,
Thou sordid piece of animated dust.
Thy love is lust, thy friendship all a cheat,
Thy smiles hypocrisy,
Thy words deceit.

BYRON.

[There is nothing we so earnestly desire as a sexual war; that is, a serious battle between the sexes, quite as serious and rancorous as that at present conducted between the masters and the men. The women must begin too, for they are the lower orders; we are, therefore, well pleased to insert this communication from a woman, and hope that many are actuated by her spirit, and resolved, as soon as circumstances are favourable, to STRIKE.—ED.]

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We must omit several articles upon the Community question, which we hope soon to see settled in an amicable manner. It might all be resolved into one query, whether or not ought an experiment to be attempted; as to the question of fitness, it is quite irrelevant. No man is fit for a community, in a refined sense of the word, but every man is fit to try; but it will be a poor community that is instituted with such slender means as are at present possessed. The question of the lady, or women, we should say, is of great importance: are the wives to be consulted in this case; or must they follow their husbands, or be deserted?

Mr. Cleave grumbles that his speech is not well reported; but he does not tell us what fault we have committed. We believe he was as well reported as others.

"A Member" is indignant that his letter was not inserted, and suspects the Editor of want of judgment, and of being actuated by sinister motives; but the letter treated of a subject which the writer should be sorry the public knew any thing of.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 28.

THE last war is begun—the war that shall sheathe the sword for ever. The armies are gathering thick as hoar frost, each man under his banner; one party is actuated by hope, the other by fear. The issue of the contest is scarcely problematical. Fear always trusts to its heels, Hope to its hands. Every variety of unions is appearing. Unions of trades, unions of parsons and high churchmen, unions of anti-church-and-state men, unions to defend the grand apostolical church-of-England constitution, and unions to lay it on its back and tread upon its carcass. These are the different battalions, and they are preparing for a grand encounter. But we must not forget to mention the union that is now forming against the great Russian Bear, who proposes to take possession of the Holy Land, and warm his shivering carcass in the genial sunshine of the south. This is a fire-and-brimstone union, and by fire and brimstone it will be met; the rest are moral unions, with neither the accompanying parade, the ostentatious display, nor the trumpet-flourish of military march; but they possess such all-engrossing importance, as will throw immediate contempt and obloquy upon martial prowess, make the soldier ashamed of his valour, and military commanders complain of the degeneracy of the age, which can no more delight in the bloody feats of a Napoleon, or a Swedish madman, nor in the cause which deigns to maintain its rights by the blood of man. Murder is now about to be excluded from the list of the fine arts; no wonder then if the artist fret at the backward movement of civilization and refinement.

It is amusing to read some of the pretended contemptuous critiques of aristocratical publications upon the movements of the working-men. They sneer and ridicule, and satirize.

and lavish their abuse in unmeasured profusion upon the projects of the industrious poor. They treat the people as a herd of swine, mere grunTERS, whose whole power (ridiculously styled moral power) consists in the unmusical noise, and accompanying filth and deformity, of the party, and seem to think it highly virtuous, pious, and Christian-like to treat their unfortunate fellow-men with deliberate cruelty and scorn. One of these intellectual and scientific productions, the *New Monthly Magazine*, after amusing itself with murdering the characters of men and things, or at least letting fly its poisoned arrows, in the same sort of unfeeling spirit with which the Emperor Commodus is said to have concealed himself in a corner of the amphitheatre, and selected a victim from the midst of the assembly, merely to display his skill in archery, concludes an article upon the periodicals of the day by the following sentence, which refers exclusively to the unstamped press. "There is a rude energy in their style, and a profligate want of morality in their principles, which renders them acceptable to all the discontented men in the country, a numerous and an active race of idle profligates, who, having neither property nor character to lose, are fervently looking forward to new revolutions, by which they hope, if they cannot ameliorate their own condition, to reduce the happier orders of society to the level of their own wretchedness." What an unfortunate confession, and how unfeelingly expressed! a confession of the actual wretchedness of the people, accompanied with reproach and condemnation of every attempt they make to approximate their condition to that of the happier orders of society. But we rejoice to think that these publications are on their death-bed. They are merely supported by daring opposition, each expecting to raise itself upon the ruin of another. Even Blackwood requests his conservative friends to lend him greater support, or he must yield up the ghost; but they cannot die, poor things, without venting their spleen upon their more humane and rational successors.

Our Derby meeting was well attended, considering the intensity of the shower: a convincing proof of the interest which the workmen of that town have excited; let them not be discouraged, deliverance is coming, and the barbers of Derby who have agreed to shave the "strikers" gratis, shall have all their pennies repaid them. The editor of the *Crisis*, for one, will pay a hundred of them.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I have visited Birmingham and the Potteries on my way here. In the former place, a committee of the Society for Promoting National Regeneration has been formed, and I have no doubt will prove efficient for the purposes required; in the latter, the parties are proceeding with spirit and judgment in their practical measures. They have requested me to remain three days with them on my return, to give them such information, in

their different districts, as may enable them to advance in the measures necessary to effect their further emancipation from the despotism of the system in which they have been so long involved, and through which the producing classes generally must become every year more and more oppressed. I have promised, if time permits, to accede to their wishes, and also to those of our friends who are in Birmingham and Worcester. On leaving the Potteries, I came here to attend the committee-meetings of this week, preparatory to sending off delegates, with proper instructions, to visit the manufacturing districts in Lancashire and Cheshire. These meetings were held on Monday and Saturday, and there is to be one to-night. Every step we advance, the necessity of giving real knowledge and correct information to the working classes, who have hitherto been kept shamefully ignorant of their true position in society, becomes more and more evident. It will, ere long, be discovered that to do this is the most important duty and the highest interest of the government; for if this country shall suffer from the violence or improper conduct of the producers of wealth, it will arise solely from the ignorance in which the government has allowed them to be trained from their infancy, and the over-work forced upon them in childhood. The want of clear views in the present administration, of the importance and value of a sound national education of the working classes, is the more extraordinary, as, when in the opposition, many of its leading members were strenuous advocates for promoting it. We must, I fear, conclude that some formidable theological obstacles are in their way. But the producing classes will be well instructed, as soon as the eight hours for a full day's work shall be put into practice, and every effort will be made to effect this great change as early after the 1st of March next as the arrangements for that purpose in the different branches of industry can be carried into execution.

To-morrow morning I intend to go to Sheffield, where, on my last visit into Yorkshire, I promised to make my first visit in the county, circumstances having until now prevented me from accepting the various invitations which were sent to me while I was engaged in promoting our great cause in the woollen and linen districts in this county. I purpose afterwards to go to Barnsley and Leeds, and from thence to the great dinner, on Thursday, the 26th instant, at Huddersfield, to promote the cause of the National Regenerating Society in that populous and important division of the county. It is gratifying to me to perceive that more and more of the leading master manufacturers admit the advantages of, and necessity for, our maximum of time and minimum of wages, as a remuneration.

I hope you are proceeding successfully in your practical measures, to relieve the most oppressed of your fellow-workmen; and, above all, that you are acquiring that spirit of forbearance with each other's defects or peculiarities, and that spirit of genuine charity, without which I am quite sure you cannot succeed in any great undertaking to emancipate the honest producers of wealth.

With best wishes for your continued successful progress, I remain your friend,

ROBERT OWEN.

Worcester, Dec. 19, 1833.

P.S. I continue to find the Messrs. Fieldens among the most practical men I have yet met with in any part of the country.

ST. SIMONIANS.

Several of our friends have expressed a desire to become acquainted with the principles of the St. Simonians, through the medium of the *Crisis*. I have therefore thought proper to draw out a summary of the doctrine, to gratify this intellectual curiosity, at the manifestation of which I cannot but express my satisfaction, since truth is scattered over all the earth, and not confined to any particular locality, nor to be found on any isolated spot of earth. Truth is omnipresent, and we must learn from all parties. It is vain to boast of our knowledge, as long as we are ignorant of the tenets of new philosophical sects, who, for aught we know, may possess some good thing of which we have never entertained an idea. It is our duty to search every spot of earth, and every department of thought.

The *Coenopolite* had an article, some weeks ago, upon the subject; but it did not profess to be acquainted with the principles of the sect. The *Guardian* has lately written in the same manner; but both seem desirous of knowing more, which is sufficient proof that the authors of these articles are possessed of minds which are willing to receive additional information, and open to new convictions. I believe there are few natives of this country that know more of the doctrines of St. Simonism than myself. I make it a rule to study all new doctrines, whether they be sacred or profane, respectable or contemptible; whether the founder be of noble birth, like St. Simon, or a servant wench, like Joanna Southcote. The rank, the profession, the sex, have no weight with me, nor do I inquire whether the author was an inhabitant of Bedlam, inclosed in a strait waistcoat, under tutelage as an imbecile, or subject to aberrations of mind, or fits of epileptic convulsion. If a fool or madman says or writes a good thing, I do not see why it should be lost; and simple, unaffected nature is more likely to display herself in such characters, than in the artificial, chisel-shaped specimens of scholastic lore, which have hitherto swayed the sceptre of intellectual sovereignty. It is because I love nature that I have turned aside from the macadamized highway of dust and confused concourse of atoms, which the schools have prepared. I love the green and living nature of the fields, and do not think it the less beautiful that it is wild and romantic.

But there is no wildness in St. Simon. Our friends have been alarmed at a scare-crow; they have been startled merely at the sight and the sound of a word, dressed up in the old coat and the shovel-hat of a priest. I shall show them the skeleton by-and-by. In the meantime, I shall say a few words of St. Simon himself. St. Simon was descended from one of the noble families of France; he was nephew of the Duke de St. Simon, who made the last bold stand for the independence of the peerage of France, which the nephew proposed to abolish, with all other distinctions of rank. His father was Count de St. Simon. The family boasts a descent in a direct line from Charlemagne. The reformer himself was a soldier, and served under Washington, when only nineteen years of age, having previously commanded a company of cavalry in France, which he quitted for the cause of liberty. He was a man of wealth, which wealth he made by his own industry in trade, to which he resorted after leaving the army; but he spent his all in

attempting to ameliorate the condition of the working classes; he endowed schools, and other institutions for their benefit, and as long as fortune lasted, he was surrounded by men of talent and skill, who were proud of the honour of being his guests, and sitting in council upon his plans. But money has wings; his fortune disappeared, and his learned parasites followed in its train. He died in 1825, in great poverty, being supported in his last days by Olinde Rodrigues, a Jew, who embraced his opinions, and afterwards, in combination with Enfantin, organized the St. Simonian sect.

His first work was published in 1802. It is entitled "Letters of an Inhabitant of Geneva to his Contemporaries;" but he only printed a few copies of these, and distributed them amongst his friends. His first public declaration of his new views of society was made in 1807, when he made an appeal to the learned world, upon the new system of liberty and equality, which he recommended; but he appealed in vain. Several other works followed in succession, all of which treat of the rights of industry, the progress and the new organization of society. In 1819, he published his celebrated "*Parable*," in which he supposed that France had lost fifty of its first-rate physicians, chemists, mathematicians, poets, painters, sculptors, literati, engineers, architects, mechanics, surgeons, &c., enumerating every species of productive artists and artisans. What, he inquired, would be the consequence? the consequence would be that France would be thrown a generation backwards in the career of progress, to say the least. But, supposing she were to lose Monsieur the King's brother, my Lord the Duke of Angoulême, the Duke de Berry, the Duke d'Orleans, the Duchess of Angoulême, Berry, and many other princes, princesses, dukes, duchesses, monsieurs, and madames, what would be the consequence then? Why France might be sorry for a few days at the loss of so many of her sons and daughters, but civilization and the arts would suffer nothing; for there are many in France who can exercise the functions of the king's brother as well as Monsieur, and occupy the places of all the monsieurs and madames that now encircle the throne. Hence, St. Simon concluded that the monsieurs and the madames were the most useless lot in the Great Nation; for which he was tried in the Court of Assizes, on the 20th of February, 1820, for attempting to provoke the people to assassinate the royal family. This is the construction that the Advocate General put upon the "*Parable*." He was acquitted.

Having given this very brief account of St. Simon, I shall now speak of his political and religious sentiments. But, first of all, I beg leave to express my contempt and abhorrence of all sectarian names. Men will never unite under such names; they invariably excite jealousies and prejudices, and throw innumerable obstructions in the way of truth, which might be avoided by the use of some general appellation, which does not convey a sectarian idea. It is from a conviction of the evil resulting from this remnant of the old world, that I call myself by every name, or no name at all; for the assumption of the name of an individual seems to presuppose infallibility in that individual, and almost invariably leads to bigotry and prejudice, from a sectarian propensity to be guided entirely by authority, and abandon the use of free thinking. Many of the Saint Simonians acknowledge the justice of

this remark, and seem disposed to abandon the title entirely, and at this day a new sect is appearing, in advance both of St. Simon and Fourier, which embraces the principles of all the movement, and calls itself by no exclusive title. This is certainly a step in advance, for sectarian appellations will always offend; and a party which embraces all, and affords gratification to all, by entering with spirit into their favourite studies, is most likely to succeed. The organizations of men are infinitely various, and they must be humoured, so that a system of universal charity and toleration, which is founded upon the principle of social love and unlimited toleration, is the only system which can prosper. The shoemaker does not despise the tailor, nor the tailor the shoemaker; and why should the materialist despise the spiritualist, or the spiritualist the materialist? as long as they do they are both unfit for union. We have all yet to learn the value of each other's speculations, or at least to tolerate and combine. This combination, however, can never take place without abandoning sectarian names. As long as the St. Simonians call themselves St. Simonians, they will merely be a small sect; but when they abandon the term, and call themselves by some more comprehensive title, such as socialists, universalists, or simply MEN AND WOMEN, then they may hope to prosper. Still, sectarian names are always necessary at first, to lay a foundation and organize a party; the consummation, however, of liberty and sociality is the union of these parties in one. Whatever difference subsists between ourselves and the St. Simonians, this is abundantly evident, that if we cannot agree and co-operate with them, it is impossible for us to co-operate with any religious or irreligious sect under heaven. The time is now come, then, for a trial of the social spirit—the spirit of unity, which is a spirit that does not seek to overcome in argument, so much as to coalesce and overlook minor differences. If we have not this spirit, we are mere pretenders to unity and socialism, and will become the laughing-stock of society.

One of the strongest objections to the St. Simonian doctrine is its mysticism: but what is meant by mysticism? something unintelligible, I suppose, and that is everything. All nature is a mystery, and every department is equally mysterious. What is more mysterious than labour exchange—than political economy—than the doctrine of circumstances? circumstances make the man, and man makes the circumstances; it is a circle of thought, and one becomes giddy with its revolutions. It is not the less true on that account. Mysticism is nothing but physiology, or the study of the laws of nature, but has by some fatality been applied to every doctrine that has an allusion to old religions, and on that account suffers along with them the reproach of popular prejudice: but physiology cannot be perfect, unless it embrace every department of thought, and analyse all nature. The only error which we can commit in pursuing these studies, is in giving them a preponderance or an exclusive importance. They are an ornament or embellishment to the mind, but they do not immediately contribute to the belly. They are peculiarly adapted to certain organizations, as painting, poetry, music to others; and any attempt to bear them down will be attended with the same results as religious or political persecution. Nor do the St. Simonians confound their physical with their metaphysical doctrine; their physical

looks to the production and distribution of wealth, and their metaphysical looks to the cultivation of the social feeling; all their mystical doctrine, as it is called, has this tendency, and it appears to have succeeded as well as any other in accomplishing its end, which is only one proof out of a thousand, that every variety of subjects must be embraced, in order to captivate every variety of mind.

Were there any superstition attached to the doctrine, it ought to be resisted; for superstition is slavish fear—not love; but there is no superstition in it; it is merely a methodical analysis of nature, and ought to be methodically studied and answered, or immethodically let alone.

I have not room in the present letter to enter into the doctrine, but I may observe, that the public press has done them great injustice; more however by ridicule, and a defence of the present old system, than any other weapon. The *Dispatch* condemns their community and marriage doctrine, by defending the present marriage and domestic system, and expatiating most delectably upon the sweets of "Home, sweet home." I wish that all our suffering countrymen could sing the same song; or re-echo the same sentiment. As for their alleged community of women, this is merely a phantom. Their doctrine is literally the abolition of community. Have not the men a community of women already? May not a man have as many wives as he has money to purchase? He would not be so circumstanced under a St. Simonian system. He would find it impossible perhaps to purchase one, and if he could find more than one by the mere attraction of sympathy, it is more than I am inclined to believe, or the St. Simonians to teach. Our male population are so well satisfied with the abundant provision of this licentious, impure system, that their sensual natures revolt at the idea of chastity and pure affection. They pretend that it is from chaste motives that they oppose the doctrine; they are much mistaken. But by this pretence, they impose upon the women, who are led to suppose that the St. Simonians are the most impure of all men, whereas they are really at present the chastest sect in existence, and many literally practise personal chastity, as Enfantin publicly declared on the occasion of his trial, and mean to do so till the woman appears who they expect will determine the question of love and marriage, which with them is as yet only a theory founded upon physiological principles, or natural facts.

Their priesthood, as it is called, is merely an institution for moral and scientific instruction. It is not a system of despotism, as the *Dispatch* affirms, but of popular liberty, in which the presidency is conferred upon individuals, by popular assent or acclamation, for the preservation of order, the communication of knowledge, and the formation of character. Surely no system of society can exist without public instructors; but the world is at present so universally infantine, that it is instantaneously alarmed at the sound of certain words which have hitherto been associated with disagreeable ideas, just as a dancing bear begins to caper whenever it hears the well-known tune to which it used to leap in its days of probation and training on the heated floor. There is no more resemblance between a St. Simonian priest and a priest of the old school, than there is between a parson and a schoolmaster, except that the former is employed to perform the simple ceremony of tying or untying the matrimonial knot.

The public press ridicules the idea of their calling themselves Christians, but it takes good care not to handle the subject more minutely. It has done enough to satisfy the superficial mind; but there are some minds that are never satisfied with knowledge, much less with that species of declamatory instruction which is to be found in public newspapers.

The above are merely some general observations; I shall give a brief summary of the doctrines at a future period.
J. E. SMITH.

PUBLIC MEETING,

Held on Monday Evening, Dec. 23, at Seven o'clock, at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, in behalf of the Men of Derby.

Dr. Wade was unanimously called to the chair, and introduced the business of the meeting by several very appropriate observations, on the importance of the present critical condition of the working population, and the propriety of taking active and efficient measures to secure to themselves those rights to which they were entitled, by the industry and skill which they had ever displayed in the production of wealth. The doctor's address contained much good humour and kind feeling, and he sealed it by tendering his own subscription, which, he said, was not a sovereign remedy, although it was a sovereign; but he would repeat it again and again, until no remedy was wanted. The meeting lasted till past twelve o'clock; good feeling prevailed almost universally, and upwards of 171. was collected on the spot. We can only afford room for the resolutions which were past; in so doing we may please some and displease others; but we shall, at least, escape the censure and complaint of speakers, who frequently murmur at not being well reported, as if a speech were any thing else than (to use a simile of Dr. Wade's) a skyrocket, which makes a temporary display and then vanishes for ever.

1st. That it is with feelings of surprise and deep regret that the persons now assembled have seen that at a Meeting of the Masters and Manufacturers held at Derby, on Monday, 25th November, 1833, these Gentlemen have claimed the right to withhold employment from the Operatives, which is, in other words, to assert the appalling right to starve the workmen into a compliance with the demand to sell their labour on such terms as these Masters and Manufacturers shall please to dictate.

2nd. That, in the opinion of this Meeting, the Masters and the Workmen have really but one interest, and therefore that no course would at the present time be so advantageous to both parties, as such an equitable adjustment of their respective claims as would insure to the Masters full and fair remuneration for the employment of their capital and skill; and to the Workmen abundant compensation for their labour.

3rd. That it being now universally acknowledged that labour is the source of all wealth, the glaring anomaly that *the industrious are poor, while the idle are rich*, which has so long stared us in the face, should henceforth cease for ever; and that, if the capitalists cannot be induced to give full compensation to the producers for a moderate degree of their labour, that the operatives should immediately unite to produce for themselves, and to exchange their productions with each other on fair and equitable terms.

4th. That it be recommended to the Men of Derby, agreeably to the resolution adopted by the Society for Promoting National Regeneration, "that they propose to the Masters to return to their employment, on their agreeing to pay them the present full day's wages for eight hours of their labor."

5th. That, should the Masters refuse to accede to this proposal, the Men of Derby be advised immediately to make arrangements to commence manufacturing on their own account; and that the persons now assembled, individually and collectively, pledge themselves to assist them to the utmost of their power to carry these arrangements into effect.

6th. That the Members of the various Trades' Unions, and all other Operatives in the Metropolis, together with all who are friendly to the emancipation of the Industrious Classes, be earnestly induced to lay aside all minor points of difference or causes of division, and to join in one simultaneous movement, that shall give effectual aid to the Men of Derby, and furnish an example of the advantages that may be derived by the producers from the concentration of capital, skill, and labour in their own hands.

7th. That a Fund be immediately raised, to be advanced to the Men of Derby, and that for this purpose all the various Unions and Societies in the Metropolis are now requested to open books, and endeavour to induce their Members to contribute sixpence each weekly to this Fund; and that the amount subscribed be paid once a week into the hands of Messrs. Smith and Austin, the Secretaries to the London Auxiliary Society for Promoting National Regeneration, and that an account be given in the *Crisis* every week of the amount received and transmitted to Derby, with such other particulars as can be collected.

8th. That the cordial thanks of this Meeting are hereby given to the Editors of the *PIONEER*, *THE TRUE SUN*, *THE POOR MAN'S GUARDIAN*, *THE MAN*, *THE CRISIS*, and of all the other Publications, who have boldly stood forward on the present occasion to advocate the cause of the Men of Derby.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Reading a *laboured* answer to a letter of an individual, signing himself J. H., by a Mr. Nobody, I cannot refrain from answering this unphilosophical writer, by saying that he has not taken a clear and rational view of the question of communities; and if this individual understood what a community really was, he could not have answered as he did. I beg leave to put through you, Mr. Editor, the following questions to Mr. Nobody, and as it is a woman who puts these questions, perhaps he will answer them. I do it, because the view that J. H. takes is so different to me from any other that I have as yet met with, that I desire much to see it rationally and philosophically answered.

J. H. is correct or incorrect in the view that he has taken of the nature of women and men, and should be answered, not by begging pardons, but by natural facts. I feel that benevolence must be met by benevolence; charity, by charity; intelligence, by intelligence; and for this to ensue similarity of organizations must exist. If this is what J. H. means by attraction and repulsion, I agree with him, nay more, I think that the present generation will never be fit to live together at present in numbers, especially when taken from the three classes of society. What we can do, is, educate wisely the children of the present generation, and if the fifteen thousand pounds of Mr. Thompson could be appropriated to the education of the children of the co-operators, it would do more good to society, than endeavouring to make *extremes* act in affection and union.

The questions to Mr. Nobody, are the following: In commencing a community, how would you act in respect to the females; are they to choose whether they will go from old society or not, or will they be compelled to

obey their husbands, if the husband is desirous and *fit to enter* your new community? For the women now depending upon their husbands for existence, are obliged to obey *his* feelings, in place of following sometimes her own: to say that she will be benefited by doing so, is not the point. The point is, whether *she* thinks so.

Secondly: Is the arrangement to be upon the parallelogram or cottage system; and what security is there that such arrangements will be permanent; that those who enter will not be in the condition of those who were at the ruinous failures and now apart almost from human society?

These questions may not appear important to the men, but they are very important to the co-operative women; and as they are so, ought to be answered honestly by those who possess power over us—the men; and especially those who desire so earnestly to enter community.

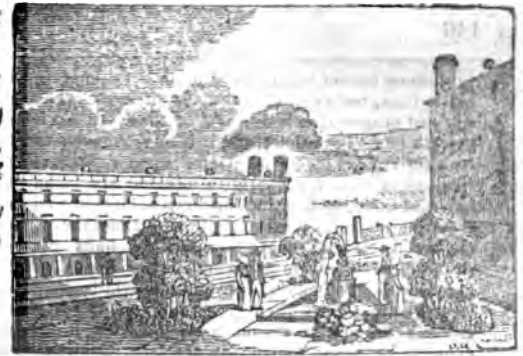
M. C. O.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—The following extract from a work by a celebrated theologian, shows, that however prejudices may obscure their judgment, or their seeming interest thwart their inclination to bring it forward, they generally, in their writings, as if unaware and unreflecting on the consequence, avow that great truth, that "the character is formed for, and not by, the individual."

"There is a kind of symmetry in the thoughts, feelings, and efforts of the human mind; its taste, intelligence, affections, and conduct, are so intimately related, that no preconception can prevent them from being mutually causes and effects. The first thing powerfully operated on, and, in its turn, proportionally operative, is the taste. The perception of beauty and deformity, of refinement and grossness, of decency and vulgarity, of propriety and indecorum, is the first thing which influences man to attempt an escape from a grovelling brutish character—a character in which morality is effectually chilled or absolutely frozen. In most persons, that is awakened by what may be called the exterior of society, particularly by the mode of building. Uncouth, mean, dirty houses, constituting the body of any town, will be accompanied by coarse, grovelling manners. The dress, furniture, mode of living, and manners, will correspond with the appearance of the buildings, and will be, in every such case, of a vulgar and debased nature. On the inhabitants of such a town it will be difficult to work a conviction, that intelligence is necessary or useful; generally they will regard both learning and science only with contempt. Of morals, except in the coarsest form, and that which has the least influence on the heart, they will scarcely have any apprehension. The rights enforced by municipal law they may be compelled to respect, but the rights and obligations which lie beyond the reach of magistracy, in which the chief duties of morality consist, will scarcely gain their passing notice. They may pay their debts, but will neglect almost every thing of value in the education of their children. The sense of beauty is necessarily accompanied by a perception of the superiority which it possesses over deformity, and is instinctively felt to confer this superiority on those who can call it their own, over those who cannot. This, I apprehend, is the manner in which coarse society is first started towards improvement; for no object but those which are sensible can make any considerable impressions on coarse minds."—*Travels in New England*. By Dr. DWIGHT.

Our friend, Robert Owen, has said repeatedly, that this city is a combination of the most vicious circumstances, and here I see the great importance of our moral union, by our weekly meeting



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE 'TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

" THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 29.

Mr. Smith lectured on "INNOCENCY OF Error."

Last Sunday I attempted to show that truth and error are inseparable companions, that error must always exist where there is ignorance, and ignorance is the everlasting character of every finite being. That the great moral and political change which we anticipate is not a total abolition of error, for that is impossible, but merely a fundamental basis of truth, instead of a fundamental basis of error as we now have. At present, society is conducted upon principles that are fundamentally wrong—principles that recognize the unequal distribution of wealth, and inequality of rank and fortune; principles that acknowledge the justice of subjecting one portion of society to the arbitrary dictatorial power of another; principles that ascribe merit and demerit, moral virtue and moral guilt, to private opinion, the result of conviction; principles that acknowledge the right of one class of individuals to prosecute another class of individuals, with fines and imprisonments, merely because they will not give their assent to particular dogmas, or for publicly expressing their disbelief and aversion. These are some of the fundamental errors of society, and these errors we hope to see speedily removed; but mankind must, notwithstanding, continue to live amidst innumerable errors of judgment of an inferior degree, all affecting, more or less, their personal happiness. It becomes, therefore, a matter of interest to inquire into the nature and character of error, what species of error is most prejudicial to happiness, and what species are likely to be unattended with injurious results.

The old world, notwithstanding its own erroneous notions, has been very zealous in its persecution of error. The history of Europe for the last 1500 years is nothing else than a record of persecutions and wars, chiefly undertaken, and supported for the express purpose of subduing error. This method of subduing error, however, was itself the greatest of all errors. It was one gigantic tyrannical error domineering over the other errors of an inferior order.

Their principal reason was the desire of pleasing God, and saving men's souls; for it was universally taught and credited in the Christian church, that even the assent of the mind to a particular dogma which was accounted erroneous, was in itself as criminal as the commission of a deadly crime against the person or property of another. This idea still haunts the mind of the whole world of superstition, and many carry it to such an extravagant length as to affirm that God does not regard the actions of men, but merely the articles of their faith. Believe, and ye shall be saved, is the creed of all the Antinomian church; and the 13th article of the Church of England asserts that "works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his spirit, (that is, as they suppose, before a man becomes a real believer,) are not pleasant to God, forasmuch, as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace; yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin;" and the 11th article says that "we are justified by faith only, and not by works; and that this doctrine is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort." Full of comfort, no doubt, because by giving an assent to a dogma which requires no sacrifice of property or personal comfort, an assurance is attained of a perfect release both from hell-fire and purgatory.

It is very easy to see that this doctrine is established in opposition to practical Christianity; it is an attempt to substitute a dogma

* This doctrine of faith is philosophically correct; faith is an active principle, and the only principle of human action. Infidelity is purely passive. I take these words in their broad, universal sense. Infidelity can never become a source of action; there is no impulse, no enthusiasm, no life in it. Infidel is a most repulsive name; a faithless man is a selfish, solitary, unsocial lump of inanimate matter; put a spark of faith in that lump, and he lives and acts; for then he has an end in view; he looks forward. Thus good faith and good morals are one and the same thing; and theologians have only erred in making faith exclusive and bigoted, by directing it to isolated facts or dogmas, instead of making it universal; applying it to Jesus Christ the individual, instead of Jesus Christ the universal man—Nature, God, Love.

for active exertions to promote human welfare; or, if it does promote activity, it is that sort of activity which carries spiritual exhortations and ecclesiastical tracts to the starving poor, and insults their destitute and forlorn condition by proposing to feed them with that which is not bread; and, as vice is always regarded as the opposite of virtue, so long as this species of faith-virtue is held up as an object of human worship, vice will consist almost wholly in the absence of this faith. It is, beyond all contradiction, the orthodox creed of the churches of England and of Scotland, and, indeed, of all the reformed churches, that vice consists chiefly in the want of faith; and it is a prevailing opinion amongst the religious sects, that an infidel is capable of committing, the most hardened crimes, and only deterred by fear of punishment or personal interest. This fear of man preserves his respectability in society; but the want of faith is an unpardonable crime, which will doom him to everlasting perdition in the world to come.

But it is argued by the sectarian that people's minds are full of prejudice and bitter feeling against what he considers the truth—and that they won't hear it: they reject it before they know it; therefore he concludes that there must be guilt attached to the rejection. He little thinks that he himself is guilty of the same conduct.—He also is affected with prejudice and bitter feeling against every creed but his own, whether he knows it or not; and therefore, if prejudice and ignorance be moral crimes, he may rank himself in the list of the damned, as well as all of his fellow-believers. Prejudice is the effect of ignorance. There can be no prejudice in a perfect mind, for nature is perfect—all its properties are useful—and a perfect mind, instead of feeling hatred or prejudice against any manifestation of opinion, would only arrange it in its proper place, as a part of the great whole of the universe.* There is, then, no moral guilt in prejudice, for it is the effect of a cause which the individual has not power to remove.

* All opinions arrange themselves into two classes, the positive and the negative; and both are necessary to keep up mental action, as light and darkness, or any two chemical agents, to produce physical action. There is no opinion entirely useless. But there is time and place suited for all modification of mind and matter.

Ignorance cannot be removed in an hour—not in a life-time, nor even in thousands of ages. The work of progression is a work of time. It has a growth like vegetation; and it is as reasonable to look for ripe cherries in winter upon a leafless tree, as to look for liberality and charity in an ignorant mind, or one that has been subjected to a sectarian education. If prejudice be a moral evil, as the sectarian contends when he finds his evangelical doctrine pass over the heads of unbelievers and pagans, like the idle wind which they regard not, then ignorance itself is a moral evil; and if ignorance be evil, then it is a crime to be born, for all men are born ignorant, and, consequently, ripe for the growth of prejudice; this is the natural consequence, and the consequence has been deduced. It is unblushingly asserted by all orthodox divines, that man is born in sin, that the very children are obnoxious to God on account of the native pollution of the heart, which is organized for the generation of evil. This is the celebrated doctrine of original sin, a doctrine which leads men to the very threshold of truth, without taking them into the sanctuary. It is a doctrine to which men have come by necessity, in following up the line of the progress of opinion; and when they have arrived to this point, one step further settles the question for ever. The first idea that men have of the origin of moral guilt is very simple, that it is merely meditated in the mind, and may be cured or not at pleasure; a little more reflection, however, teaches them that the passions are powerful and irresistible, and they attribute this guilt to a variety of other causes; last of all they go back to the origin of man for the cause, and ascribe it to his formation at birth, or his descent from Adam and Eve, whom they blame for the whole mischief; but as Adam and Eve required a prompter, they go a step further, and blame the devil. Here they stop—they dare not go any further; yet they have always been advancing, always getting nearer and nearer the truth; but, because they will not allow God to be the author of the devil's evil nature, they rest in an absurdity; another step would settle the matter for ever, and make the doctrine of original sin what it really is—nothing more than what we are accustomed to call the doctrine of circumstances; that is, that every finite being has its character formed for, and not by, itself. This is the doctrine of original sin, for it teaches us that we are all born in sin and brought forth in iniquity, and that we cannot think a good thought, nor do a good action, unless God give us the grace to do so. There is not the slightest difference between the two, except that the doctrine of original sin ascribes guilt to the individual for being born imperfect, and the doctrine of circumstances ascribes no guilt whatsoever. This doctrine of hell-fire, then, makes all the difference between a firm believer in original sin and ourselves. Indeed, it is the only barrier between the conflicting sects of society, and its removal would introduce a reign of perfect harmony amongst the sons of men. Men are not so very far from a religious union as they imagine; the settlement of one single question would effect it.

The Bible certainly contains many passages which speak plainly of such a place as hell-fire, and the punishment of the wicked therein. This is well known, and needs no comment; but it is equally certain that it contains many unequivocal and positive assertions that the doctrine is false. These are also plain and need no comment, and all the difficulty is to determine which is the right sort, which are the true and which the false; for it is evident they cannot both be literally true. The old world, however, has invariably attached itself to the fire-and-brimstone passages, and in my opinion it has done well in doing so. In the infancy of society, man can only be ruled by fear of punishment. Ignorance is entirely sensual, and a sound flogging, or any other infliction of personal pain, is

indispensably necessary to promote good order when men are not in possession of a better substitute; and how can men be provided with a better substitute, until ignorance is partially removed by the light of science, and education has begun to cultivate the mind and refine the manners? It is in perfect keeping or harmony with the old system of society, to deter men from moral guilt by the threat of severe bodily suffering. It is a monstrous anomaly to suppose that any other doctrine should be taught in a system of political oppression, popular and private competition, strife, and violence; it is part of the great whole of the old world, and as indispensable to complete the monster, as a right eye or a right arm to complete the human body. The Bible is written for both worlds, the old and the new; it is the tyrant's book and the people's book, and as soon as liberty comes, and tranquillity is restored, it will then accommodate itself to the new state of things, and make friends with all parties. Like nature itself, it contains good and evil, and you may take which you choose. It writes lies for the old world and truths for the new. Thus it writes to the old world, that the wicked shall be turned into hell and burned with fire unquenchable. To the new world it writes, all men shall be saved, all men shall be justified; the first is literally a lie, but figuratively true; the second is literally true.

Now let us suppose that we could annihilate this pernicious doctrine of damnation, and that all the other religious creeds were still to exist, what would be the consequence? I say we should have universal harmony. At present the Christian fears and abhors the Infidel, because he considers his principles as dangerous to the soul, and tending to perdition; he forbids his children to visit them; he takes measures to prevent them from hearing or reading his doctrines; he preserves them in ignorance of all but his own sacred creed, which enjoys a charter from on high, and can give a passport to heaven. Were he satisfied that there was no truth in the doctrine of eternal punishment, his fears would be at an end; he would give his children liberty, he would take liberty himself, he would hear all parties with good humour, and heartily join in the laugh at witty and satirical critiques upon what he used to regard as the gravest and most serious of all subjects.

Party-spirit on speculative subjects must cease; they must all be tolerated, and that contently, not nominally, as some imagine. In the present circumstances of society, there is a necessity for a rallying point to gather the people; and it is perfectly evident that religion cannot gather them; but it is just as evident that anti-religion cannot gather them. What is it then that can gather them? Neutrality only. They must be gathered upon a plain, common sense subject, that respects food and clothing, which is a point upon which they can all agree. Here there is neither religion nor anti-religion; neither faith nor infidelity; therefore no offence to either party. A negative is quite as offensive as a positive. But the query is, what shall be done when they are gathered, when two opposite extremes are rolled into one? It is almost as ominous as the blending of sulphur and carbon; and a little spark may ignite the whole combustible material, and produce indescribable confusion. This seems likely to be the result, but we have some good reason to believe, that by this friendly junction in the first place, for their bodily comforts, both parties will be led to see a new doctrine, which they never before imagined; namely, the innocency of error. If they succeed in gaining their object, and improving their condition, they will be thrown into such a novel and ecstatic state of kind and generous feeling, that they will be disposed to regard each other with a favourable eye; and they will even begin to see beauty of character in that which was formerly considered a deformity. The Christian, who now keeps aloof from the Infidel, and knows him only by imagination, which paints him in the blackest colours, will then, after having come into closer contact with him, and seen the manifestations of kindness and sympathy, begin to suspect that he was formerly too harsh in his suspicions, acknowledge that an In-

fidel is possessed of the same generous and benevolent feelings as a Christian, and subscribe his faith in the new doctrine of the innocency of error. The Infidel also having attained his main object, the deliverance of his species from the yoke of dire oppression and wretched poverty, and no more offended with the sight of starving poor, and full-fed ecclesiastics; no more offended with the corruptions of Christianity, and the cant of money-begging hypocrisy, will recover his good humour, and cool in his zeal against fanatics and believers in spiritual dogmas; and he also will, with equal cordiality, subscribe his name to the new creed of the innocency of error; for the principal error will then be gone—the error that proves the bane of human happiness; the error of mad competition and injustice; an error which diffuses its poison through every heart and every vein, renders man impatient, incapacitates him from thinking, and prompts him to abuse and bitter contention.

ST. SIMONIANS.

In this letter I shall make a few selections from the *Working Man's Catechism*, by St. Simon, which will give a general idea of the political plans of organization inculcated by the St. Simonians. It is a very erroneous idea, which some have entertained, that they give a precedence to metaphysical questions. This letter, I hope, will sufficiently remove this prejudice; but it may be proper to observe that the principal causes of the preponderance which the dogmas of the sect have accidentally obtained over the politics are, first, the circumstance of the original apostles and teachers of the doctrine being men of learning and genius, who naturally took pleasure in investigating such questions as these; not, however, to the exclusion of the industrious department, which has never been overlooked; and, secondly, because France is a less practical nation than England, and enjoys less political liberty. The moral liberty of France is greater than that of any nation in the world; but the political liberty of England carries the palm before that of her more mercenary neighbours; hence it follows that France is a better soil for a mere theory; England is a better soil for practice, and, in strict accordance with this characteristic difference between the two nations, we find that the French have speculated more largely upon all the doctrines of the new world, and have associated them with the whole circle of science; on the one hand courting the simple "industrial," or labourer; and, on the other, the philosopher, the artist, and the mystic. It is the decided doctrine of St. Simon, however, that labour is the principal thing, the foundation of all society, and ought to have the supreme management of political affairs. The following quotation from the *Catechism* will demonstrate this fact:—"The industrious class ought to occupy the first rank, because it is the most important of all; because it can dispense with all others, and others cannot dispense with it; because it can subvert itself by its own personal labour." St. Simon represents the old world and the new under the names of the military system and the industrious system; and, in order to effect the change contemplated, he proposes to take the administration of affairs out of the hands of baronial chiefs, idlers—and make the government decidedly industrious, by putting at the head of affairs the producers of real wealth; in other words, giving the political power into the hands of the people, to be exercised for the benefit of the greatest number, by their representatives.

Though a stern advocate for equality, he does not even propose to abolish monarchy, but the monarchy which he recommends is by no means inconsistent with liberty. It is not hereditary monarchy, for all distinction of rank is abolished; neither is it arbitrary monarchy, which acknowledges the right of domination to proceed from the will of the king. It is merely executive monarchy. "So that his majesty, instead of being,

as now, the first feudal baron, gentleman, and soldier, shall then be merely regarded as the first 'industrial' of the kingdom," that is, the first 'producer.' This royalty is evidently nothing else than a presidency or superintendency; just such another dignity upon a national scale as that which we have in the person of Mr. Hoare, at the Institution, Charlotte-street. But the name of king is very alarming; and St. Simon was more particular about new ideas than new words; but words and not ideas still govern the most of mankind. The Romans, in the days of Cæsar, had a rooted aversion to the name of king. If Augustus had usurped the title, he would have met the fate of his predecessor Julius. But he took the more modest title of emperor, which meant only a commander; but it very soon changed its original meaning, and expressed a higher and more absolute power than that of royalty itself. The old world always has been, and still continues to be, gulled by words: when a theatre loses its character, it is white washed, baptized anew, and restored to fair fame and pure virginity. The Cobourg which was lately the vilest of the vile, is now a maid, and known by the name of Victoria. The Sans Souci has been 'yclep'd Vaudeville, and some others are following the same system. Must the moral reformers of society follow this old practice, and encourage this childish weakness in the public? I fear they must for a season; but true reform destroys nothing, not even a name; it does not change the name to restore the character, but it changes the character to dignify and beautify the name. Thus, patron was once a most lordly aristocratic title, and signified the master of a slave or client; now it has lost its offence by being applied to gentlemen and noblemen in their character of chairmen, or friends of scientific or charitable institutions, without being possessed of any controlling power. But the St. Simonian king may be called by any name—patron, father, president, first counsellor, leader; or merely by his own name—John, William, or Robert; the power which he possesses is still only an executive power, derived immediately from the people.

But, properly speaking, the St. Simonian system has three kings. Stare, ye Radicals! and tremble, ye co-operators! Three kings! No, two kings and a queen! They divide human nature, as it generally is divided, into three departments—the physical, the intellectual, and the moral; and these correspond to the three classes of society—the producers of wealth—the *savans*, or men of science—and the artists. The first includes all manufacturers and agriculturists; the second, all students of nature, or physiologists, that investigate causes and effects throughout every department of nature, spiritual and material; the third is a practical modification of the second, including all poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, teachers; in fine, all those who practise the elegant arts, whose chief influence on society is a moral influence, calculated to refine the mind and subdue the ferocity of rude nature. This is the female department of the three divisions, inasmuch as it is the department of culture and socialism, where the tender affections and sympathies of human nature are developed. The other two are decidedly male; but, neither of the three exclusively male or female; inasmuch as each individual is supposed to be placed in a condition suited to his or her particular organization. The affairs of society, however, being divided into these three departments; each department has a resident, who may be called the President of the Board of Industry—this is the king of all the three; the President of the Board of Science; and the President of the Board of the Public Morals. This is the free woman, "God bless her!" This threefold division, however, as you may easily perceive, may be reduced to a twofold division, which the St. Simonians call "material and spiritual." The material is the physical department of

industry; the spiritual is the scientific and the moral in one. This double department is what may be called the priesthood; comprehending the man and the woman, who preside over the whole province of mind, as directed to science and morals, (for it is very erroneous to apply the epithet mental solely to these. The physical department requires as much mind as either.) There is, therefore, a hierarchy and a monarchy; that, is a department of science and morals exclusively, and a department of manufactures and agriculture exclusively; yet, both constituted in such a way that the power shall reside in the people, and all hereditary rank and privilege be utterly abolished. Whatever defects a keen and enthusiastic equalist may see in this system, it is certainly much more free and equal than the American republic, where private capital and all the other unequal distinctions of property prevail. "The Industrious System" says the Catechism, "is founded upon the principle of perfect equality. It opposes itself to every right of birth, and EVERY KIND OF PRIVILEGE."

Nothing can be more absurd than to argue whether St. Simonism be consistent with liberty. A system that abjures both the use of the sword and every other instrument can certainly never become a tyrant; its weapons are purely intellectual, and order is preserved merely by a suitable arrangement of society, each individual being disposed and employed according to his capacity; and as that office is neither a sinecure nor accompanied with power and superior affluence, but one which requires the exercise of superior talents and information, it is not likely to be coveted or even retained by those who do not feel themselves qualified for it. Industry is not the soil for tyranny to prosper, they are only the idle and the profligate who are fond of military glory. War and commerce have always been at variance; whenever a nation began to be commercial it ceased to be martial, and our British army has been filled up merely by the dregs of the population, idle weavers, or unfortunate tradesmen, or ruined profligates, whilst the officers have invariably belonged to the aristocracy. The idle poor and the idle aristocracy are the true soldiers—the pillars of the nation. Now, it is neither of these two classes which St. Simon proposes to entrust with the management of affairs; but the industrious classes, who have never, in any age of the world, been invested with power, and who cannot become tyrants except to the idle, whereas hitherto the idle have been tyrants to the industrious.

St. Simon seems to have been of opinion that the king himself would adopt the system, and co-operate with the people in establishing it. The nobles could not, because the system was to overturn nobility as a barrier between the king and the people. The people as the real authority, and the king as the executive, he imagined, were equal to the task of effecting any political change whatsoever. It must, of course, commence with the people; they must unite, they must form their plans, make their demands, claim their right of the first man in the state; and he and they, in unison together, would crush the power of the aristocracy for ever. He recommended the mildest measures, he denounced all violent or immethodical attempts, which could only have the effect of deranging society. In his catechism he gives the form of a petition, with which the working men ought to address to the throne. We believe his present disciples are not so very humble, they are advancing with the age; their's is a doctrine of progress, and they do not abide by the letter of St. Simon's doctrine, but take new light as they find it; having no fixed dogmas or dicta by which they obdurately abide in order to preserve consistency, for they affirm that their doctrine is so arranged as to embrace every thing that comes forward, and can suit itself to every variety of organization and of national character, becoming

more or less monarchical or republican, according to the ignorance or information of the people.

The St. Simonian doctrine always connects the present with the past; and from these two, as premises, anticipates the future. It does not treat the past as final authority, like the Christians, as a point to stop at, but merely as the line of progress, and every succeeding age as nearer the truth than the preceding. In the Working Man's Catechism, a short outline is given of the progress of industry in France, from the first subjection of the Gauls to native French, by the Franks, to the present day. The Gauls became slaves; the Franks the baronial nobles; but by industry the Gauls gradually became possessed of property, till now that they possess the greatest proportion of the wealth of the nation; and now we behold the strange phenomenon of a nation essentially industrious, whilst its government is essentially feudal.

"A review of the past progress of society shows us that the industrious class has always been acquiring importance, whilst others have always been losing it; and we ought to conclude from this, that the industrious class ought to finish its progress by constituting itself the most important of all."

"Simple good sense has taught every individual to reason as follows: 'Men having always laboured to improve their condition, the end towards which they have always tended has been that of the establishment of a social order, in which the class engaged in labour, the most useful, shall be the most esteemed. And it is to this end that society must ultimately attain.'

"Labour is the source of all the virtues. Labour is the most useful are those which ought to be the most esteemed; thus both divine and human morality call the industrious classes to the enjoyment of the first rank in society."

"Society is composed of individuals; the development of social intelligence is nothing but that of individual intelligence upon a larger scale. If we observe the line of march which the education of individuals has pursued, we remark, in the primary schools, that the discipline is most severe; and in a schools of a more elevated rank, we see the discipline of children always diminish in severity, whilst education possesses a character more and more important. It is the same with the education of society. Military, that is to say feudal government, has been most powerful at first; it has always been decreasing, whilst the administrative government has always been acquiring importance; and the administrative power ought at last to subdue the military power."—*Catechisme des Industriels*.

The present administrative power he considers as a sort of transition from the military to the industrious. At present it is obliged to make use of the military power to supply its defects, but it is making an effort to dispense with the military power. This effort, however, can never be successful, as long as industry is excluded from the supreme management. Industry is destined to perfect the administrative power, by dispensing entirely with the military power. The experience of the present system is necessary to instruct the industrious system; we are not more than ripe for the new system, as some sagely conjecture it will come as soon as we are ready. J. E. SMITH.

RELIGIOUS MORALS.—What in our preachers gives me the greatest disgust is, that they have no fixed principle with regard to morals: they draw their ideas from their text, and not from the heart. To-day they are moderate and rational, to-morrow persecutors and enthusiasts. They offer nothing but words, and it is of little consequence to them whether they contradict themselves or not, provided they make out three points. I have heard one of them pillage the Encyclopædia, and declaim against the Encyclopædists.

ON THE FORMATION OF COMMUNITIES.

REPLY TO "A FEMALE," M. C. O.

Mr. Nobody cannot conceive how "so unphilosophical" and "laboured" a writer as this fair opponent thinks him to be, can give an answer to her enquiries; besides, if, as she supposes, he knows nothing, or understands little, about a community, how is it possible he can answer them correctly? Nobody has asked several questions; now, upon the same principle as M. C. O. expects her questions to be answered, Nobody thinks, at least, *his* (having the priority) ought to be answered before he is called upon to reply. It is not, therefore, because the writer would indulge that anti-social feeling to treat females like children, as they have hitherto been treated; it is not because of her sex an answer is given; it is because the question of community is of too much importance to be extinguished, by observing the etiquette of fashionable life, that Mr. Nobody ventures to answer, not two questions, as M. C. O. calls them, but evidently five distinct queries.

1. Q.—In commencing a community, how would you act in respect to the females?

A.—The same *precisely* as with the men—perfect equality of right.

2. Q.—Are they to choose whether they will go from old society or not?

A.—Certainly, in the fullest meaning of the word choice.

3. Q.—Will they be compelled to *obey* their husbands, if their husbands are desirous and fit to enter *yours* (say not *your*; abandon these individualized views; say *a*) community?

A.—Certainly not; who can compel her? where is the power?

You will perhaps answer, then a separation will take place. Not so hasty, my good friend; it will be wise and judicious; nay, more, it must be the resolve of the first association, not to admit one man or woman, or even child above twelve, that does not consent in writing, without fear or coercion, from pure *conviction* alone, to become inmates of the first community.

4. Q.—Are the arrangements to be upon the parallelogram, or cottage system?

A.—The arrangements would be the most scientific known at the time, whether that be circular, square, or oblong. M. C. O. surely cannot understand the social system, or she would perceive "the cottage system" is a step backwards, for human beings in the social progress were first wild hunters and fishers, then shepherds, then agriculturists, forming villages, lastly, manufacturers in commercial associations or nations. The social system will not recede, like Joshua's sun, into the cottage system, but unite all that is good in the church, pastoral, agricultural and manufacturing departments, in such proportions as shall be found beneficial to the general happiness.

5. Q.—What security that such arrangements will be permanent?

A.—All the security that knowledge, aided by experience, can alone give to mundane affairs. "Rumours failures," affecting the condition of women, here require a notice, because much stress is laid upon them by my fair opponent. Has not their forlorn condition been brought on by a reckless disregard to consequences? If a socialist is *doing well* in the competitive world, is he not worse than mad to break up his establishment, sell all, and go into the first community? This, indeed, would be an indication of a weak and fevered state of mind. Let him remain in the old world, spare as much wealth from it as he can, to assist the rising community; let him, if he have a family, send them thither; his children would be well trained. Let him pay for them, the same as at an ordinary boarding-school, and thus both raise new members and assist the rising community. If their success in four or five years should be placed beyond doubt, would not such a community, so assisted, and containing his family, receive their friend and patron with open arms? Assuredly they would. In conclusion, Sir, I beg to state to my fair opponent, and your readers in general, that, until they have answered my questions, put

to them, in my reply to J. H. on Community, December 21st, 1833, in *THE CRISIS*, that I do not in fairness think I am called upon to answer any communication, even if it should come from a lady. One piece of advice, in parting, I would give to M. C. O. *that assertion is no proof*; that a writer's *thinking* a proposition to be *correct*, is no proof of its soundness. Women must reflect, compare, examine, enquire, give reasons; and then, indeed, they ought to be dignified with the title of *intelligent*.

I am, Sir, most respectfully,

MR. NOBODY.

[We are glad to see this subject discussed by our friends. As long as they do not argue for victory only, it will do themselves good; and if their own conviction is closed by the spirit of ambition in argument, others will benefit by the collision of opinion. We have no personal allusion to either party; Mr. Nobody is quite as respectful as his fair opponent, who styled his former letter a laboured production; this was quite respectful also, according to our doctrine, inasmuch as it made a labourer of the author, and ranked him amongst the working classes. Nobody's advice to the ladies is very good; but we think it would suit the lords as well. The question respecting the women is a nice question; but it is more a question of feeling than pure reason: it is a question between private affection and general benevolence; between individualism and universalism. These are both eternal principles of action; the first, however, has now the ascendancy; the second ought to have the ascendancy; but as some plants come to maturity before others, so some minds attain to the principle of universalism before others, not because these are stronger, more enlightened, more scientific, but more universal in their views and affections. Both are virtuous. In the present state of society, individualism in affection is a good feeling; it is private friendship, maternal, paternal, and fraternal love, which are all unjust to society at large, but rendered just and indispensable by the system, which gives no other hold for support (but that of private affection) to members of society. This system of individualism must be changed; but would it not be better to change it without committing any outrage upon the morals of the individual system, by rending at once the envelope of private affection? It would be better to commence with married individuals, whose partners have sentiments congenial with their own; or with unmarried individuals, who have only to consult their own feelings. When prosperity had so far crowned their efforts as to give the character of stability and progress to the new system, then we conceive that each individual should be encouraged, not to say justified, (for he is justified, even at present, by the laws of the land, and the vows of the marriage ceremony) to leave all for the kingdom of universalism, if all won't follow him. Those whose partners are willing, and those who have no partners, should be tender upon those who have unwilling partners. The latter must think differently from the former, more especially if they love their partners. As we observed above, it is a question of feeling, and the negative and the affirmative may be adopted by equally well-disposed and enlightened minds. We consider the question respecting the plan or form very unimportant; we are no monotonists, and should be very sorry to see all the different habitations of men built upon one model. Nature is infinitely variegated; and man must have variety, or he would hang himself even in heaven. A square, a circle, a parallelogram, an ellipse, and a triangle, are all elementary forms of nature, and equal in point of beauty and utility; and of these five, an infinite variety may be composed, to gratify the variety of human taste.

Society must progress in the mass or the many, not in the few. The people are the great agents of reform, and it will be effected on a large scale; any thing that small sacrifices can do, is but a trifle, except as procuring experience and facts for the body of society. Communities must begin in cities, in trades and manufactures; by combinations of intelligent workmen, continuing to prosecute their own employments, not by resorting to new ones; to leave the city, and commence digging and scraping with a spade and a hoe, is a retreat to savagism nearly; it is

abandoning all the advantages of the present advanced state of the arts and sciences, in which case the experiment is sure to fail. Science and capital (but science is only intellectual capital) are the masters of the universe. Both these belong to the cities; and there they are to be sought by the industrious classes, who may find them in abundance in a few years, if they work in large groups; but if they work individually, or in small groups, they will be poorer everlastingly.]

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We understand G. H.'s very delicate hint; we wish he had our office for a week; but, in literal reply to his request, we inform him that an article requires to be sent a week beforehand. However, some articles are more pressing than others, and those upon general subjects, can be introduced at any time. When a correspondent sends a long article on a general subject, and promises a series, we must take care, or our desk would soon be loaded. If we sometimes err in judgment in our selection, be it remembered, that "to err is human, to forgive divine."

We must defer the notice of the Westminster School till next week.

E. S.'s letter we gave in hand, but it was thrown out for want of room. We have no control over such casualties.

We defer V. C. L. to next week, when we shall introduce the whole article.

J. H. is omitted through accident.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JAN. 4.

A document has been put into our hands of a very interesting nature, addressed, as we imagine from the nature of the subject and the mode of expression, to the master manufacturers, by a deputation of the working classes, requesting the former to diminish the hours of labour, and preserve the present amount of wages. A very modest request certainly, considering the depth to which the working classes, the weavers especially, are reduced in the scale of starvation. Think of a poor creature now living upon twopence farthing per day, as this document shows to be the case with thousands, petitioning his well-fed princely employers to continue to supply him regularly with the miserable pittance, to support his existence—willing to work eight hours a-day for this small allowance; craving no more than a diminution of the hours of labour, and scarcely enjoying even the melancholy hope of having his request acceded to. It is most appalling to every sympathetic mind—but where are the sympathetic minds?—there are many pretenders to tender feelings—many fine ladies and fine gentlemen too, who can weep over an affecting novel detailing the sufferings of imaginary beings—who are shocked at the sight of blood, and scream or fall into hysterics at a living picture of distress; but what is the practical effect of all this tenderness?—They shrink from the sight of real distress, that they may luxuriate in personal comfort. They are the most ungenerous, unfeeling, unsympathetic specimens of humanity; and the poor, the *hardened* poor, who can walk with nervous fortitude through every scene

of suffering, are more tender and feeling than they.

The document proceeds as follows:—

"We have been appointed as a deputation, by our fellow-workmen, in your employ, to wait on you, and earnestly to request, that on the 1st day of March next you will have the goodness to fix eight hours per day, as the time for us to work; such eight hours to be between the hours of six o'clock in the morning and six o'clock in the evening, and that you will also agree to pay us the wages we now earn per day for the said eight hours' work.

We believe your interest, as well as our own, would be promoted by such a regulation, for it has been established by evidence that cannot be contested, given before the committee on manufactures, shipping, and commerce, in the last session of Parliament, that, in the cotton trade (and we believe a similar investigation would prove it to be the same in other trades), the master manufacturers and their workpeople received 72 per cent. less, for labour, expenses, and profit for manufacturing articles from cotton, in 1832, than they did in 1815; and that for manufacturing six leading articles of cotton manufacture, which are a fair criterion of the state of trade, the manufacturers now get an average of 30 per cent. less for labour, expenses, and profit, for producing these six leading articles, than they got in 1826, when the consumption of cotton was about 12,000 bags a-week—the consumption which it would be again reduced to by the proposed alteration. And it can be demonstrated, that in 1815, for working up 6,500 bags of cotton a-week, of 300 lbs. each, into four leading articles of cotton manufacture, the masters and their men received after the rate of 13,000,000*l.* per annum for the whole quantity, for labour, expenses, and profit; whereas in 1832, for working up 17,300 bags a-week, of 300 lbs. each, into the same four still leading articles, they only got after the rate of 10,250,000*l.* per annum, for the whole quantity, for labour, expenses, and profit; and that, too, notwithstanding the amazing increase of the number of persons engaged in this manufacture, and dependent upon it for subsistence in 1832, as compared with 1815. Besides, the time we now labour is too long to be endured, and deprives us of the opportunity of getting education, and of having that relaxation from a cessation of toil which rational beings ought to have. We respectfully wish to be informed whether you are disposed to adopt this new regulation, provided other masters in the trade agree to do the same."

It then proceeds to show, from the minutes of evidence given before the parliamentary committee on trade, manufactures, shipping, and commerce, that the condition of the working classes has been rapidly declining to the starvation point, and that every year sensibly lowers them in the scale of well being. This it does in fourteen different memorials, relative to the wages of workmen, the profits of capital, and the price of provisions. The first and second memorials respect 74 calico. The prices obtained for this article were, in 1820, 12s. 2d., and, in 1833, 6s. 4½d. The warp and weft of the former year cost 8s. 0½d., leaving 4s. 1½d. for labour, expenses, and profit. The cost of the material of the latter year is 4s. 7½d., leaving 1s. 9d. for labour and profit—a reduction of upwards of 50 per cent. in profits and wages, and of 4 per cent. since last year. In thirty hanks water twist, there is shown to be a reduction of 66 per cent. since 1818, and a reduction of 9 per cent. since

last year. In four-cut warp a reduction of 65 per cent. since 1815. For spinning twenty hanks twist a reduction 32 per cent. since 1827, and of 11½ per cent. since last year. For manufacturing fustian a reduction of 38½ per cent. since 1828, and of 13½ per cent. since last year.

These are specimens of the falling condition of industry; and sufficient proofs of the necessity of some important change of affairs. It is as necessary for the rich as the poor, for whenever the latter give vent to their impatience, (and they cannot long withhold,) the rights of property are no longer held sacred—it is only a scramble for the booty. We must have a revolution of violence, or a revolution of good policy. And we think that the rich are even more interested in resorting to mild and effective measures of reform than the poor, inasmuch as they have all to lose and the latter all to gain. We shall return to this document again next week.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

DEAR SIR,—Since my last letter, important proceedings have almost daily occurred in my route. At Manchester, missionaries were appointed, at the general meeting of delegates, to visit all the manufacturing towns in Lancashire and Cheshire, and some at a greater distance, and from many of these the most satisfactory accounts of their success have been received, and I expect speedily to hear of the proceedings of the remainder, which, I have no doubt, from my own experience in the places which I have visited, will have been equally satisfactory. I left Manchester on Thursday last week, and arrived in the evening in Sheffield on Friday evening. I met as many of the trades' union as could receive notice to be present; an explanation was given to them of our present views and intentions; these were well received, and a more numerous meeting was agreed to be called for the following evening. It met in considerable numbers, and much information as to the peculiar trade of Sheffield was elicited, and our proposed measures were much approved of. Some of the party wished me to meet them on Sunday evening, which I did, and some very interesting discussions took place, which, I trust, will go far towards introducing a spirit of real charity and kindness into the every-day transactions of these parties with each other. It is indeed to me most gratifying to witness the new spirit which now pervades these meetings of the operatives in the provincial towns, compared with that which existed only some months since, and their improved habits of temperance, both with respect to their language and manner to each other, and also their practice of drinking and smoking while business is transacted in their meetings. If the upper classes do not attend to their conduct in their public assemblies, the operatives will be soon in a condition to set them a better example than the former have often latterly exhibited when the eyes of the world were upon their proceedings. The provincial meetings of the operatives in most cases are conducted with much more kindness of manner and with greater general unanimity than the meetings of similar parties in London; but I hope this is only a temporary difference, which experi-

ence will now soon prevent being discovered. Union, kindness, and forbearance, seem to be the order of the day in all the provincial trades' unions, and this is the forerunner and certain indication of their ultimate success. A new and a correct view, I am happy to say, is also arising in the minds of many of the most liberal and enlightened of the master-manufacturers, who begin to discover that the trades' unions, wisely directed, can not only insure their own well doing and well being, but also essentially promote the best and most permanent interest of their employers.

The operatives of Sheffield were most desirous of having a general meeting of masters and men at a future day, when sufficient notice would be given, and they urged me so much to return to be present at it that I agreed to their wishes, and they were to call the meeting for Monday next. I had also some very interesting conversations with some of the leading manufacturers, and others of the most influential parties in the town, and I was much pleased with the liberal views which they expressed relative to their desire to see the rights of industry acknowledged, and the producers of wealth justly rewarded. On Monday I left Sheffield, and arrived the same day at Barnsley, the chief seat of the linen trade in England. The theatre was immediately taken, and a meeting of the trades' union called to meet me there in the evening. It was full in every part of the house, although the trades' unions charged for admission to cover their expenses of rent, light, &c. I explained the objects of the Society for Promoting National Regeneration;—it was so well received, I proposed that the audience should form itself into an auxiliary society, and, upon a show of hands, it was carried unanimously, and with the best feeling evinced from all parts of the house; and in the boxes were several of the leading people of the town. A committee of twenty-one was then elected individually to carry the objects of the society into immediate practice, and the very best spirit was evinced throughout the whole of these very interesting proceedings.

In the morning I visited several of the most considerable master manufacturers, and found many of them extremely well disposed to the operatives, acknowledging that they had been for a long period underpaid for their hard services, and expressed their wishes that some measures should be adopted to improve their condition, but added—we fear, that as long as this severe individual competition between the masters continues, we do not perceive how they can be relieved. I requested them to meet me previous to the meeting of the operatives in the evening; they did so, but a gentleman in the profession of the law hearing of the intended meeting came to it; but being totally ignorant of the subject, yet desirous of talking upon what he thought had some connexion with it, but which was wholly irrelevant to the objects of the meeting, much less progress was made than I anticipated. Yet the masters present appeared well disposed to assist in improving the condition of the working men, and I had the pleasure of being informed, by one of the most considerable of them, that he thought five or six of the principal master manufacturers would unite to form a union to act in promoting the change we contemplate in the time and wages, and in the improvement of their moral conduct, and would also assist to enable them to attain more useful and valuable know-

ledge. Indeed, I think the masters in Barnsley are, upon the whole, very favourably inclined towards their work-people;—there may be exceptions, but I am sure they are very few.

The next morning (Tuesday) I came here, and immediately communicated with the heads of the general manufacturing trades' union, and discovered there were to be two meetings held, one on each of the following days—the first of the operative builders, and the second of the general union; both chiefly to take into consideration the sufferings of those men, women, and children who were turned out of employment in Derby, solely because they were members of the union or in some way connected with it. The first I attended yesterday, when I was requested to give my views upon this subject. I did so, and it was very gratifying to find that they were accepted and acted upon by a very respectable representation of the builders' unions in Leeds; but what gave me the highest pleasure was to see the new spirit of union and extended liberality which prevailed amongst the members. Not an angry expression, or unpleasant epithet, escaped during the meeting from any one present. I am going to attend the second this evening; to-morrow I go to Huddersfield, and from thence, before Sunday, to Sheffield, to be present at the meeting called for that day. When opportunity occurs I will write again.

Your friend, ROBERT OWEN.
Ivy House, Leeds, Dec. 26, 1833.

Report of a Meeting of the Friends and Patrons of the School (lately commenced in the Institution of the Industrious Classes, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square), held in the Institution on Friday Evening, December 20, 1833;

Mr. Saull in the chair.

The Chairman commenced by stating that the advantage of training the infant mind on liberal principles was a desideratum greatly to be wished for, and of all subjects of the greatest importance, inasmuch as it lays the foundation of the character of the individual; and it is well known that early impressions or prejudices are not eradicated even in a long life. He (Mr. Saull) had found it so with himself, and had combated hard to rid himself of those feelings, and he hoped that all would take advantage of his remarks. Furthermore, you must not look to the gentry to commence a school on liberal principles, for if they did, the first thing they would do would be to put your children in livery, train them to be servants, to wait on them behind their carriages, and soldiers to fight their battles: this is what they have done, and would do again; therefore, be on your guard. He (Mr. Saull) likewise added that he would be always ready to assist, as he was deeply interested in the education of youth; inasmuch, as he intends to leave his valuable museum for the purpose of education. As no one truth can be at variance with another truth he (the chairman) had carefully examined every book before him, and thus his belief had led him into an examination of the works of nature; he had likewise invited to his geological museum all classes, rich and poor, on Thursdays, and to whom he gives explanations gratuitously. Having taken up so much of the time, he had but to hope that all who feel an interest (and all ought) in the education of children, would not keep back, but by their assistance form a school, so as to enable the working man's child to receive such education as to make him moral, intelligent, virtuous, and happy.

Mr. Grafton brought up the following report:

"Of all the circumstances that influence the destinies of mankind, none so much demand our

most serious consideration as the training of the infant mind. This truth is now so generally admitted, as to render any arguments unnecessary. The experience of past ages, the history of all nations, and the testimony of every day's observation demonstrate the all-powerful influence of early education. Those days are now gone by when ignorance was considered the best safeguard of virtue, and knowledge the greatest curse we could bestow upon our children. A new light has burst upon the moral world, and promised to shed its rays upon the rising generation; to fertilize minds which the ignorance of our predecessors compelled to lie barren. But whilst the bigot and sectarian are assiduously taking advantage of this, the new light, the philanthropic universalist seems to be almost ignorant of the power of early education; whilst the powerful of the land are securing private tutors, and establishing colleges for their children, military schools for their soldiers, and each sect and party its infant school; the socialists alone have no school. Such were the facts which presented themselves, when Mr. Portbury and myself determined to establish a rational school for the industrious classes, in which their children might receive a sound education unmingled with the peculiar dogmas of any party. With these views we applied to the managing committee for the use of this institution, which was readily granted.

"On the 28th of October we commenced with thirty pupils, and in less than three weeks more than one hundred names had been entered. We had, however, many difficulties to contend with, having but few books, and very little apparatus necessary for so extensive an establishment; the weekly charge being but 4d. and 6d., and half of that in notes. The alteration which commenced at the same time, by pulling down two of the walls, created so much confusion, that it was impossible to maintain order. The coldness of the weather (having no stoves) required that the children should take exercise; most of the pupils had been so irrationally trained, without any ideas of order, that we were compelled (not without reluctance) to dismiss some as an example to the rest; we were also obliged to suspend that most important branch of education, viz., gymnastics, because it disturbed the officers of the Bazaar. Owing to want of funds, other obstacles still remained, our only apparatus being pieces of wood for lessons in geometry, a few balls for arithmetic, and a piece of chalk with which we gave lessons of the floor, together with a little infant school apparatus. We experienced considerable inconvenience from the mixture of the sexes, we therefore separated them. To secure to the school the advantages of needle work, we accepted the assistance of a female, who now takes charge of the infants also. From the variety of dispositions, and the difference of abilities, we had another difficulty, viz., classification, which we had almost completed when we received a communication from the committee of management, informing us that the school interfered with the business of the Bazaar. We had now been four weeks, and had registered one hundred and twenty, several of whom had made visible progress; when we left the Bazaar, about fifty followed us, but not being able to accommodate so many; we were compelled to part with about twenty; with the remaining thirty we have still kept the school, although at great disadvantage to ourselves."

Mr. Peel moved the reception of the report in a powerful and eloquent manner, and was ably seconded by

Mr. Emery, who appealed to her sex, and more especially to mothers, in the most impressive language, exhorting them to exert their influence to procure for their children a rational education.

Mr. Nichols and Mr. Courtenay, in supporting the motion, regretted the removal of the school from the Exchange; they trusted that the society

would second the efforts of the two individuals who had so greatly exerted themselves; they would subscribe each an annual sum of two guineas to a school connected with and supported by the Association of the Industrious Classes. The motion was then put and carried unanimously. The following rules and regulations were then read:—

CONSTITUTION.—1. Every pupil shall be encouraged to express his or her opinion.

2. No creed or dogma shall be imposed upon any.

3. Admitted facts alone shall be placed before the pupils, from which they shall be allowed to draw their own deductions.

4. No distinction whatever shall exist; but all be treated with equal kindness.

5. Neither praise nor blame, merit nor demerit, rewards nor punishments, shall be awarded to any: kindness and love to be the only ruling powers.

6. Both sexes shall have equal opportunities of acquiring useful knowledge.

ROUTINE.—Gymnastic exercises, spelling, reading, writing, grammar, geography, Latin, French, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, and the other branches of mathematics; and, as soon as possible, music and dancing.

TEACHERS.—1. To observe that the strictest order prevails.

2. To maintain among the pupils the best social feelings.

3. To create the best possible circumstances for the formation of the best moral, intellectual, and physical characters.

4. To visit on alternate weeks the parents of absentees.

HOURS.—Morning, from nine until twelve. Afternoon, from two until four.

GOVERNMENT.—1. To be vested in the hands of a committee of ten, chosen by ballot from the parents and honorary subscribers; five males and five females.

2. That 2s. 6d. per quarter do constitute an honorary subscriber.

3. That a meeting of the parents and honorary subscribers be held monthly, to receive the report of the committee.

4. That at the monthly meeting five of the committee do retire, and five be chosen to fill their places.

TERMS.—Under eight years of age, 4d. per week. Above eight years of age, 6d. per week; half cash and half notes.

TEACHERS.—Shall keep a correct account of receipts and expenditure, and lay the same before the committee; and when the balance shall exceed 30s. per week for each teacher, the same to be disposed of by the committee.

An Evening School for Adults will commence as soon as possible. Names will be taken from those who wish to attend such school.

The accounts of receipt and expenditure were then produced.

RECEIPTS.			
	£.	s.	d.
Donations	1	14	6
Subscriptions	1	12	6
Loan	1	0	0
Schooling & Books, Nov. 4	£0	12	7½
Ditto	11	0	16 6
Ditto	18	1	3 5
Ditto	25	0	16 1½
Ditto, Dec. 2	0	11	2½
Ditto	9	0	16 2½
Ditto	16	0	6 2
Evening ditto		1	6 9
		10	16 0
NOTES.			
Loans		2	6 0
Schooling and Books		1	16 3
Evening School		0	7 9
		4	9 11

EXPENDITURE.	
To books, slates, pencils, paper, pens, ink, &c.	£3 8 2½
To teachers	7 7 9½
Balance cash	10 16 0
Notes—To books, slates, pencils, paper, pens, ink, &c.	2 17 4
To teachers	1 9 6
In hand	0 2 1

Balance notes 4 9 11
A committee of four was then appointed to look out for suitable premises, and report thereon at the next meeting. Adjourned.

THE DERBY SUBSCRIPTION LIST.

	£	s.	d.
Sent from the Pioneer office, December 12th and 19th	1	0	6
Dec. 15.—At the National Equitable Labour Exchange, Charlotte-street—			
Mr. Cobham	1	0	0
Baame	0	5	0
Sundry Donations	0	7	3
Weekly Subscriptions	0	9	9
A few Mechanics, by J. C. O.	2	8	0
Sundries, per Miss Horn	0	5	0
— Row	0	2	0
E. Morris and Shopmates	0	11	6½
Collection at Door	5	2	1
Dec. 22.—National Equitable Labour Exchange—			
Weekly Subscriptions	0	10	5
Sundry Donations	0	11	6
Dec. 23.—National Equitable Labour Exchange—			
Public Meeting, Dr. Wade in the chair:			
A few Brothers of the Carpenters	0	10	6
A few Mechanics, per J. C. O. 2d sub.	0	3	6
Sunday Evening Society, Poland-street	0	11	0
Dr. Wade	1	0	0
Three or four Carpenters	0	4	0
A few Tailors, meeting at Mr. Turner's, Oxford-market	0	9	6
A few Carvers and Gilders	0	3	4½
The Workmen at Messrs. Bramahs	1	0	6
Mr. Hetherington	1	0	0
Warner, for the West-end Boot and Shoemakers	1	0	6
A few Friends, per Warner	0	11	1
P. Ladgate	0	5	0
The Coopers at Morrison's, Wapping	0	8	8
Messrs. Cleave and Watson, proceeds of sale of pamphlets at the Meeting	1	16	6
Warner, Boot and Shoemakers, 2d subscription	0	10	1
Collection at Doors	6	18	9
Sundry Donations	0	17	6
J. C. O.	0	4	0
W. D. Saull, weekly subscription	0	2	6
Mr. Dixon, a few Brushmakers of Barbican	0	6	4
Carpenters, per Mr. Burnell	0	6	0
Jyers, per Mr. Balcher	0	3	6
Swellers, per Mr. Thomas	0	1	8
Law, Godfrey, and Friend	0	1	4
Dec. 29.—National Equitable Labour Exchange*	11	8	5
Received at the Pioneer Office, London, and forwarded to Mr. Colmibell, Agent for the Pioneer, Derby: from the Unionists in the employ of Messrs. Riders, Union-st., Borough, and a few Friends	0	15	9
Dec. 20. Mr. Rogers	0	0	6
— 21. Mr. Bromley and Friends	0	1	7
Even Working Men, by H. R.	0	3	6
Hunter	0	1	0
Friend by Ditto	0	1	0
the Leather Japanners	0	4	3

Carried forward 44 4 10

* Subscribers' Names in this day's Pioneer.

Brought forward £44 4 10
Carpenters, per B. S. L. 1 3 3
Men at Mr. Thurell's, Cabinet Manufacturer, Poland-house, Poland-street 0 8 0
Branch Lodge, No. 5, of the F. S. O. C., held at No. 50, High-street, Marylebone, London, for the Brave but Oppressed Men, Women, and Children of Derby—A counter-shot from the battery of Right against Might 2 10 4
Members of the 34th Class of the National Union of the Working Classes 0 6 0
The Smiths' Union, by George Tomey 2 10 0
The following sums have been received at Birmingham, up to Monday week last:—

Pearl Button Makers	3	0	0
Japanners, Wolverhampton, Bilston, and Birmingham	6	7	0
Messrs. Walthews' Stonemasons	1	0	6
" " Bricklayers	0	10	0
" " Carpenters	0	15	0
" " Sawyers	0	3	0
Glass Cutters	2	8	3
Coopers and Boxmakers	0	8	0
Shoemakers' Society	1	0	0
Turned Chairmakers	4	0	0
Frass Founders	4	12	10
Candlestick Makers	1	0	0
Harness Platers	0	7	1
Silver plate-workers	0	13	4
Freeth and Jennings's Japanners	0	7	3
United Lodge, Red Cow	0	11	6
Burton's Manufactory	0	13	0
Cabinet-makers	10	0	0
Thomas and Daniel Brown	6	13	6
Mr. Bradley, jun.	1	0	0
Chapel	2	9	3½
Whilpeard's Factory	0	8	6
Small Subscriptions	15	5	2
From Leamington	5	0	0
Coventry	13	10	0
Birmingham, remitted to Derby			
December 20	30	0	0
Wolverhampton	21	14	0
The following sums have been sent to Derby since the commencement of the men being turned out:—			
From Nottingham	28	0	0
Hiockley, Leicestershire	20	0	0
Sheep-head	10	0	0
Quorndon	10	0	0
Melbourne, Derbyshire	2	4	0
Castle Donnington	1	10	0
The Derbyshire district, in contributions from members, and donations	94	0	0
Leek	10	0	0
Quorndon, 2d payment	5	0	0
Total	349	13	7

Since the above account, delegates have arrived at Derby from Worcester with 50*l.*; Sheffield, 3*l.* 14*s.*; Banbury, 5*l.*; of which we shall furnish a detailed account in next week's Pioneer.—All communications to be made to the Derby Committee, Town Hall Tavern, Birmingham.

HAMPDEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Our attention has been called to the following extract from *Tait's Magazine* of December, respecting the above recent publication:—

"This singular work has reached us at the very last hour, when neither time nor space remain for the serious notice to which their merits, and still more their purpose, entitle the 'Colloquies on the Errors and Improvements of Society,' which is the second or explanatory title. The framework is that of a novel, that universal medium through which Mrs. Hannah More has taught Church of Englandism, Miss Martineau Political Economy, and Mrs. Margaret Dods Cookery; the description might be more accurate if we said the frame-work is something between the serious

novel and Dr. Southey's late work, *Colloquies with Sir Thomas More*, &c. Here, however, all the actors and speculators are living men. Hampden, the hero, is the son of a very wealthy baronet of old descent and high Tory principles. The history of the youth bears, in some points, a close affinity to that of Shelley. He and two other young men, knights-errant in benevolence and philosophy, set out in London on a crusade to improve society; they discuss their opinions and the 'New Views' with most of the leading minds and authoritative writers of the day. They seek and obtain encounters with Dr. Chalmers, Malthus, Jeffrey, Wilberforce, Dr. Howley, the late Bishop of London, Southey, Lord Brougham, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, Mr. Peel, &c. In short, we have the real adventures, letters, and conversations of Mr. Owen, of New Lanark, during his indefatigable efforts for humanity. More we cannot at present say of this remarkable work, save that it is brought out in a style of great elegance and even magnificence."

[The writer of the letter then proceeds to state that it is evident that the book is attributed to Mr. Owen, who has often declared that he never would publish an anonymous work, and requires from him a disavowal of the authorship. This we can safely give in Mr. Owen's name; but still we cannot agree with our correspondent in thinking that the authorship is imputed to Mr. Owen. It, of course, is imputed to a disciple, as the book abounds with his doctrine. The work we have not yet got possession of, or we should have alluded to it before this.—Ed.]

BIBLE ANECDOTE.—When Bonaparte was at peace with all the great powers of Europe, and the country, consequently happily engaged in a just and necessary war with them all, one of the Christian Missionaries, (whether of the Parliamentary established church, or whether belonging to one of the more pious tribes of the hundred sects of seceders from that holy church I know not,) having arrived at China, and obtained an audience of one of the chief Mandarins, requested (after a suitable preface) his acceptance of a very elegantly bound Bible, assuring the Mandarin the study of this book would not only promote peace and goodwill, but also produce friendship and brotherly love betwixt the two nations. The honest Mandarin, with a look of ineffable contempt, put back the book with a countenance that almost petrified this pious ambassador from the land of holiness, and with a dignified air assured this pious vendor of holiness that such a book could be of no use to him or his countrymen; for although it was stated to produce peace and goodwill, the actual situation of our country, England, proved it was of no efficacy or avail there, where war was eternally raging, and when at this moment all the principal nations of Europe trading hence were shut out from the ports of China by the British men of war. "No, no," says the Mandarin, "you do not practise what that book inculcates; I am, therefore, satisfied you are not to be believed, when you assure us you believe in such a book; and what ignorant blockheads you must take us Chinese to be, to suppose you can make us believe that which by the whole conduct of your lives gives the lie direct to your professions. Go back to your own country, and tell them to stay at home, and cultivate the arts of peace as we do in China, instead of travelling about conspiring against the peace and happiness of quiet, inoffensive nations, who travel not from home as you do, to persuade us to adjure the faith of our forefathers, and instead of which you would inoculate us with the pious and holy principles of those chosen people of the Lord, who are eternally quarrelling, making war upon, and murdering each other." The poor crest-fallen missionary let fall his pious pate, and like Hamlet's ghost, suddenly disappeared with his Holy Bible.

MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENT.

NOTICE.—All member of the Labour Exchange Association who do not belong to any of the already organized bodies, are requested to send in their names, trades, and addresses to the Secretary of the Miscellaneous Department, at the Office, 31, Crown-street, Soho; or to the Community Coffee-house, John-street; in order that they may be alphabetically arranged. And for the further information of the members of this department, the Committee beg to state that they have divided the metropolis into the following classifications, and also solicit the aid of kind friends in the various districts, for the purpose of collecting the Exchange-ment, books for which purpose may be had on application to the Secretary.

First division—Oxford-street, Tottenham-court-road; Second division—the New-road and to the north of it; Third division—Edgeware-road west, and Bayswater; Fourth division—Crown-street, Oxford-street, Park-lane, Piccadilly, Coventry-street, Prince's-street, Compton-street; Fifth division—Westminster, comprising Piccadilly, St. Martin's-lane, Whitehall, Millbank, Pimlico, and Chelsea; Sixth division—Lambeth; Seventh division—Borough; Eighth division—South of Holborn, Farringdon-street, Bridge-street, Strand, and east of St. Martin's-lane; Ninth division—Holborn, North of Tottenham-court-road, East of City-road, West of Barbican, Chiswell-street, Newgate-street and Farringdon-street; Tenth division—Bethnal-green district—East of City-road, including Shoreditch and Hackney, bounded on the south by Church-street, Spitalfields; Eleventh division—Whitechapel district—Church-st. Spitalfields, Whitechapel-road, and neighbourhood bounded on the west by the City; Twelfth division—Maiden-lane, Pentonville-road, Islington, and Newington; Thirteenth division—South of City, Snow-hill, Long-lane, Chiswell-street, bounded by the Whitechapel district, on the east by Farringdon street, and on the south by the Thames; Fourteenth division—Kensington district.

W. R. Wood, Secretary.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT, ENDING DEC. 21.
Deposits . . 9179s. 0s.—Exchanges, 7216s. 4s.

RECEIPTS.		CASH & NOTES.		PAYMENTS.	
Provisions . .	18 13 0	Provisions . .	9 8 6		
Grocery, &c. .	32 11 9	Grocery, &c. .	29 4 8		
Coal	3 3 0	Festival . . .	14 4 11		
Festival . . .	30 13 0	Lectures . . .	3 2 0		
Lectures . . .	13 8 6	Rent	10 0 0		
Rent, Sabs. &c.	1 6 4	Wages . . .	25 11 0		
Commission .	20 0 8	Charges . . .	14 5 2		

119 16 3 105 16 4
Stock, goods on hand . . 56,785s. 1s.
Notes now in circulation 34,275 4

Excess Stock over Notes 22,509 3

Audited by Managing Committee,
JAMES BALLS, Chairman.

W. HOARE, Superintendent.

NOTICES.

Mr. SLOANE will lecture on Astronomy, Chemistry, &c., with appropriate Apparatus, in the Institution, Burton-street, Brompton-crescent, every Wednesday evening, at Eight o'Clock.

Tickets for the Course 6s. Single 6d.
Gallery, 2s. 6d.; Ditto 3d.

SHOPKEEPER.—A Correspondent, who signs himself "A Shopkeeper wishing to learn some useful Trade," is informed, that if he will address a letter to A. B., at Mr. Robins's, No. 9, Bear Garden, New Park-street, Southwark, he possibly may hear of something that will suit him.

THE MONTHLY TEA PARTY will take place on Sunday Afternoon, at Three o'Clock, at the Institution, Charlotte-street.

SOCIAL COMMUNITY LAND FUND.—A Public Meeting of the Subscribers will take place on Sunday Evening, Jan. 4th, at the Rose and Crown, Colville-court. Chair taken at Six.

SOCIAL ANOMALY.—In proportion as nations have become great and powerful, and have made advances in wealth and acquirements, the mass of misery, corruption, and rankling at their base, has also continued progressively to be enlarged, until it may be truly said, that the foundations of society are laid in wretchedness, and that there is no addition made to the superstructure of luxury and of wealth, without a more than corresponding enlargement of the sphere of misery below.—MUDIE.

TITLES AND NOBILITY.—There are a set of men in all the States of Europe, who assume, from their infancy, a pre-eminence independent of their moral character. The attention paid them, from the moment of their birth, gives them the idea that they are formed for command; they soon learn to distinguish themselves as a distinct species, and being secure of a certain rank and station, take no pains to make themselves worthy of it. To this institution we owe so many indifferent ministers, ignorant magistrates, and bad generals.—Abbe Raynal.

THE RIGHT OF VOTING.—Want of property is no proof of wanting industry, talents, or virtue. Then why should a deficiency of fortune annihilate a man's political consequence? If an individual be without property, and not supported by public or private benefactions, he must, unless a robber, be considered indigent. But a man of property has no such assurance in his favour. A poor man, so circumstanced, has therefore a much better right to vote than a rich man, on the mere account of contributing to the state.—Ensor.

The improvement of reason has on the happiness of man an influence which the heart of the most subtle sophister cannot invalidate. From that only period, knowledge is susceptible of increase, and the amelioration and happiness of a man has no other scale of proportion than that very knowledge; for can there be a system more dangerous, more false, than that which would be founded on an opposite principle?—Rochan.

BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS, a pleasant, safe, and effectual cure for every description of Gout and Rheumatism, are recommended to the afflicted with a confidence arising from experience; are one of the valuable results of the improved state of Medical Science, and the only efficient remedy ever discovered for these excruciating Disorders. In Gout, Rheumatic Gout, and acute Rheumatism, these Pills will have a most wonderful effect in most cases, giving relief from the intolerable pains in one or two hours; and one box will frequently carry off the attack in two or three days; even where the patient has usually kept his bed for as many weeks, and sometimes months. They are equally certain in Lumbago, Pains in the Head or Face, frequently treated as the Tooth-ache. Rheumatism of long standing will be perfectly cured by a slight degree of perseverance in the use of these Pills, which require neither confinement nor attention during their use; and the continued decided approbation sent unsolicited to the Proprietor, from all parts of the kingdom, and from all classes of society, fully warrants the assurance that no person subject to these disorders will, after a trial, ever be without them.—Sold by Thomas Prout, 299, Strand, London, seven doors from Temple Bar; and, by his appointment, by Bellby and Co., Birmingham; Stoby, St. Ann's-square, Manchester; Rennie, Lord-street, Liverpool; and all other Medicine Vendors through the kingdom.

MARRIAGE.—As Princes marry by proxy, they cannot be an evil in marrying by public. An Owenite, and Communal Socialist, about 40, intends to join heart and hand with a Female about his own age; she must possess property settled nominally upon herself, of not less than £50. per Annum. Respected and connected as he is by relatives and acquaintance of old society, although himself for years a decided Owenite and Socialist, privately as they have been enjoyed, have literally turned friends into enemies, is desirous of going out from old society, (wretched as in the majority it is) which can only be effected by such a union. His connections, &c., are interesting, and for past years circumstances will be explained, "Transparent as the icicle." His manner diffident, habits moral and temperate; in person and profession considered "very respectable," judgment extensive, at the same time is a non-producer; his interesting family (three) are bees, are out, and can nearly provide for themselves. The most implicit confidence and delicacy. Address, post-paid, B.C.Y., at 378, Strand.

[We have given this exactly as we received it in manuscript. It is so unique and original, in its way, that we were sorry to prune it, though permitted. The person we believe is serious, and of respectable appearance. We recommend the advertisement to the consideration of our fifty-pounders, who are not exactly beyond the period of gestation and production; for perhaps there is another hive of bees wanted, as he has the singular faculty of bringing forth bees, without being himself a bee. Some may think it unusual to make a money bargain of the match; but it is done upon the true principles of liberty and equality. He wants his partner to be independent of himself, that she may be "FREE." No Socialist can object to such a principle: it is the true doctrine of the emancipation of woman. He does not say whether it is to be a moral or an immoral marriage; nor whether the female is to be handsome or tolerably good-looking. There are only three conditions: forty years, fifty pounds, and womanhood; virginity, we suppose, is not necessary—no Socialist could insist upon it.]

In 1 vol. 8vo., price 4s. 6d., bds., or in 16 Numbers price 3d. each.

ANTICHRIST, or Christianity Reformed; being a series of Discourses written and delivered by the Rev. J. E. SMITH, M.A.; in which is demonstrated from the Scriptures, in opposition to the prevailing opinion of the whole religious world, that evil and good are from one source; Devil and Good one Spirit; and that the one is merely manifested to make perfect the other.

Of whom also may be had
VOLNEY'S RUINS OF EMPIRES,
In a neat Pocket Volume, price 2s. 6d. boards, or
in 14 Numbers, price 2d. each.
Now publishing in Weekly Numbers, price Three-halfpence each,
Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

THE THIRTY-FOURTH SOCIAL FESTIVAL will be held on MONDAY EVENING next, January 6, at the Institution of the Industries, Clarendon-street, Fitzroy-square.—On which evening a Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert will take place, and the Amusements will be extensively increased.

Shortly will be published,
NEW CHRISTIANITY, by ST. SIMON. Illustrated with a Coloured Engraving, representing a Female in the St. Simonian costume; translated into English by the Rev. J. Smith, M.A. Price One Shilling.

B. D. Cousins, Crisis Office.

Mr. Detrosier will lecture on Tuesday evening.

Printed and published by B. D. COUSINS, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields; and at 378, Strand.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, JANUARY 5.

Mr. Owen lectured.

He commenced by stating that the public newspapers had begun to find fault with his proceedings, for the first time. He said that the present administration was, no doubt, ignorant of what took place between him and the government before they came into office; but that he would demonstrate, from the memorials which he had before him, that none of the governments of Europe or America had any good cause to complain of his conduct, since he had in an official manner presented documents before them, containing the same views which he now presented to the public, and foreshowing the results which were now beginning to manifest themselves.

Memorial of Robert Owen, of New Lanark, to the Governments of Europe and America.

"The memorialist has devoted the last thirty years of his life to the study and practice of political economy, and by permitting practice in all cases to correct theory, he has attained the most important results for the well-being of society.

"In consequence of the numberless benefits which the knowledge thus acquired is calculated to give to the inhabitants of every country, the memorialist is desirous of making it known, in the shortest time, to those who govern the civilized world, and to the public. He therefore presents memorials on the subject to the governments of Europe and America.

"The memorialist is not influenced to this proceeding by partiality or prejudice for or against any class, sect, party, or country. He views the whole human race as men created originally with the same general faculties and qualities, though varied in degree, and trained by circumstances over which society has now a complete control, to despise, hate, and oppose each other, even to death; although the truth is now clear by which with more ease society may train them to esteem, and love, and aid each other.

"Nor yet has the memorialist been actuated to the conduct which he adopts by a desire for wealth, for popularity, for honours, or for fu-

ture fame:—to him these already appear the playthings of infants.

"But he is induced to act thus, because he can show the causes which perpetually generate misery in human society, and also develop the means by which, without injury to any, those causes may be gradually, and at no very distant period, effectually removed. To witness this change in part, or, if that shall not be permitted, to know that it must soon commence, and rapidly proceed, is his reward, and it is already secured to him.

"Under these circumstances, the memorialist claims, not that kind of attention which is usually given to ordinary questions of policy; but he asks for the devotion of the minds of the parties whom he addresses, that they may comprehend subjects not yet open to common capacities, and which involve all the valuable interests of society.

"For a period has arrived in which a greater change in human affairs will be forced on the world than the world has yet witnessed; but in all its extent the change will be highly beneficial to every individual, and to all states.

"It is a period when the errors which have hitherto perplexed mankind are about to be unravelled, and in consequence the obstacles which stood in the way of human improvement will be removed.

"The immediate causes which make this change certain and necessary, are the overwhelming effects of a new scientific power, and the rapidly increasing knowledge of all classes of men. The former will soon render human labour of little avail in the creation of wealth, while the latter will make evident to the people the absolute necessity which has thus arisen for them to give a different direction to their powers, and will inform them also how the change is to be effected.

"To this day the means of consumption, or of obtaining the necessities of life by the working classes, have been acquired solely through the medium of their labour; the value of which the new power has already much diminished; and the certain consequences of the undirected progress of this power will be, to reduce the exchangeable value of manual labour, until it falls below the means of procuring a wretched subsistence for any large proportion of the working

classes, while the remainder of these must be of starved out existence.

"Such is the nature of the contest which has already continued for some time, and which now exists in full activity between scientific power and manual labour; between knowledge and ignorance; but no one, who comprehends any thing of the subject, can for one moment doubt the result.

"It is presumed, that the Powers thus addressed cannot desire an increase to the miseries of the people; while, in consequence, new dangers to every state must continually arise on every side.

"On these grounds solely the memorialist requests attention and co-operation.

"He is now ready to communicate the full details of these important subjects to any or all the Powers whom he addresses; and if those details shall appear on examination to be derived from facts and experience, as he presumes they will be found, the requisite measures to stop the progress of the existing distress among the working classes may be adopted by the respective governments, before the period shall be past when the combined extended sufferings and knowledge of the people will permit the requisite time for calm deliberation, &c.

"Frankfort, 20th Sept., 1818."

Extract from the Memorial addressed to the Allied Powers, assembled in Congress, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818.

"Under the existing arrangements, in all countries, the mass of the people derive their subsistence through the nominal value of their labour, and which rises and falls on the common commercial principle of supply and demand.

"This arrangement served the purpose in a tolerable degree, while wealth was produced chiefly by manual labour. But it has been shown that, latterly, a power of production, unlimited in extent, and which scarcely consumes at all, has been introduced; that it has already created a most unfavourable disproportion between the demand for, and supply of manual labour; and in its undirected progress this disproportion will go on increasing. As long, however, as manual labour continues to be thus depressed, the mass of the people, who

derive their subsistence solely from that source, must be subject to poverty and misery; while a few, not nearly one in one thousand of the population of the world, will be in possession of accumulated wealth, which under those circumstances, must equally destroy their happiness. They would be perpetually involved in the opposition of evil passion and struggle, which must arise in such a lamentable state of society.

"It is not indeed possible, with the knowledge now in the world, and which is daily advancing, that such a state of society can long exist; the overwhelming strength of knowledge and interest on one side will render all contest vain, and the folly of contest must be severely felt.

"No one, therefore, can for a moment doubt that it is the interest of each individual, in every rank and in all countries, that judicious measures should be adopted, with the least delay, to secure those beneficial results in practice. Nor can it be doubted that, with the hourly increase of knowledge in many parts of Europe and America, the period can be distant when it will appear to be the interest of all, that these ameliorations should be speedily effected.

"Thus has your memorialist given preliminary explanations of the three general results, stated in the Appendix to the Memorial, addressed to the governments of Europe and America. He submits these explanations to satisfy Congress that he has had much valuable experience on these subjects, which he has brought before them; that he understands them thoroughly to their foundation, and upon that knowledge he now restates that all countries possess the means, and many the most ample, to give riches, good habits, and dispositions, and useful learning and intelligence, to all their inhabitants.

"That the practical measures to affect these important purposes are unknown to the governments and people; otherwise, as the benefits to each would be beyond estimate, they would speedily carry them into execution.

"That your memorialist is desirous of developing these measures in the most minute detail to Congress, and to the governments of Europe and America, that they may take the lead in directing, under the established order of things, those changes which alone can relieve the world from the practical evils of the present system, which is experienced to be so productive of error and misery, that every one exclaims something must be done, though no one has attempted to explain what should be done.

"That your memorialist is most desirous of cordially uniting the governments and people in those measures, which he is ready to prove ought now to be put in practice for the interests of both.

"That he has hitherto, except in part, withheld this knowledge from the people, because he has been afraid they would act upon it, in their present neglected and unprepared state, with too much precipitancy to benefit themselves or others. He still withholds it from them, until he shall discover that they shall use it calmly and temperately for their advantage, without having the desire of applying it to the injury of any class, sect, party, or individual. This period, however, for many reasons, he considers to be rapidly drawing near, and he will patiently wait its arrival," &c.

"I have thus given them sixteen years," said Mr. O., "to study these measures; they have refused to do so, and the people, long-deprived and neglected, have resolved to adopt these measures themselves.

"I told them, that either machinery must be stopped in its progress, or the population must emigrate, or starve; both of these results have already appeared."

Mr. Owen then gave an account of his journey in the northern provinces of England, during which he visited the Trades' Unions in Worcester, Birmingham, Sheffield, the Potteries, Barns-

ley, Leeds, Huddersfield, and Derby; in all of which places he was well received, and succeeded in persuading several of the masters that the proceedings of the men were perfectly justifiable and consistent with the interest of both parties. The masters of Derby, who had a conference of several hours with him, passed a vote of thanks to him for his exertions in behalf (of both parties, we suppose). The men of Derby also passed a vote of congratulation and thanks, of which the following is a copy:—

"Repolved, that this Committee, highly appreciating the indefatigable exertions of Robert Owen, do manifest their sense of his unparalleled exertions in behalf of the industrious classes, by giving, according to the custom of the old world, a hearty vote of congratulation on the wide-spreading influence of his principles, and of thanks for his exertions at the present time in aid of the oppressed operatives of Derby.

"By order of the Committee,
"Jan. 4, 1834. "T. P. ROBINSON, Sec."

Many of the masters are prepared to adopt the eight hours' system on the 1st of March. The following letter from Bradford, which appeared in the *Leeds Mercury*, will prove the possibility of the measure being to a certain extent carried into effect, if the masters had only the will to adopt it.

"TO THE EDITORS.

"GENTLEMEN,—On Saturday last, the children employed in the extensive works of John Wood, Esq., were unexpectedly informed by their benevolent employer that he should require their attendance during the next three months of winter not sooner than eight o'clock in the morning (six o'clock being the usual time at the mills in Bradford); at the same time they were told that he should not require their attendance later than usual at night, and that no abatement would be made of their wages.

"To mark their grateful sense of such humane and just conduct, the children and their overlookers met at half-past seven on the Monday morning, before their new working hour, and fervently presented their thanks to God. Two of their overlookers conducted their worship, and, amid a solemn stillness, implored the blessing of God upon their kind employer.

"After this, a letter to Mr. Wood, written by one of the factory youths, was read, and approved by the children, who formed a deputation to present it to their master, and with which he expressed himself both affected and gratified.

"The next evening the parents of the children arranged a meeting among themselves, and returned their thanks. How delightful it is when the employer and his people thus learn to feel a mutual kindness and regard! How much suffering will thus be spared to five hundred youths during the next three months!

"It is said the other factory children who regularly begin at six o'clock all winter through, are not a little 'dissatisfied!' There is a very obvious remedy for this complaint, and the only one likely to be effectual. Let the *Christian* masters 'go and do likewise.'

"Bradford, Nov. 27, 1833."

Mr. Owen concluded by an appeal to the Unions of the South, to exert themselves in the cause of reform, or they would soon be outstripped by their Northern brethren. In reply to a question from a member of the Union, he stated, that part of the money raised in behalf of the men at Derby was employed in giving them immediate support, but if an accommodation was not immediately effected between the masters and them, they would be set to work, and one of the masters had already offered them his factory at a reasonable rent to begin with. One poor family of the strikers would have died of famine, if they had not been immediately relieved. The following is a letter from Derby to Mr. Owen:—

Derby, Dec. 16th, 1833.

SIR,—Your character is so well known as a friend to the working classes, that I consider any apology unnecessary when I am addressing you on their behalf. The operatives of Derby, to the amount of 800, joined the Trades' Union, for which the masters threw them out of work, and refuse to let them return unless they will withdraw from the Union, and sign a declaration not only to that effect, but that they will not contribute in any way to the support of those that are in. The men with indignation refused to comply with such unjust and tyrannous demands; when the masters actually threw out of employ every woman and child in any way related or connected with any man in the Union; and there are now upwards of 1800 in want of the common necessities of life, as the parochial authorities deny to all any relief, in fact they have stopped the pay of widows, who had been receiving regular weekly pay, because they had children in the Union.

I hope you will not consider I am asking too much, when I urge you to advocate, and to use every exertion with the working classes of London to take up our cause, and to give us every possible assistance in this severe struggle of might against right, and capital versus labour. Feeling confident that I am not soliciting in vain,

I remain, yours respectfully,

JOHN HALL

Pheasant, Bridge-street.

DR. CHALMERS.

We insert the following specimen of philosophico-heretico-Christian rhapsody, which appeared in the *Worcester Journal*, and was intended to make a powerful impression on the public mind, in exposing the "vapid sophistry both in morals and economies of a pretended social reformer." It is from Dr. Chalmers's *Bridgewater Treatise*, and we place "check by jowl" with it another extract, which was not inserted in the *Worcester Journal*, and not taken from the *Bridgewater Treatise*, but from a sermon lately published by the same learned divine, from which it appears that the Doctor has been converted since the *Bridgewater Treatise* was written; or at least that he takes fits of new and old Christianity, and writes on both sides of the question. This is fair, and what we should call a just balance; so that the Rev. Doctor, in a fit of new Christianity, maybe very effectually employed to refute the vapid sophistry of the same Doctor in a fit of old Christianity. It is war within; the new man fighting with the old man of the heart.

Speaking of the harmony which the God of Nature has established between the private affections of our nature and general benevolence, the learned author observes:—

"Such is the mechanism of human society as it comes direct from the hand of Nature or of Nature's God. But many have been the attempts of human wisdom to mend or to meddle with it. *Cosmopolitism* in particular has endeavoured to substitute a sort of universal citizenship in place of the family affections, regarding them as so many disturbing forces; because, operating only as incentives to a partial or particular benevolence, they direct the aim from that which should, it is contended, be the object of every enlightened philanthropist, the general and greatest good of the whole. It is thus that certain transcendental speculatists would cut asunder all the special affections of our nature, in order that men, set at large from the ties and duties of the domestic relationship, might be at liberty to prosecute a more magnificent and godlike career of virtue; and in every single action, have respect, not to the well-being of the individual, but to the well-

being of the species. And thus, also, friendship and patriotism have been stigmatised along with the family affections, as so many narrow-minded virtues, which, by their distracting influence, seduce men from that all-comprehensive virtue, whose constant study being the good of the world, a happy and regenerated world, it is the fond imagination of some, would be the result of its universal prevalence among men. *Fortunately, nature is too strong for this speculation, which, therefore, has only its full being in the reveries or the pages of those who, in authorship, may well be termed the philosophical novelists of our race.* But, beside the actual strength of those special propensities in the heart of man, which no generalization can overrule, there is an utter impotency in human means, or human expedients, for carrying their hollow, their heartless generalization into effect. Now there is nothing which so sets off the superior skill of one artist as the utter failure of every other artist in his attempts to improve upon it; and so the failure of every philanthropic or political experiment which proceeds upon the distrust of *Nature's strong and urgent and general affections*, may be regarded as an impressive while experimental demonstration for the matchless wisdom of *Nature's God*. The abortive enterprises of wild yet benevolent Utopianism; the important and hurtful schemes of artificial charity, which so teem throughout the cities and parishes of our land; the pernicious legislation, which wars instead of medicates whenever it intermeddles with the operations of a previous and better mechanism than its own, have all of them misgiven only because, instead of conforming to *Nature*, they have tried to divert her from her courses, or have thwarted and traversed the strongest of her implanted tendencies. It is thus that every attempt for taking to pieces, whether totally or partially, the actual framework of society, and constructing it in a new way or on new principles, is altogether fruitful of sorest evil both to the happiness and virtue of the commonwealth. That economy by which the family system would have been entirely broken up; and associated men, living together in planned and regulated villages, would have laboured for the common good, and given up their children wholly undomesticated to a common education, could not have been carried into effect without overbearing the parental affection, and other strong propensities of *Nature* beside; and so it was stifled in embryo by the instant revolt of *Nature* against it."—Vol. i. p. 235.

This view of the subject is both heretical as coming from a Christian, and sublimely wicked and unfeeling as coming from a man. In the first place it is heretical, for the church regards *nature* as corrupt; for *Christ* came to save us from the corruptions of original *nature*. But the Doctor says that the mechanism of human society as coming direct from *Nature*—must be good, and that mechanism is selfishness and individuality. Does the Doctor believe "in original sin and all actual transgressions which proceed from it?" We would also ask the Doctor, whether moral or physical ties are the best? whether our relationship should be determined by blood or by moral affections? The Doctor says blood, for that is the original mechanism of *nature*, alias original sin. We say the relationship should be moral, and *Jesus Christ* said the same; when the people told him his mother and brethren were waiting for him, he said "who is my mother, and who are my brethren, but they that do the things which I say?" then, turning round to his disciples, he said, "behold, these are my mother and brethren," &c. In other words, he gave the preference to a moral relationship, or universalism; which universalism would

destroy the selfishness of private affection and patriotism, but the selfishness only. A patriot is not a good man if his love for his country prompts him to use violence to other countries; but he is a patriot who loves his country AND all other countries. The former leads to WAR, and is the patriotism of old society; the latter leads to peace, and is the patriotism which we recommend; neither would we destroy private affections and relationship, we would only make them subordinate; whereas old *nature*, the Doctor's favorite, has made them paramount.

THE DOCTOR IN ANOTHER MOOD.

"Just imagine for a moment that honour, and integrity, and benevolence were perfect and universal in the world—that each held the property, and the reputation, and the rights of his neighbour to be dear to him as his own—that the suspicions, and the heart-burnings, and the jealousies, whether of hostile violence or envious competition, were altogether banished from human society—that the emotion, at all times delightful, of good will on the one side, were, ever and anon, calling the emotion no less delightful of gratitude back again—that truth and tenderness had their secure abode in every family—and, that, 'standing forth amidst the wider companionships of life, we each could confidently rejoice in every one which he met with as a brother and a friend;' we ask, if by this simple change, a change, you will observe, in nothing else than the *morale* of humanity—though winter should repeat its storms as heretofore, and every element were to abide unaltered, yet in virtue of a process and revolution altogether moral, would not our millennium be begun, and a heaven on earth be realized?"

This is just our doctrine, for if this moral change were effected, no man would have twice as much as another.

WESTMINSTER RATIONAL SCHOOL, AND GENERAL SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION, GROSVENOR-STREET, MILLBANK.

FOUNDED 1833.

OBJECTS, &c.—This Institution was founded expressly to further the attainment of really useful knowledge both by infants and adults; and to afford them such a superior education as shall more fully and perfectly develop their mental, moral, and physical powers; as well as to insure the particular cultivation of the finer or social feelings, by means of the best scientific instruction, frequent friendly associations, and extended rational amusements. From the vast utility of such an institution in this neighbourhood, and the many beneficial effects likely to result from its success, we, the shareholders, deem it our bounden duty to lay before the public this prospectus, so that their support may be insured and given to this truly important undertaking.

BUSINESS.—The business of this Institution is intended to be comprised under five principal heads or departments, viz., the school, the evening classes, the lectures, the festivals, and the library; and the charges to each will be such as to place its manifold advantages within the reach of all who take an interest therein, or have at heart the general welfare of society.

DEPARTMENTS.—1st. School. The school is formed for the instruction of children of both sexes, "without distinction of class, of sect, of country, or of colour," by a system of facts only; and exclusive of all rewards and punishments, in contradistinction to the past and present most irrational methods pursued, either more or less, in the various academies of the world. In reference to what is taught, although utility will be constantly kept in view, yet nothing will be withheld either in science, art, or nature.

Terms for pupils, payable in advance—Males

and Females, under seven years, 6d. per week; ten years, 9d.; above, 1s.

N.B. All the pupils will have free access to the lectures.

2d. Evening Classes. By evening classes is meant the regular association of those individuals who wish to perfect themselves in any one or more branches of education, by means of mutual instruction, or engaged teachers: each class so regulating its own proceedings as not to interfere with the others, or the general business. Those classes requiring teachers, or a separate meeting night, must take especial tickets for that purpose. Those first formed, it is expected, will be for music and drawing. Terms of admission to this department may be ascertained on application to the secretary.

3d. Lectures. Lectures will be delivered regularly throughout each quarter, every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, on subjects highly interesting to the members, and the public at large; every lecturer having perfect liberty to state, without reserve, his entire opinions, provided he subject himself to a fair discussion on controverted points.

Quarterly tickets 3s. each to any part of the room; single tickets, to pit, 3d., gallery 4d. each.

4th. Festivals. To spread abroad a taste for rational amusement in the place of those depraved habits generated in ale-houses, and similar places at present in much resort: as well as to cultivate and improve the rational and kindly feelings of the members, their neighbours, &c., we intend to hold social festivals, consisting of balls, concerts, and tea parties, once a fortnight, on Tuesday evenings.

Tickets 1s. 6d. each, tea and coffee included.—Children under twelve years of age, half price.

5th. Library, &c. A library will be formed as speedily as possible, which shall consist of works of every description, and in every branch of science, literature, &c., and it shall be accessible, under proper regulations, to all persons connected with the Institution, whether as day or evening scholars. It is in contemplation to establish a news reading-room, and particularly on Sundays. A museum will also be another subject commanding the earliest and most urgent attention of the shareholders, considering it, as they do, a very powerful auxiliary in the process of a rapid and scientific course of instruction.

GOVERNMENT.—The affairs of this Institution will be wholly conducted by the shareholders who form the committee, with a treasurer and secretary, elected from themselves quarterly.

W. HASSELL, Hon. Sec.

N.B. Personal application (or communications by letter, post-paid,) may be made to the secretary, of whom every necessary information can be obtained respecting the Institution.

Tickets to the lectures and festivals, with prospectus, &c., can always be had at the following places:—William Haswell, 8, Grey Coat-street, Westminster; George Glanville, 6, Barton-street, Westminster; Charles Southwell, 101, Peter-street, Westminster; William Hattersley, 43, Regent-street, Westminster; John Bourne, 5, Carteret-street, Westminster; William Pemberton, 53, Earl-street, Westminster; John Lane, 10, Carey-street, Vincent-square; George Langley, 71, Vauxhall Bridge-road; Henry Cock, 6, Clipstone-street, St. Marylebone; George Huggett, 3, York-street, Westminster.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have several articles on hand, which will appear in our next. We are sorry we could not insert D.G., but he will appear, we hope, next week.

Mr. Pare's "Extract" will appear in our next.

The Crisis.
LONDON, SATURDAY, JAN. 11.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PIONEER.

SIR,—I have been watching your progress with deep interest, and with many of the general sentiments expressed in the various papers in the *Pioneer* I am much pleased; but sometimes you and your correspondents seem for a time to have lost the spirit of peace and charity by which alone the regeneration of mankind can ever be effected. You have drawn a line of opposition of feelings and of interests between the employers and employed in the production of wealth, which, if it were continued, would tend to delay the progress of this great cause, and to injure those noble principles which you are so desirous of seeing carried into practice. I have forwarded a copy of the following address to the *True Sun*, and some other papers, and I think it may tend to throw some useful light upon the subject, and thus be beneficial to the readers of the *Pioneer*.

Your friend, ROBERT OWEN.

ADDRESS

To the Trades' Unions, and to all the Producers of wealth and knowledge throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

You now appear before the world to assert the rights of industry, in opposition to the assumed power of idleness and uselessness over your property, lives, and happiness. Your enemies are alarmed at the position you have taken; your friends are afraid you have scarcely sufficient experience and wisdom to assert these rights in a proper spirit, and to maintain them, without throwing society into confusion.

Your enemies are the friends of ignorance, corruption, and human misery, and well may they be alarmed; the days of their power are numbered, and discovered to be few; while your friends have been preparing themselves calmly and quietly to come to your aid as soon as they shall ascertain that you have received the true spirit of forbearance, charity, and kindness for your opponents, knowing that until this spirit in all its genuineness of purity shall be imbibed, you cannot adopt wise measures to obtain your emancipation from the ignorant and vicious system by which your opponents have so long oppressed you.

This spirit has been introduced among you, it has taken root, has been nurtured, and is about to produce fruit a hundred-fold. This, then, is the day of your salvation, the time for you to arouse yourselves to effect the great and glorious change that is before you.

In this conflict, between the industrious and useful and the idle and useless, many errors will be at first committed by the former, for the want of that experience so long possessed by the latter; limited views will be at first adopted, as they have been; but now is the time for these limited views to give place to sound principles, and a more extended field of action.

The operatives have formed their Trades' Unions, and confined them at first to partial numbers in the respective branches of a general trade or manufacture. They have latterly been extended to several branches of the same general business or calling; they now require to be further extended to all the branches of each general trade, manufacture, or employment, and that these also should be united by

one common bond of interest among all the producers of wealth and of real knowledge.

This union is to be perfected by considering all the producers of every thing of real value as members of one body, having but one interest; and by uniting these producers in well devised practical measures, to give efficiency to their proceedings.

The shortest, easiest, and most certain mode by which to accomplish this union, is first to unite the masters and men: producers of all that is useful and necessary for happiness. They are, in fact, one and the same body, the masters having gradually arisen out of the mass of workmen.

It is true that some of these masters are ignorant of their own real interests, and therefore act the tyrant, being cruel, unjust, and illiberal. They exact severe labour from, and pay low wages to, all those whom they employ; but not so with many other masters. They know that those who, by their daily toil, produce wealth for them, are their best friends, and their interests never can be separated without the most grievous evils resulting to both. It becomes the interest, therefore, of the operatives to aid the good masters to obtain the rights of industry for both, and to form arrangements to render it incumbent on those masters who are not at present so well disposed to become such as the superior and best disposed now are.

This, Sir, is the real object of the Society for Promoting National Regeneration; and surely it is necessary that a thorough regeneration of the ignorant and vicious system by which the world has been so long misgoverned should now be commenced.

The promoters of this change in human affairs are not the disturbers of peace, but real conservatives. They desire to remove grievous evils, not by violence or anger, which generate other, and sometimes worse, evils than those intended to be removed, but by practical measures equal to the task devised by reason and experience, and which must produce in a short period unmixed good to the whole of society.

They, therefore, recommend that the intelligent and well-disposed among the masters in each trade, manufacture, and beneficial occupation should unite and form a Masters' Union, as a majority of the master manufacturers in the Potteries have already done; that these masters encourage the intelligent, temperate, and well-disposed of the operatives whom they employ to form unions among themselves; that both parties elect from their union properly chosen persons to be delegates to form a union of friendly communication between them, and by which all differences of opinion may be amicably adjusted each week as they may arise; and thus that spirit of opposition, discontent, and, I fear too often, hatred, which has been engendered and cultivated by the ignorance of both employer and employed, will be changed for one of mutual confidence and kindness, and a sincere desire to promote each other's interest and happiness. By this union of masters and men, producers of wealth and knowledge, the following benefits will result:—

1. The operatives, or actual producers of wealth, will be employed a reasonable time per day in producing wealth for society, and afterwards in acquiring the most useful knowledge for themselves, and in recruiting their health and spirits, by rational recreation and social enjoyment, that they may be usefully and happily occupied during their lives.

2. For producing this wealth for society, they require in justice to have, and will obtain, a good living for themselves and families, and a sound practical education for their children.

3. The master manufacturers, or employers of the operatives, will obtain a fair remuneration for their capital, the wear and tear of their establishments, and an average of ten per cent. profit upon the productions of British industry, for their own skill and labour, or for the skill and labour of those who direct the general operations of their establishments; and lastly, the public will have good, honest productions, instead of the articles of deception with which all markets now superabound.

This union of the producers, employers and employed, will therefore permanently improve the condition of the working men and of their families; of the employers and their families; and of the public generally, both at home and abroad; of a public now cheated, deceived, and injured in almost every possible way, and for no other reason that can be discovered except to bolster up a little longer the gross abominations, in contradiction to all known facts, of the most visionary imaginations of men and women—of men and women, too, who are totally ignorant of all national practice, and of the extraordinary beneficial results which may be attained by our national power wisely directed.

These incongruous and contradictory imaginings they have dignified with the name of *political economy*, while they have not yet discovered the data on which the science of political economy can be alone founded.

It is these imaginations which have been put forth in every popular form and shape, in newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets for the last twenty-five years, that have confounded the intellects of what are called learned men, and of all their readers. Were a correct judgment formed of modern learning by their publications, it would be fully proved that no two things could be more removed from each other than modern learning and real knowledge; they appear to be the very antipodes of each other, and hence alone the disorganised state of British society; for the very lowest of the people, as soon as they began to think at all, discovered that they were governed by those who opposed their vain imaginations to facts—who would support the most destructive theories, although they daily witnessed the most appalling miseries which they created to the people—miseries created solely by those theories being forced into practice, and which have been persevered in so long that the population has lost all confidence in the wisdom and humanity of those who ought to lead and govern them. In consequence, the most valuable portion of the people—that is, the useful, or the producers of real wealth and knowledge, from dire necessity have been compelled to take their own affairs into their own hands, to prevent their utter degradation, to stay the downward progress of demoralization and poverty, to prevent that power which might be, and which might easily be made to be, the greatest blessing to the population of the world, from being a curse to the productive classes of the British empire, and through their unnatural and most ruinous competition with all the other industrious portions of the earth, the greatest of all curses to them also, and to their posterity.

Let, therefore, all anger, ill-will, and dissension cease among all the producers, both em-

ployers and employed, of real wealth and knowledge throughout Great Britain and Ireland, and let them now adopt practical measures, founded on experience, to insure a good living to themselves and families, and a good quality of all articles for the public, and make no more of any thing than the public will pay a fair remunerating price for; and let all who wish to produce useful wealth be constantly employed a reasonable period daily; but let not any over-work themselves, or be half their time idle, from want of employment being found for them, while others are compelled to be altogether without occupation, because the first class named are required by their ignorant employers to over-exert all their powers and faculties.

Therefore, before all things, as the most important step that can now be taken to emancipate the population from gross ignorance, I recommend a cordial union of all the producers of real wealth and knowledge, both employers and employed, and that this senseless warfare, carried on between the masters and operatives, solely for the gain and advantage of those who neither produce wealth, knowledge, or any thing really useful and beneficial for any portion of mankind, should now cease, and their interests hereafter be for ever united.

I am, your friend,

ROBERT OWEN.

A PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAY ON THE FUNDING SYSTEM OF GREAT BRITAIN, *Morally and politically considered, in its direct and indirect influence on Modern Society. By a Public Creditor.*

"Away they went; one retired to his country-house, another was engaged at a horse-race, a third had an appointment with a prostitute; and, as to their country, they left her like a cast-off mistress, to perish under the disease they had given her."—*Sanctus.*

One of the great principles upon which human society has been founded is, that private interests should, when necessary, not only be made subservient, but even sacrificed, to the public welfare; and the time has arrived when written maxims must be put to the proof by their application.

In this age of general investigation into motives, causes, and effects, the new elements that have been forced, from circumstances, into modern society, and which formed no part of it as originally constituted, require, one would think, the most serious attention of the legislature, not only to their *DIRECT*, but more particularly to their *INDIRECT*, influence upon the results of a greater development of mental faculties, on the one side, and upon the physical powers on the other, as well as upon the civil and religious principles, on which alone formerly rested (under a far more complicated system of financial organization) the peace and stability of society.

The encouragement of the diffusion of knowledge among a nation aspiring at mental improvement, is at once sufficient to its happiness.

The associations now most wanted, from which our public good will be derived than has been to this day, from our literary, scientific, or antiquarian societies, are those composed only of well-informed medical men, for the calm, patient, and useful investigation of our financial, commercial, agricultural, and among the most important subjects submitted to their scrutinizing talent and spirit, and to their expected zeal for useful reforms, the influence of a funding system upon modern society (resting as it does on the plan of perpetual indirect taxation), adds the first rank; because it is not a *natural* production, sprung in due course of time from the original elements of European society, but partakes of the extraneous properties of an *emacrescence* of the body politic than is generally understood of

the introduction of the funding system. It may be said that it first appeared on its surface as a tubercle only; the sensation and appearances had nothing alarming; the sort of *itching* it caused, far from being disagreeable, was considered by most *doctors* as a wholesome stimulus, which, keeping up a proper degree of excitement, would brace up the constitution, and supply constantly to all its members the vigour and energy of youth; but, unfortunately, these *doctors* were either grossly ignorant, or *interested empirics*, who, heedless of the sources from which the *tubercle* derived nourishment, prescribed that *over-excitement* should be encouraged, and allowed its insatiable roots to prey so long on the vital parts, that in less than forty years it has become a frightful *swell*, which, unless amputation be performed in time, or the roots be transplanted immediately from the vitals to the more *juicy* though less important parts, the dissolution and death of the body politic must ensue.

In times of difficulty, when the finger of expediency pointed out the course to be pursued, or the system to be adopted, two most important questions should have been considered: *first*, whether the course about being pursued, however beneficial it might appear at the time, would not eventually prove a source of evil to succeeding generations? *secondly*, whether, in adopting a most prodigal system of finance, it was not requisite, at the time of such adoption, to examine thoroughly the state of things; to consider seriously what actual resources existed, and then to determine to what part of the social system the *political pruning-knife* might have been beneficially applied; thus to have endeavoured to prevent an accumulation of evils, in order, at least, to insure a continuance of general happiness, and promote greater improvements, instead of being ultimately blasted by the inconsiderate haste of expediency.

Were it not for the regular certainty of the grave, what could be done with the new-born? If this room had been allowed and prepared for *innovations*, that carried with them important moral and civil contingencies, or proper and adequate resources, judiciously applied in time to meet the extravagance of the new system, society would not have suffered from inevitable pressure; and the consequences of re-action could never have been apprehended.

But, on the contrary, when new burdens were successively heaped upon the old burdens of the nation, one description of property was considered so *very holy*, and another so *very sacred*, that the most distant allusion to their bearing part of the national weight exposed the virtuous patriot to being accused and excommunicated, as one abhorred by God, or to being set down, by the holders of this sacred property, as one labouring under an aberration of the mind.

Is it so difficult to account for the increasing perturbation of the most active and industrious, but less fortunate portion of modern society? Who can be surprised that, after more than a century of half-ignorance of their worth, and patient endurance, they should begin to suspect that civilized society, with all its modern improvement, is not exactly what, in justice, it ought to be, and that they have been selected intentionally to bear an undue proportion of the heavy burdens imposed by the state?

Leaving aside all financial quackery, the naked truth must be, that all governments which have adopted the system of ever providing for the present by repeated anticipations on the future, have *pawned*, as it were, their independence to the *monied interest of Europe*. The nationality of all such governments (that most precious attribute to themselves, as well as the most important to the peace of the country) merges into the *shackles* forced on them by that illiberal and sordid interest; shackles, we say, because the perpetual difficulties of collecting, at all times, enough, not only for the current expenditure, but also on account of another expenditure, which, although past, is never to terminate, are (those difficulties) so many impediments to action, never to be overcome without forcibly increasing the still more

serious difficulties of those numerous classes who, being without any capital, can have no share in the monied interest.

All human events, *heroic, religious, and political*, arising from a state of society existing between an endless succession of causes and effects, have their *direct* consequences and *indirect influence* upon the attainment of happiness, and upon the progress of civilization. And such direct and indirect influence should never escape the observation of those who profess to be called statesmen: the former is evident, and almost tangible; the latter is always of a more abstract moral nature, more subtle, more disguised, requiring time to be suspected, and still more time to become manifest.

The *DIRECT* consequences are generally within the power of the legislature, and should they possess an evil tendency, they can seldom be alarming; for as they are immediate, and may generally have been foreseen, the cause, which is never remote, being modified according to the greater or lesser urgency of the time, the direct influence becomes thereby modified.

The *INDIRECT INFLUENCE* is, on the contrary, often beyond the control of the legislature, and requires lapse of time to operate on things, since it can only do so through the minds and the feelings of men. It never appears but in disguise; and when operating upon society, it shows itself under various aspects, in language, in action, and in character, so remote from those of the original cause, as to perplex human reason and judgment, in attempting to trace back, through most intricate abstractions, its gradual though never-failing control over the whole community.

Government may be contending with the *INDIRECT INFLUENCE* without even knowing it; force may be employed against it, and stay it for a while; but the hydra has many heads, and assumes many shapes.

One century is the *child* of another. The changes brought on by the march of time, proceed from the *INDIRECT INFLUENCE* of remote events; which influence being inherent in human society, but unforeseen by unreflecting men, drives him forward, still unconscious that *passing events are nought but the result of his own folly and too hasty decisions*. Some few sagacious minds, more observing than the rest, may be moved to speak, to foretell, to denounce the evil; but their voice is not heard, or, if listened to at all, will be denominated that of deluded visionaries; until the indirect influence developed by time, and allowed full play, will transform a nation from a state of contented and well-regulated society, into that of one totally misunderstanding the institutions which it formerly venerated.

Amongst the new elements introduced by expediency into the compound of modern society, the funding system, supported by perpetual taxation, connected as it is, from its nature, with all the members of the community, with public and private credit, with the operation of a circulating medium, and affecting, by its vacillating mode of action, and above all, by the re-action of taxation upon price, the value of all commodities, of all products, industry, skill, and labour. It requires the paramount attention of the government, as well as of the public: every opinion on the importance of this modern system should be read with strict impartiality, for it must undeniably be admitted that, on a subject distinguished from all others by its intricate and puzzling nature; on a subject upon which master-minds have given opinions in direct opposition to each other, it would not be surprising that notions which appeared at the first glance to be the most far-fetched, should upon investigation prove the nearest to the truth.

The funding system, carried on to excess, is inseparable from its natural consequences. *Bankruptcy*, of which there are (when a whole nation is concerned) two descriptions—one is the *cash bankruptcy*; the other is what may be denomi-

acted a *loyalty bankruptcy*. As to the first, government may be reduced to the necessity of declaring itself insolvent; and, strictly speaking, it cannot be maintained that public credit in England is proof against it, since each and every loan, every million of Exchequer bills funded, is as decidedly an act of insolvency to the same amount, as can well be imagined; which, so often repeated, according to the system pursued, must, in the natural course of things, lead sooner or later to the bankruptcy in cash.

As to the second, so long as government deserves the confidence of the *monied interest*; so long as a Chancellor of the Exchequer can present himself in the money market, as the most secure competitor for money, (although it is evidently to the serious prejudice of all other honest competitors for capital,) the *exclusion and sordid link* that so intimately binds the executive power to wealth, by pressing with an increasing ratio upon industry and labour, may avert the *cash bankruptcy of government*, but it must bring finally the *loyalty bankruptcy of the subject*, far more to be dreaded (one should think) in its consequences than could ever have been its own cash bankruptcy; which, be it ever so great, can never be so sweeping in its operation.

Time alone has the power of unveiling the mysteries connected with worldly affairs; the interest of man as an individual, or even of a set of men, is one thing, that of *society as a whole, quite another*. A few days only are requisite to point out the former, but ages to ascertain the latter; nearly four centuries, for instance, have elapsed since the discovery of the art of printing, and what immensity of partial and general good must be attributed to the adoption and subsequent improvement of moveable types! yet the *INDIRECT INFLUENCE* of that discovery on the minds of men, in its multifarious ramifications in society, may be said in many respects to have been felt only during the last half century, and the accelerated force of its power and control over the community may be such, in less than another half century, as to overbalance, for a time at least, all the good which it has hitherto produced.

The system of raising loans, and that of funding, to create stock, upon most ruinous terms, and the consequent increase of *indirect taxation*, have, by establishing a stupendous public credit, added considerably to the importance of government, by strengthening the social compact between *wealth and protection*; the good resulting from that security has been invaluable to that part of society commanding sufficient wealth to derive advantages from that modern link between the government and property. At one period it was actually believed, and even announced, that wealth and power combined could, by the assistance of this *funding engine*, be made to play upon society to *any extent*; but time has begun to unravel the mysteries of this funding system, and when its *INDIRECT INFLUENCE* upon society, as one compact body becomes more and more developed, will it not prove, too late perhaps, that from good, evil may arise?

Such governments as have adopted the loan system, that of funding, and that of perpetual taxation for perpetual annuities, with the supposition of their being an everlasting and most convenient source of *wealth and power*, must now open their eyes in earnest, and look more attentively into the productive resources of the working and mercantile classes, as well as into the probable means of the consumers in the community, upon whose individual assistance and co-operation it may soon become painfully evident that they relied too hastily for the fulfilment of their unlimited engagements.

Without entering here into the financial and political history of the public debt of England, of its origin in 1693, the *anti-liberal sources of its increase* from 1775 to 1788, the *still more anti-national and greater increase* from 1793 to 1816,

without commenting upon the real motives of the last wars; it is sufficient for our purpose to observe that; in the year 1815, after twenty-two years of continual war (with only one interruption by a few months' peace), our public debt exceeded one thousand millions: add to this the amount of stock created since, and deduct what had previously been redeemed, the nation has to contend in the seventeenth year of peace against the weight of about eight hundred millions of unredeemed debt, the interest of which must be raised yearly in cash from the *profits of individual industry*, so as to keep faith with the national creditor.

May those who have brought us to this sad condition rest in peace! the past cannot be reclaimed, but let so dearly-bought experience be a profitable lesson to the existing and future councils of the nation; our object is to show the direct and indirect influence of this enormous debt on society, as well as to consider how the present and the future may be relieved from the evil consequences of a funding system permitted, through the aristocratic pride, extravagance, and infatuation of successive administrations, to have reached in so short a period to such an enormous amount.

But, after all, what does all this amount to? taking a drop from the ocean; and where are we to look for adequate resources in case of future emergencies?

Too long has the nation been deceived by the blind vanity of some, the prejudices of others, and the self-interest of a very small minority, as to the real and sole cause of the progressive anomalous march of this most wealthy nation towards emigration, through fear of want, insolvency, pauperism, misery, and transportation through crime; at a time, too, when riches and wealth are accumulating, capital hoarding upon capital, and land annexed to land. Is not the fact of the co-existence of two situations so diametrically opposite more than sufficient to convince the most limited but impartial understanding that they are consequent upon each other, through the all-powerful effects of the *INDIRECT INFLUENCE* of our national upon every member of the community.

Long, indeed, have Englishmen suffered from the fact that, in addition to the twenty millions required for their welfare by government, as at present constituted, twenty-eight millions more are still required to be raised year after year, to be divided among the stockholders, whose claims, however sacred they must be deemed, have nevertheless been imposed upon the nation by the *anti-liberal policy of injudicious statesmen*, yet the mere tools (although in the Commons' assembly) of a then too-powerful aristocracy, who, pretending to invoke patriotism against (imaginary) *invasion and slavery*, were, to speak the plain truth, claiming authority at any cost, in order to obtain from our monied men the means

* See Appendix, which will be given next week.

† Is it possible not to wonder and stare in amazement, that on the return to peace, no adequate measures were adopted to reduce effectually the weight of such accumulated burdens; and even none since, with the exception of the conversion in 1822 of the five per cent. annuities into a new four per cent. stock, reducing the annual charge by 4,122,000*l.*; in 1824, exchanging the old four per cent. annuities for a three-and-half per cent. stock, reducing the charge by 381,000*l.*; also of the measure brought forward in 1829, in the fourteenth year of peace, when it was enacted (1st June) that the actual surplus revenue should at last be decidedly and effectually applied towards the reduction of the national debt; and of the transfer, in May 1830, of the four per cents of 1822 into a three-and-half per cent. stock reducing the charge on the debt by 700,000*l.*?

of supporting a prodigal system of expenditure, with the ultimate view, by countenancing and subsidizing despotism abroad, of strengthening themselves against rational liberty at home.

To loans other loans succeeded; increase of taxation naturally followed; loans and loans again followed increased taxation in such rapid progression that it was deemed of the utmost importance to enact such laws as would, by the transformation from *real to imaginary property*, increase the ways and means; for instance, authorising (Feb. 1797) a suspension of cash payments, thus raising to a nominal or fictitious value all products, rents, wages, and profits arising from industry, in order to insure the payment of the required amount of increased taxation; but in reality there comes no increase of worth or value, the apparent rise being the consequence of a progressive depreciation of the paper currency.

Glorious these days of excitement for the small minority having their capital to tender, or their produce to offer, and who, first sharing in the loans, and subsequently in the half-yearly dividend, did not forget themselves so far as not to *fix the amount of the latter for ever, to their then but nominal paper value!* But, alas! days of disastrous propinquity for the large majority of the population (the labouring and working-classes), whose limited pecuniary means placing them out of the pale of the new system, and being hardly ever thought of but as an inexhaustible engine through which to keep up public faith, by taxing them from the cradle to the grave, have had ever since to contend against increasing difficulties.

To give a correct idea of the prodigality of those whose blind infatuation and total disregard of the public good have forged the shackles under which we now groan, the reader must have before him a statement of the enormous amount and rapid succession of loan and of taxation. From the year 1793 to 1816, he will see how the increase of taxation unavoidably followed loans, and yet how loans again followed increased taxation, to fill up annual deficiencies caused by the most extravagant expenditure, in such progression that it would have been impossible to proceed in the same prodigal system without having recourse to such means as would, by annihilating the real money value of all property, create so much imaginary wealth as would increase the ways and means to the necessary amount in a nominal paper value.

This was done the 26th of February, 1797, by an order passed by the Privy Council, authorizing the Bank of England to suspend their cash payments. (Their notes in circulation amounted to about 8,640,000*l.*) Small notes were issued, the restriction was continued from year to year till 1821, and an act of parliament was passed, declaring the one pound note and one shilling equal in value to the gold guinea. The sudden increase of paper by the Bank, to meet the demands of government—this *new paper currency*, free from all standard, being an additional substitute for money in an overwhelming ratio to the cash circulation left in the country, soon began to break the relative value which the former metal currency, and the things it will purchase, bore to each other, and every commodity rose in price.

The least reflection on the subject will make this evident;—It is no difficult matter for the manufacturers, traders, and dealers, to place the burthen of taxation upon all consumers. Among these the wealthy feel it not; and even the best part of the middling-classes feel it but little. The heaviest weight of taxation bears, therefore, not of all properties, upon the working and labouring classes of the community, who, being neither manufacturers, traders, nor dealers, but of necessity consumers, have it not in their power to remove the burthen from themselves, since they are the last class but one in the social scale (next that of paupers); and as they suffer much by a depre-

ciation of the remuneration for labour (caused equally by the necessity of taxes being paid out of the profits of their employers, who naturally seek to raise the latter, by reducing wages to the lowest possible rate), the working man, who deals in wages only, and who has nothing else to live upon, must fall in his endeavours to contend against a system that tends to increase the price of all commodities, at the same time that it tends to reduce the price of labour.*

Hence began to open, in the very core of society, that moral crater which, leaving on one side honest industry, pauperism, and misery, to be most unmercifully taxed on the first necessities of life, whilst on the other side accumulated wealth and capital remained comparatively exempt from taxation, resting at ease upon public credit and the power of the executive to uphold and maintain it. May it not be said that on side of this crater (that of the sufferers) has lately been erected, too soon perhaps by some years, the bronze statue of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, in a quiet and modest sitting posture, with his characteristic benevolence well portrayed, as the type of compassion and sympathy for all their wants; whilst on the other side is now erecting (Sept. 1831)—intended no doubt as an honour conferred on the nation, whereas it is little else than an insult, at all events too late by a quarter of a century—the bronze statue of WILLIAM PITT (the angry boy), standing erect and boldly positive, as in the act of dictating the financial Utopia which his eloquence and political enthusiasm, together with his obstinate moral will, always leads the nation blindfold to adopt as maxims of wisdom, and thus charmed and enticed all the then disposable capital in the land, from the regular and wholesome channels of its natural and easy circulation, into the boiler of his aristocratical engine, forcing an artificial diffusion at home, and prodigal though useless expenditure abroad; thus transforming the national equity, from which no government should ever depart, into that partial agency, which has been ever since legally collecting from the food and necessities of one side of the crater, to increase the surplus wealth on the other; and as if property and political differences were not enough to complete the contradistinction between the two, they are moreover totally separated in church.

The public creditor, whose property is secured by the same laws which compel all others to pay, revels in ease and luxury under the best system (according to his own estimation) that human contrivance and ingenuity could ever have devised for the happiness of mankind; a system under which the power of taxation is for him the prolific sun that ripens his harvest; a system under which the tax-gatherer (that intruding but unavoidable visitor) is to him alone, and for him only, the unpaid yet trustworthy collector of his rents.

Well might the accumulating fundholder fancy himself the fortunate inhabitant of some other planet, where no rash speculator or no sudden importation can influence the market prices, where no bad seasons blast his best hopes—no rain or drought—no hail or frost—no mortality amongst his cattle, compel him to support a succession of ruined tenantry—free from the terrors inspired by the despair with which he is surrounded, his property held sacred, and as such fully protected; places him far above those chances, difficulties, accidents, and anxieties the eternal dispenser of all good and evil has linked on with to all he allows man to possess. God is his wisdom having

* For a far better elucidation of the notion and action of taxation; see Mr. R. Heathfield's able pamphlet on *Trade considered, in reference particularly to the Public Debt, 1822*. What he says on the reciprocation of price upon price, is so important as it is true; and therefore, on that account, not acted upon by those whose interest it seems to have been to conceal the insiduousness of the system pursued.

surrounded all other wealth and property by dangers and cares, in order that man's avidity for gain and accumulation may be restricted by the fear of plunder, and that man once satisfied should not perpetually exclude man in want from the free and natural chances of realizing profits.

As conscientious fundholders ourselves, we speak feelingly; and therefore claim the most serious attention both from those who receive, and from those who pay, their quota towards dividends. We do not hesitate to say that our property in the funds being exempt from the drawbacks peculiar to all other incomes or possessions, cannot, in equity, be possibly considered exclusively sacred; indeed it ought to be more liable to reduction from taxation or otherwise than any other description of property; the most sacred of any being that obtained through industry, prudence, economy, with anxiety of mind, by the sweat of the brow, or incessant toil.

To this it may be said, that the money lent by the capitalist to Government was also acquired originally by industry, economy, and incessant toil, and therefore as sacred as any other;—true: but that it should be held more so, and on that account only be free from taxation, we resist; for why should the mere fact of its having been borrowed for the public service exempt it from a due share of the public burden, which, if left in the lender's hands, it would have been subject to, as it would have been otherwise employed? and besides, as, in nineteen cases out of twenty, speculations in trade, injudicious trusts, variations in value, and other vicissitudes of fortune, in the course of time transfer property from one hand to another, excepting when consigned to the deep, or consumed by fire. We contend that our funded property, resting, as it may be said to do, on a policy of insurance, signed as it were by the whole nation, should not only contribute its proportionate share in the taxation, but should also, in common justice, be made to pay a premium of insurance higher than that required against the dangers of the sea, or against fire, at any of our insurance companies, since Government offers a degree of security paramount to all others.

With these impressions, it may readily be conceived that we were more afflicted than elated at the facility with which our present ministers gave up the intended tax upon all transfers at the Bank, and on all other transactions in stock; still more so it to be regretted that, after the peace, when foreign states began to tender their scrip amongst our stockholders and capitalists, and that, in consequence, the latter applied to our government to know whether, in the event of a war, they would be protected; the answer was not such as, in due national equity, it ought to have been: viz., that a tax upon all British capital invested in foreign stock, equal to the difference between the English and foreign dividends due on the same amount, would be enforced, whether or not the foreign loan-makers paid the annuities on the faith of which English capital was inveigled out of the country. The enforcement of such a tax would no doubt have prevented the incredible facility with which millions have been irrecoverably lost in the Spanish and South American loans which have been effected in our money market.

Patriotism does not subdue self-interest in every breast; who then can tell but what some of our *placid and self-satisfied* granty might not, for the sake of an additional two or three per cent. interest, have become the unconscious paymasters of armaments directed against our own independence? besides, where is the man who could be sincerely a well-wisher to the success of our arms, while all his wealth is in the enemy's bank? But, unfortunately, the council of the nation, considering only the individual liberty of the subject, and overlooking the general welfare of society as a whole, calmly replied to an application for protection in such a case; "we cannot give you any security in the event of war; but you are

of course at liberty to dispose of your wealth wherever you may think it best for your private interest." Thus a legislature requiring nearly sixty millions every year in time of peace, remained blind to those mutual wants and sympathies which form the most important links that bind society together.

Millions of accumulated wealth then left the land untaxed, to fill the coffers of foreign states. The property of our absentees was also, and still is, spent abroad untaxed; not even contributing with the poor of the realm towards that portion of the revenue which is derived from taxes upon all that the land itself supplies to satisfy the cravings of nature.

Whatever measures might have been sanctioned in a community at a time of emergency, when any available expedient became law; and however useful such measures may have proved to the small minority, they must give way to reason and strict justice, so soon as time has shown them to be injurious, nay, ruinous, to the more true and more useful majority by their DIRECT and INDIRECT INFLUENCE upon society, the component parts of which must decidedly remain linked together for its own welfare, without the aid of coercive means being incessantly called for to prevent its dissolution.

* Money raised in England from 1815 to 1825, through loans to foreign governments.

Years.		Proportion raised in England.
1815-16	French Rentes (Ann.) created in France £175,000,000	£38,000,000
1818	Prussia 5,000,000	3,600,000
1822	Ditto 3,500,000	2,940,000
1820-1	Spain 6,000,000	3,820,000
1822	Ditto 7,000,000	3,240,000
1823	Ditto 1,000,000	260,000
1821-2	Naples 6,175,400	4,114,036
1822	Russia 3,500,000	2,250,000
"	Denmark 8,000,000	Cancelled
"	Colombia 2,000,000	1,840,000
"	Chili 1,000,000	700,000
"	Poyais 200,000	160,000
1824	Peru 750,000	616,000
"	Ditto 450,000	396,000
1823	Portugal 1,500,000	1,305,000
"	Austria 8,500,000	2,670,000
1824	Greece 800,000	472,000
"	Buenos Ayres 1,000,000	850,000
"	Colombia 4,750,000	4,208,750
"	Brazil 1,200,000	800,000
"	Mexico 3,200,000	1,854,800
"	Naples 2,500,000	2,312,500
1825	Brazil 2,600,000	1,700,000
"	Mexico 3,200,000	2,872,000
"	Greece 2,600,000	1,30,000
"	Denmark 5,625,000	4,218,750
"	Peru 616,000	480,480
"	Guatemala 1,428,750	1,042,897
"	Guadalajara 600,000	360,000

Total advanced by England . £85,213,413

† Foreign loans, shares, and schemes of all descriptions are computed at about 90 millions, raised in this country during the ten years from 1816 to 1825.

A CHARACTER.

There lived in one of the mountainous counties of Western Virginia many Dutchmen, and among them, one named Henry Snyder; and there were likewise two brothers, called George and Jake Fulwider; they were all rich, and each owned a mill. Henry Snyder was subject to slight fits of derangement, but they were not of such a nature as to render him disagreeable to any one. He merely conceived himself to be the supreme ruler of the universe; and while labouring under this infatuation, had himself a throne built, on which he sat to try the causes of all who offended him, and passed them off to heaven or hell, as his humour prompted, he personating both

the characters of judge and culprit. It happened one day that some difficulty occurred between Henry Snyder and the two Fulwiders, on account of their mills; when, to be avenged, Henry Snyder took along with him a book, in which he recorded his judgments, and mounted his throne to try their causes. He was heard to pass the following judgments:—Having prepared himself, he called before him George Fulwider. "Shorge Fulwider, stand up. What hash you been doin in dis lower world?" "Ah! Lord, Ich does not know." "Well, Shorge Fulwider, has'nt you got a mill?" "Yes, Lord, Ich hash." "Well, Shorge Fulwider, did'nt you never take too much toll?" "Yes, Lord, Ich hash; when der water wash low, and mein stoness wash dull, Ich take a leetle too much toll." "Well den, Shorge Fulwider, you must go to der left, mid der goats." "Well Shake Fulwider, now you stand up." "What hash you bin doin in dis lower world?" "Ah! Lort, Ich does not know." "Well, Shake Fulwider, has'nt you got a mill?" "Yes, Lort, Ich hash." "Well, Shake Fulwider, has'nt you never take too much toll?" "Yes, Lort, Ich hash; when der water wash low, and mein stoness wash dull, Ich take leetle too much toll." "Well, den, Shake Fulwider, you must go the left, mid der goats." Now Ich tries minself. "Henry Snyder! Henry Snyder! stand up. "What hash you bin doin in de lower world?" "Ah! Lort, Ich does not know." "Well, Henry Snyder, has'nt you got a mill?" "Yes, Lord, Ich hash." "Well, Henry Snyder, did you never take too much toll?" "Yes, Lort, Ich hash; when der water wash low, and mein stoness wash dull, Ich hash take leetle too much toll." "But, Henry Snyder, vat did you do mid der toll?" "Ah! Lort, Ich gives it to der poor." (Pausing) "Well, Henry Snyder, you must go to der right, mid deer sheep; but it lah a tam tight squeeze!"—From a very amusing work entitled *Sketches and Eccentricities of Colonel David Crockett*.

The emperor of Morocco's ambassador, in the reign of Charles the Second, visiting, among other places, Westminster Hall, asked his interpreter, "What was the profession of the gentlemen walking up and down in it?" who replied, "the law." The ambassador seemed to be alarmed at the reply, and shaking his head at the vast multitude of professors, said, "that in his master's dominions, although infinitely more extensive, there were but two of that profession allowed, one of whom the emperor had been obliged lately to hang, to preserve peace and good humour amongst his people; and the other he always kept chained up, to prevent his doing mischief." What would have been the sentiments of that ambassador in these times, when for every single lawyer then, there are now at least thirty?

NOTICES.

The usual Fortnightly, being the Thirty-fifth Social Festival of the Association of the Industrious Classes, will be held at their Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, on Monday next, the 13th instant. Doors to be opened at Seven, and the Concert to commence precisely at Eight. Tickets of Admission, including Tea and Coffee, 1s. 6d., or 1s. and 1 hour note.

In order to retain that high character for order and respectability for which these Festivals are distinguished, it is particularly requested that our friends, and visitors generally, will study neatness and simplicity in their dress and deportment. No person can, under any circumstances, be admitted unless properly attired. It is also expected that Gentlemen will leave their Hats, &c., with the Persons appointed to take charge of the same.

N.B. The Hat-room Fee is discretionary.

Messrs. Collins and Stevens's Benefit Concert will take place on the following Monday, the 20th instant. Particulars next week.

Mr. Detrosier will lecture on Tuesday evening, at 8; to be followed by a vocal and instrumental concert.

UNITED TRADES' FUND.

A Meeting of the Shareholders of the Trades' Fund was held on Sunday afternoon, when Messrs. Blake, Stewart, Price, Campbell, Pryer, and Witt, were elected as Council; and Mr. Evans, as President. The Meeting was then adjourned till Sunday next, at Three o'clock, at which all the Shareholders are requested to attend. Printed books are being prepared for the Shareholders.

GENERAL STATEMENT.

Received.			Paid.		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Treasurer	63	0	By Treasurer	48	0
Exchange	56	14	Exchange	27	13
Tailors' Soc.	87	16	Tailors' Soc.	30	0
			Total balance,		
			as below	51	16
	167	10		51	16
Balances.					
Dec. 28. In hand of Treasurer			15	0	0
Exchange			29	0	5
Tailors' Society			7	16	0
			51	16	5

R. ALGER, Accountant.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

Abstract of the Report of the Four Weeks ending Dec. 28, 1833.

RECEIPTS.		Cash & Notes.	
Stock—Deposits	27,730h. 2s.	£	s. d.
Meat		102	5 10½
Grocery and Cheesemongery		142	16 2½
Coals		12	4 3½
Lectures		64	12 10
Festivals		99	6 3½
Commission		50	0 7½
Rent, Subscriptions, &c.		11	11 8
Charges		5	8 3
		488	6 0½

PAYMENTS.
Stock—Exchanges 26,583h. 4s.

Meat	98	16	4
Grocery, &c.	117	18	1½
Coals	6	15	0
Lectures	11	7	2
Festivals	42	16	1½
Wages	70	3	0
Rent	36	0	0
Charges, including Alterations	73	12	8½
	457	8	0½

One of our friends, of the name of Robert Araminger, has been thrown out of employment, as foreman in a dyeing establishment, belonging to a Mr. Baynes, a Quaker, in consequence of his exerting himself to obtain a reduction of the hours of labour for the men; he has no other alternative left than that of commencing business for himself; and we heartily accede to his request that we should recommend him to the patronage of the working classes. All such victims of public zeal should be liberally encouraged, more especially when they do not crave the support of idleness, but that of honest industry. This tyrant of circumstances will also help to undeceive the public mind respecting these Sectarians, whose avicious spirit continues so cunningly to hide itself behind the dove-like innocence of Christian morality. Residence, No. 20, Oxendon-street, Haymarket.

A public meeting of the boot and shoe-makers of Northampton took place on Wednesday evening, Jan. 1., to take into consideration the propriety of joining the National Trades' Union, when it was resolved unanimously—

"That the operative shoemakers of Northampton do immediately arrange themselves into lodges, after the manner, and under the rules and regulations of, the National Trades' Union.

"That the resolutions be inserted in the *Northampton Free Press, Crisis, and Trades' Union Gazette, or Pioneer*."

JOSH. JOHNSON, Chairman.

BLAIR'S GOUT and RHEUMATIC PILLS.
A pleasant, safe, and effectual cure for every description of Gout and Rheumatism, are recommended to the afflicted with a confidence arising from experience; are one of the valuable results of the improved state of Medical Science, and the only efficient remedy ever discovered for these excruciating Disorders. In Gout, Rheumatic Gout, and acute Rheumatism, these Pills will have a most wonderful effect in most cases, giving relief from the intolerable pains in one or two hours; and one box will frequently carry off the attack in two or three days, even where the patient has usually kept his bed for as many weeks, and sometimes months. They are equally certain in Lumbago, Pains in the Head or Face, frequently treated as the Tooth-ache. Rheumatism of long standing will be perfectly cured by a slight degree of perseverance in the use of these Pills, which require neither confinement nor attention during their use; and the continued decided approbation sent unsolicited to the Proprietor, from all parts of the kingdom, and from all classes of society, fully warrants the assurance that no person subject to these disorders will, after a trial, ever be without them.—Sold by Thomas Prout, 23, Strand, London, seven doors from Temple Bar; and, by his appointment, by Bellby and Co. Birmingham; Stoby, St. Ann's-square, Manchester; Rennie, Lord-street, Liverpool; and all other Medicine Venders through the kingdom.

Shortly will be published, **NEW CHRISTIANITY**, by ST. SIMON. Illustrated with a Coloured Engraving, representing a Female in the St. Simonian costume; translated into English by the Rev. J. Smith, M.A. Price One Shilling.

B. D. Cousins, *Crisis* Office.

Of whom also may be had

VOLNEY'S RUINS OF EMPIRES,

In a neat Pocket Volume, price 2s. 6d. boards, or in 14 Numbers, price 2d. each.

ALSO,

The **PIONEER, or TRADES' UNION MAGAZINE**, price 1d. The whole of the back Numbers of the *Pioneer* are being reprinted, and complete sets may now be had.

LECTURES ON CHARITY, by ROBERT OWEN. In six Numbers, stitched, price 6d.

The **ADDRESS** of the First of May, delivered by Robert Owen, at the Institution, Charlotte-street, London.

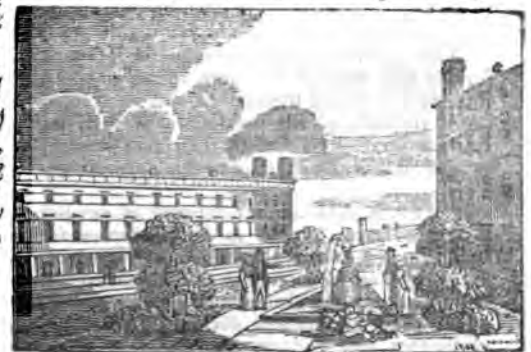
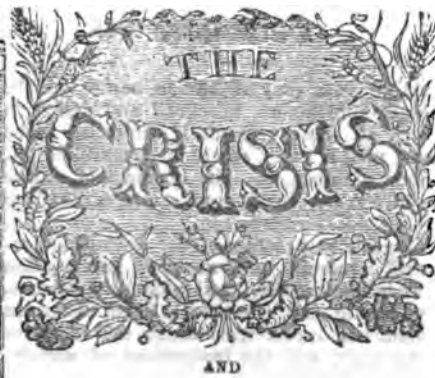
The **CATECHISM** of the Trades' Unions; or The Catechism of the National Regeneration Society; price 1d. each, in a neat pocket size.

In 1 vol. 8vo., price 4s. 6d., bds., or in 16 Numbers, price 3d. each.

ANTI-CRIST, or Christianity Reformed, by the Rev. J. E. SMITH, M.A.; in which is demonstrated from the Scriptures, in opposition to the prevailing opinion of the whole religious world, that evil and good are from one source; Devil and God one Spirit; and that the one is merely manifested to make perfect the other.

Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

Printed and published by B. D. COUSINS, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields; and at 27, Strand.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

A copy of the following letter and article has been sent to the principal Editors of the London Papers:—

TO THE EDITOR OF ———.

If you are a real friend of your country, and possess sufficient moral courage, and are independent of party, you will insert the following in the most conspicuous part of your paper.

ROBERT OWEN.

A Word of Truth to the Public, previous to the commencement of the approaching Session of Parliament.—BY ROBERT OWEN.

A MORE important crisis in the affairs of the human race, than that which will arise at the commencement of the approaching session of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, has not been known in the past history of mankind.

In this session it will be decided whether the world shall continue to be governed by principles which are in opposition to all facts and consequently false; by principles so degrading and demoralizing as to reduce man in many respects to a condition far inferior to many classes of the lower animals; by principles which must keep the human race in a state of turmoil and war, or of fraud and deception; by principles which must make man an enemy to man either in peace or war, and render his life, from birth to death, a continued existence of senseless contest, folly, and misery: or whether, IN THIS YEAR, principles of truth, in accordance with every known fact, shall supersede those principles of error, and become the foundation of an entirely new system for reforming, and new governing man; a system in perfect accordance with his ascertained nature, fully competent to re-model the human race, and make them, without exception, rational, intelligent, superior beings; a system competent, also, to secure possession, through life, of far more wisdom and happiness than it has been possible for any one of them to possess and enjoy under any of the circumstances which the errors and evils of the past and present irrational system of the world could permit to be formed.

As this period of great dread to some, and of great joy to others, is so near at hand, truths shall now be unveiled, through a knowledge of

which, alone, man can be regenerated and born again, and rise to a life of everlasting yet ever-varying happiness.

The errors producing the evils of the existing system shall be first unveiled. They are the following:—

The first Error is, that individual man is made responsible by society for those very qualities which society has compelled him, by its institutions, to receive.

Second Error. That he is rewarded and punished by society for the feelings and ideas which nature and society compel him to receive, and which he must retain until society shall effect a change.

Third Error. That he is compelled by society to receive notions which derange his intellectual faculties, and give a false direction to almost all his moral feelings.

Fourth Error. That he is ignorantly taught, from his infancy, to be uncharitable, unkind, and to hate all those whom society has made to differ from him in sentiment and feeling, or in what his own small circle of society has educated him to believe is right or wrong.

Fifth Error. That he is trained from infancy to hate his own nature, and to repress all his natural feelings and sympathies, and all the higher and nobler qualities of his nature; and yet his nature must be what that Power which perpetually organizes, decomposes, and re-organizes the materials of the universe, formed it to be.

Sixth Error. That he is trained to imagine that he has the power of himself, by his own will, to think or not to think, to feel or not to feel, at or according to his pleasure.

These are the errors on which the existing system of the world, for forming the character of man, and for governing him, rests. It has no other foundation; and it has made man the irrational, localized being which he always has been, and which he now is, over the whole earth.

These fundamental errors have generated a complex and artificial system for governing mankind, by dividing them into masses, each of which is opposed to the well-being and happiness of every other mass, and of all other individuals.

The first mass is composed of men formed into a Priesthood, whose apparent interest it

is to keep mankind in a state of gross ignorance and superstition, that they may become and remain subservient to the dictates of that mass; although their *real* interest, as men, is directly opposed to this *apparent* interest.

The second mass is composed of men formed to be Lawyers, whose apparent interest it is to perplex all human affairs, and to foment all manner of dissensions among men; although their *real* interest, as men, is directly opposed to this *apparent* interest.

The third mass is composed of men formed to be Physicians, whose apparent interest it is that the causes of disease should not be removed, but increased; although their *real* interest, as men, is directly opposed to this *apparent* interest.

The fourth mass is composed of men formed to be fighting-men in armies and navies, whose apparent interest it is to induce mankind, in opposition to common reason, to murder, maim, and plunder each other, and create so millions unspeakable miseries; although their *real* interest, as men, is directly opposed to this *apparent* interest.

The fifth mass is composed of men formed to be retail and wholesale dealers, and foreign merchants, whose apparent interest it is to buy cheap from the producers of wealth and knowledge, and to sell both dear to the consumers of wealth and the purchasers of knowledge; although their *real* interests, as men, is directly opposed to this *apparent* interest.

The sixth mass is composed of men formed to be producers, makers, and manufacturers of various kinds of wealth, whose apparent interest it is to produce, make, and manufacture those things which will obtain the most immediate profit to themselves and to the distributors of wealth, regardless of their intrinsic worth, real utility to the public, or waste of the most valuable materials; although their *real* interest, as men, is directly opposed to this *apparent* interest.

The seventh mass is composed of men formed into bankers and money-changers, whose apparent interest it is to subtract from the producers of wealth and knowledge, and of all other classes, as large a share of their property as each mass can by any means devise; although their *real* interest, as men, is directly opposed to this *apparent* interest.

The eighth mass is composed of men formed into manual labourers, whose apparent interest it is to sell themselves, and act according to the will of the purchasers of their labour or services; although their *real* interest, as men, is directly opposed to this *apparent* interest.

The ninth division is composed of smaller masses of men, formed to be legislators for larger masses, to make laws for their conduct, and keep them in subjection to their governors, but whose apparent interest it is to keep all in a state of separation and division of interests, sentiments, and feelings, that they may be the more easily contented to obey those laws, although their *real* interest, as men, is directly opposed to this *apparent* interest.

The tenth division is composed of another small mass of persons, formed to be the leaders of fashion in dress, equipage, style of living and manners, whose apparent interest it is to distinguish themselves by a lavish expenditure and ever-changing external appearance, from the great mass of the population of the world, and especially of the masses who produce wealth and knowledge, and who also are carefully trained to dread being seen, at any time, usefully employed, and who are taught to think that all the industrious masses have come into existence purposely to maintain their fashionable mass in extravagance, idleness, uselessness, and often in great viciousness; although their *real* interest, as men, is directly opposed to this *apparent* interest.

The eleventh division is composed of a large mass, formed to be collectors and distributors of the wealth produced by the industrious masses for the benefit of the governors, warriors, priests, lawyers, money-makers and changers, and the fashionables, who do not produce anything useful or desirable for any portion of the human race, and who are mere drones and butterflies in society; although their *real* interest, as men, is directly opposed to this *apparent* interest.

And the twelfth division is composed of a mass, yet smaller, formed to be the heads or governors of these larger and smaller masses, whose interests appear to be to employ all in one way or another, to promote their chief objects, which are, to keep the whole of the preceding masses in graduated subjection to their will, and to collect the greatest possible amount of wealth, from the industry of those whom they govern, and to do the least possible real good to them in return, although their *real* interest, as men, is directly opposed to this *apparent* interest.

Now these twelve divisions are entirely artificial, formed, of necessity, from the introduction of the fundamental errors on which the whole past and present system of the world has been based; these divisions are well calculated to make a pandemonium of the earth and demons of its inhabitants, and they have now most effectually accomplished these objects. For the apparent interest of man has been made, by the system which they have generated, to be opposed to man, and division, competition, and covert or open contest, pervade all the nations of the earth.

Men now legislate for a perpetual continuance of this horrid and blasphemous state of existence, as though it were the only condition in which society could exist; while, on the contrary, it is the most artificial and the worst that could be devised even by a superior malignant being. For under this system, the

worst qualities only of human nature can be brought into action, falsehood and deception govern all things; truth is compelled to be silent, man is every where made the blind oppressor of man, and the blessings of nature and of art are, by its gross errors, turned into curses.

This is a true picture of the degraded, perplexed, irrational, and wretched combination of all human society, and which is the necessary, certain, and unavoidable result of the six fundamental errors from which the character of all men, and the institutions of society, have been formed.

While these errors shall be permitted to inflict their poisonous influences over the human race, in still giving an unnatural, and therefore irrational, direction to their thoughts and feelings, to expect, through any improvement of the physical sciences,—through any mere political changes,—through any alteration of the laws affecting corn, currency, commerce,—or religious forms, ceremonies, or emoluments—or any measure whatever, short of an open, fair, full and entire abrogation of the whole system which makes man the senseless animal he now is; it will be useless and visionary to expect any permanent progress in arrangements to form man to become intelligent and wise, or to surround him generally with the wealth requisite to insure him at all times a full supply of those things which are necessary to his health, enjoyment, and happiness.

It is now for you, the producers of wealth and knowledge, and of all that it is desirable for man to possess, to announce to the world that you will not any longer support this wretched system of injustice, folly, and madness; that you will henceforward exert your powers and faculties to form and maintain a system founded on principles derived from those facts only regarding man which nature universally develops; principles, which, if generally taught to man from his infancy, will insure the practice of equal justice from man to man, and compel each individual of the human race to receive sentiments of the most pure and extensive charity for all of his species, and imbue him with feelings of benevolence and kindness for all the children of the great family of mankind.

This, producers, masters and men, is the great work which you *have* to accomplish. This is the work which you *alone* can accomplish. This is the work which, for the benefit of the innumerable suffering producers in the British dominions, and over the world, you *ought* to accomplish; and which I hope and trust you *will* accomplish *before the present year shall terminate*.

Know you the daily and nightly privations and anxieties which a countless number of your class now suffer, and must continue daily and nightly to suffer, until you come to their relief? No! you cannot even imagine a tithe or a twentieth, or even a thousandth part of the affliction with which this wretched system overwhelms the most honest and least protected part of all populations, or you could not permit this misery and injustice to exist during this year; no, nor for half its duration. Do you doubt your power to command this mighty change within the next six months? You, *unitedly*, have but to *will* it, and it is *done*! Who can resist your *UNITED WILL*? Not all the combined mortal powers of the earth, provided you are but *true to yourselves*, and to the

cause of truth and righteousness over the world.

But it is not your cause alone, it is the sacred cause of each one of the human race. It is the universal cause of man, both in the present and through all future generations. *Will* it, therefore, that the mighty change in human affairs shall be commenced during the session about to open of the Imperial Parliament, and as sure as you thus will it the great work must be achieved, and achieved too without disorder or confusion in society, or violence to a single individual; and declare this will by petitioning the Legislature, from every union of producers in the kingdom, both in Great Britain and Ireland, to take at once into their consideration the possibility and practicability of easily and *most beneficially* changing the whole of the errors of the existing system itself, for another system, which shall insure wealth and intelligence, wisdom and happiness, to the present and all future generations.

Say, in these petitions, that you are ready to send those to the bar of both Houses of the Legislature who can and will explain these measures, and make them so plain and evident to common understandings, that all the intelligent and well-disposed in both Houses shall readily yield their assent, and acknowledge their truth and benefit.

This course will prevent the collision of parties, give a wise or rational direction to all their deliberations, and save the time, in both Houses, that would otherwise be lost in discussing matters of the most trifling import, and of the least possible interest to you and the world.

If the Imperial Parliament, from a misconception of the real prowess of the human mind, should decline your friendly proposal, and disregard your petitions, you have only, while they deliberate on what the non-producers of wealth and knowledge are to do, to determine to produce wealth and knowledge for yourselves, and to make your temporary exchanges with each other, on the principle of labour for equal labour, honestly estimated, and passed from hand to hand by the medium of the *Labour Exchange Note*; and you may quietly wait the period when these non-producers of wealth and knowledge will discover the great advantage of insuring the whole change of system in the shortest possible time, both for their permanent benefit and yours.

ROBERT OWEN.

London, Jan. 13, 1834.

MEETING OF THE DERBY TRADES' UNION WITH ROBERT OWEN, Esq., AND THE LEEDS DELEGATES.

THURSDAY EVENING, JAN. 2nd, 1834.

No public notice was given of this meeting, but such is the organization of the working classes in "Union," that although but a few hours' notice was given of the intention of Mr. Owen to address them, the Lancasterian School-room was crowded to excess before the business of the meeting commenced. About half-past six o'clock Mr. Callanbell was called to the chair. He briefly addressed the meeting, and requested, that if any manufacturer that might be present wished to make any remark on what transpired, he should be patiently heard; it was Mr. Owen's particular desire.

Mr. Owen hoped the first meeting he attended in Derby of the operatives would be for good, and not for evil. He would, if he could, remove all angry feeling between the employed and the employ-

ers; he was quite sure the time was coming when they would regret there had been any angry expressions used between them and the manufacturers. They must admit that both parties were made of the same flesh and blood, and therefore, if the men were placed in the masters' circumstances, they would do as the masters had done; and the masters, similarly circumstanced, would do as the men had done. This consideration should promote the exercise of genuine charity between the parties. It had been his lot, in other places, to recommend, not division, but union, to the men, and union to the masters. The masters in Derby had decided against Union; he was quite sure they had done so under mistake. Unions were forming in Great Britain and Ireland, with a direct intention of equally benefiting the masters, the men, and the public; and if there were any masters present, he begged they would consider what he should state respecting those Unions. The present injurious system was destroying the capital of the workman—his labour—and the capital of the manufacturer; for although some large fortunes were amassed, it was his decided opinion that seven out of ten of those who embarked their capital in manufacture, in a few years became bankrupts, or compromised with their creditors. Those who made fortunes stood prominently forth before the public; but those who failed were lost sight of, and sunk into poverty; it was better to receive the wages of the artisan, than to struggle with the difficulties of such masters. His object was not to promote Unions for the protection of the working classes alone, but of the producing classes generally. He would explain the simple principles on which they meant to act. Here is an article of wealth (holding up his hat), there are three parties interested in its production—the operative, the master, and the public; we hope by this Union to improve the condition of all. That which is most essential is labour; it is the operatives' only capital, and the labourer is worthy of his hire; and whenever the society was fully formed in Great Britain and Ireland, he hoped they would never know what bad times were. The operatives in return for their labour ought, when regularly engaged, to have good lodgings, wholesome food, and plenty of it; good clothes, when it was proper to wear them; the means of giving a good practical education to their children; and the time and means for social enjoyment. He would never cease, while he had life, to advocate measures that would produce these results. They had seen what ought to be the just remuneration of the operatives—the masters, too, were justly entitled for the use of their capital, the wear and tear of their establishments, and all the items which enter into the prime cost of any article of manufacture, to a fair and full compensation. This would be interest for their capital, and an average 10 per cent. profit, some less and some more, according to the nature of the business. The operatives would be content with good living, and the path was open by which they should have it. On the same ground, and on the same principles, the masters should also be insured the return of their capital, and the 10 per cent. profit for their services.—Now for the public. At present the public purchased their services at prime cost; but he would show them a plan by which the public should pay a fair equivalent for what they purchased, and be immense gainers; for now, in consequence of the manufacture of inferior goods, a loss was sustained yearly equal to the amount of the national debt. He would explain the nature of that loss. Some years ago he was a cotton spinner on a very large scale, when, out of a population of 2,500, he employed all capable of work. He was accustomed to reflect calmly on all things that passed under his notice, and to test the truth of all the opinions he received by fact—a man of business from his youth upwards, and yet public writers had called him a visionary, solely because he was a man of practice without imagination. He saw

that the public was injured by the call for a cheap article; and he had ascertained the amount of loss they sustained in not using articles as good as they could be manufactured, by having shirts and stockings made for his own wear of the very best. He found that such articles of dress would wear from six to ten times longer than those made of goods commonly manufactured. He would suppose the cotton manufacture amounted to 50 millions sterling a year, at the present prices; and that to make the superior goods he had alluded to would cost 50 per cent. more—this would make 75 millions; multiply this 50 millions by 6—the least period he had mentioned—and they had 300 millions, from which they would have to deduct the 75 millions for the superior manufactured goods, and it left a loss of 225 millions, besides the loss of five times making up the article, and of five times the amount of the raw material. This principle would apply to the whole of British manufacture. By a better mode of manufacture, the public would be thus amply repaid for an additional price required to remunerate the manufacturers, and the workmen. It would be in future the fault of the producers, if the non-producers, that is, those who did not produce either knowledge or wealth, did not pay a full equivalent for every article they used of British manufacture. By the union he recommended, they would get back the large sums that had been taken, he was going to say, unjustly, from the working classes.

Mr. O. then alluded to a society that had been established in Derby a few days previously, which we afterwards understood to be an auxiliary to the Manchester National Regeneration Society. It was established on just principles, and inculcated genuine charity, which would enable one man to make allowances for difference of sentiment in another. This charity, so much wanted in society, would discover itself in the every-day transactions of life. It gave a new heart, was observed in the tone of voice and the manners of mankind, and when it was universally understood they might date from that time the millennium of the world. He was very desirous that masters and men should never speak angrily to each other; that on all matters of dispute they should reason calmly, and make allowances for difference of circumstances. Then, he was quite sure before the end of another week a Union would be formed amongst the masters, and delegates appointed by both masters and men to confer together, and harmony and success would attend their future connexion. When he returned, which he should do in a few weeks, he hoped their differences would be terminated for ever.

Mr. Simeon Pollard, a delegate from the Leeds Union, moved a resolution to the effect that the Derby artisans ought not to submit to the abandonment of their Union, at the dictation of their masters, as that would prevent them taking any step to better their condition, and be an infringement of the true principles of social liberty. He commenced by stating that he was a working man, influenced by the same feelings and interests as they were, and that he was convinced by the experience he had had in Yorkshire, that the working classes would never better their condition unless the Union comprised the whole of the United Kingdom. The speaker then entered into the history of the origin of the Trades' Unions which took place in Yorkshire three years ago. A manufacturer of Bradford, in Jan. 1831, advanced the wages of his hands which, he said, the state of trade would allow, and he thought it but common justice that the operatives should partake of the benefits of an improved demand. Other masters did not follow the example; a meeting of operatives in the employment of Messrs. Gott was called, and an advance of wages was solicited. Messrs. Gott refused, and out of 239 hands, 219 turned out. A struggle commenced, which has been the cause of such consequences as no one could have anticipated. They waged war for

eight months, and then Messrs. Gott submitted to the demand of their work-people. Since that time many similar struggles had taken place on twenty times a more formidable scale, but the Union men had never been defeated, nor would they if their conduct was regulated by justice and a sound policy. At one time 108 masters said they would not employ Unionists—the men had a goodly sum ready for the contest—and the masters gave up the point. He then referred to contests at Idle, Holmfirth, and Leeds, which he said terminated in favour of the men. The editor of the *Leeds Mercury* contended that the advance of wages, which the men obtained, was not the effect of their Union, but of an improvement in trade. But this was not the fact; the advance was given at a time when trade was flat. Another proof existed at this time that the editor of the *Leeds Mercury* was wrong. Although the Unions extended nearly throughout the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, there were a few villages not in union, that had had no advance of wages for the last four or five years. The inference was plain: the Union operated advantageously to the interests of the men in one case; in the other they had not united, and therefore they had not been advanced.—Union had not failed in the Potteries, it had not failed in Yorkshire, nor was it likely to fail. Reference had been made in the *Derby Mercury* to the turn-out of the Leeds dyers. He acknowledged the men had utterly failed; they were out nine or ten weeks, and would have been supported till now had they acted consistently, and had they not over-stepped the bounds of reason assigned to every man. Another reason for their failure was, some foremen of dye-houses were getting 6*l.*, 8*l.*, and even 10*l.* a-week, and these persons took the earliest opportunity to return to their profitable employment, and taught others to supply the places of the turn-outs. They failed because they were rash, unjust, and did not support each other, while thousands were supporting them. The speaker then alluded to the circumstances of the Derby turn-outs, and assured them they should not want the means of maintaining the Union. He knew not the masters' version of the case, but he would say it ill became them, as enlightened men and advocates of liberty for themselves, to grind others to the dust. They talked of dictation; so did the Leeds manufacturers; who memorialized government, said the Unions would injure trade, and threatened a combination of 20,000 horse-power to crush the Unions. The Union men were compelled to come forth and publish the real state of the case; they offered to refer it to arbitration, which the editor of the *Leeds Mercury* allowed was as fair as possible. But they had not met the challenge, being conscious they would be signally defeated whenever they do. The speaker then said that impositions were practised upon the men by false representations respecting competition with other manufacturing districts. The men in the woollen trade in Gloucestershire had been told, in a pamphlet, to have nothing to do with Unions, for the Yorkshire men had ruined their trade by their proceedings, and were wanting bread; but this was not the case, trade was never better. The writer of that pamphlet exhorted the Gloucestershire men to be content, for they could each earn, if a good hand, and he worked long hours, 15*s.* a-week; but he could assure the meeting that a man brought up to his business could not earn more than 8*s.* a-week; and if they did not unite firmly, there was no alternative but increasing poverty. He would have the Unions exert moral, not physical force, and he would ask, what could resist the tremendous power of the Unions, when intelligence was diffused amongst them, and they were fully alive to their condition? If this power were used judiciously, and for their common welfare, they might as well talk of altering the course of nature as destroying the Unions. Intelligence had gone forth—education had done its work, and

men would be men whether they were princes or peasants. If they destroyed the Union to-day, another would arise to-morrow ten thousand times more powerful, and carry irresistibly every reasonable and just measure. He then urged them as Union men to keep within the pale of the law, to exert their moral influence, and they must succeed. Violence would be injurious to their cause; he had known instances where their opponents were glad when the men broke the peace, and sorry when they did not. They must do justice, and love equity—avoid doing their masters any injury, and let their conduct be as conciliatory as possible. He then concluded by promising them more assistance from Yorkshire than the Derby masters expected.

Mr. Samuel Lucas, a delegate from the Bricklayers' Union, Leeds, next addressed the meeting. This speaker said he had been sent by the operatives of Leeds to inquire into the distress of the Derby turn-outs, especially two cases—one of a poor widow named Walker, who, because her son, 14 years old, smelt of Unionism, the widow was denied all parochial relief. He had seen her, and it was a fact, that he had found her living on potato peelings. The other case was that of a widow, whose two girls were discharged from their employment, because they smelt of Unionism; he found this family had been locked up in their house a whole day, not having risen from bed, because they had nothing to eat. This speaker indulged in violent invectives against master builders, who, he said, the Union disowned as tyrants; and all contracts, where one tradesman engaged to do the work of another branch of business. He also narrated the circumstances attending a turn-out, which forced a master bricklayer to give up an apprentice that he had taken in violation of a rule of the Union. This rule was that no first-rate master should take above two apprentices, and that a second-rate master should only be allowed one. He concluded by asserting that the higher powers were smiling on the meeting.

Mr. Gibbon explained that although the Unionists must necessarily experience some slight distress, the extreme cases that had been mentioned existed because they were unknown to the Union.

Mr. Collumbell stated the circumstances of destitution in which he found the widow alluded to, and the pleasure he had in supplying her immediate wants; she resides in River-street, Court No. 1, St. Alkmund's parish.

The thanks of the meeting were then voted to Mr. Owen, for coming forward with a view to settle the differences between the men and their employers, with three times three.

Mr. Owen did not consider himself entitled to thanks. What he had done originated in the feelings that actuated every other human being; he had the greatest pleasure in doing what he had done. With regard to the differences between them and their employers, he must say, from the good feeling that had been displayed that evening, he augured that they would be amicably adjusted before the end of the week—if he was mistaken the cause would not rest with them. He said he was going to-morrow to Birmingham, where they had many warm friends, and from thence to Worcester, and forward to London. He was glad to find, in consequence of the letter he had written to his friends in London, their cause had been taken up. He would have them maintain the Union in its utmost integrity. He would state his own convictions with regard to Unions: he had long studied the condition of the working classes, and he was thoroughly convinced that without Union they had no chance of resisting oppression. Were he in their situation, he would suffer death before he would give up the Union.

On the motion of Mr. Owen, the thanks of the meeting were given to the Leeds delegates, with three times three.

MEETING WITH THE MASTERS AND MANUFACTURERS.

ON Friday morning a considerable number of the masters and manufacturers, (who had been invited by circulars,) met Mr. Owen at the King's Head, where he addressed them for a considerable time on subjects connected with the interests of the producing classes, but more especially on the state and prospects of English manufactures. He attributed the depressed state of the working classes to an ignorant competition amongst their employers. Forty years ago, an artisan took home to his family from 4s. to 4s. 4s. 0d. a-week. At that time men were chiefly employed in the cotton manufacture, a few females only being employed in picking cotton, which was now done by machinery, or the extent of the manufacture would employ nearly all the females in Great Britain. If the true principles of manufacture had been understood, there would not have been one day of bad times, from that period to the present. It was about that time that Oldknow of Stockport made the first muslins; they were sold to the nobility at 10s. a-yard, and sought after by Duchesses with avidity; but now it was difficult to obtain for a better article 3d. a-yard. There was no other reason for this change but the competition which manufacturers had carried on with each other to a ruinous extent for their individual profit, by which the supply had always been kept above the demand. He had tables to show, taken from official documents, which exhibited the downward course of British manufactures.—In 1814 for work, for which a weaver was paid 13s. 9d., in 1833 he only got 4s. 6d.; the fall in provisions was as follows:—In 1814, 12lb. of flour cost 2s. 8d., now it was 2s. 0½d.—beef, 9½d. now 6½d. Cotton twist, 40 hanks cop west, in 1815 was 2s. 0½d., in 1833 1s. 6d.—the cost of 18 oz. of cotton 1s. 10d.—in 1833 8d. For labour which in 1815, 1s. 2½d. was paid, in 1833 only 4d. was obtained. For weaving a four-cut warp in 1815, 28s. 11½d. was paid, in 1833 the price was 10s. 2½d. In 1815, 1s. 2½d. was obtained for labour, expenses, and profit for spinning 1lb. of 40 hanks cop west, but there had been a gradual diminution till, in 1833, it came down to 4d. In 1798 our exports were twenty millions sterling official value—the real value was as near thirty-three millions as possible; but during the last five years our exports were six millions annually, official value; but the declared value is thirty-six millions and a half—a mere trifle more than it was forty years ago; consequently we now give three times the quantity of goods for the same amount as formerly: the public were deceived by supposing the official value was something like the real, or money-value of our exports.—In his progress through the manufacturing districts he had found the operatives overworked, and underpaid; Sheffield, Derby, and the Potteries, were in a better condition than any other districts he had visited. He had no hesitation in saying, if the masters and men were united, they would have it in their power to obtain a just remuneration for labour, and a fair profit on capital. A blind competition amongst the producers had not only reduced profits, and the value of labour, but had been the cause of a deterioration in the quality of manufactured goods, by which the public were greatly injured. Mr. Owen then entered into the same calculations which he laid before the operatives on the previous evening, to show that a loss was sustained annually by the deterioration in the quality of goods, which would pay the national debt; and afterwards urged the necessity of union between the manufacturers and their workmen, to compel those, who neither contributed useful knowledge, nor food, nor clothing, to pay the real value of what they obtained from the producing classes. It was very evident that, under the present system, the extraordinary power of machinery in the production of wealth, placed the producing classes daily in a worse situation. Instead of enjoying

increasing comforts with the ability to produce them, they had gone on labouring from eleven to twelve, and in some instances sixteen, hours a-day to procure much less remuneration; and they had found it necessary to call in the aid of their wives and children, to obtain even a scanty subsistence. Their condition was much worse than it was fifty years ago; the reverse of this ought to have been the case; the hours of labour should have been reduced with the astonishing increase of the power of machinery from nine to eight, and down to four hours a-day. If the present system was continued, ere long a great part of the population must either emigrate or starve.

Mr. Owen was then reminded that the population could not live on manufactures, and asked how food was to be obtained in sufficient quantities with such abridged labour as four or eight hours a-day? He said the question was important, and urged that if machinery enabled one man to do the work of a hundred, ninety men might go to agriculture; each man so liberated might with spade-husbandry raise sufficient food for twenty persons, and he had no doubt that the land would afford, so tilled, four times the produce it now yielded. He then adverted to the poor laws, and denounced the folly of paying eight millions per annum to keep men idle. The system was most injurious and demoralising and injurious, as he could show by his own experience at New Lanark. In 1799 he collected there a population the most demoralised, for the purpose of testing the value of his new views of society. Mr. Owen then entered into an explanation of his peculiar views on this subject, contending that man was the creature of circumstances and education, and declaring that he would undertake out of 3,000 children, to make 1,000 the worst members of society, 1,000 the best, and 1,000 of a mixed character,—this was as certain as a rule of three question. Amongst the persons collected at New Lanark were thieves, liars, and drunkards; and the whole were idle, dirty, and imbecile, with few exceptions. It was his intention to alter their character, and as they were poor to make them comfortable. He had patience to endure all the evils attendant on the change he anticipated, and a most delightful change it was. During the twenty-nine years he was with them, he never employed a Magistrate, although for four or five of the first years they lost by thieving not less than 1,500l. a-year. He reduced the hours of labour from fourteen to ten hours and a half a-day; expended large sums in forming the character of the people, and educating their children, and in erecting houses, and forming gardens, streets, and pleasure-grounds. His partners were alarmed at the outlay, and he changed them in consequence, during the twenty-nine years, three times; but the concern paid 5 per cent. interest on the capital employed, and yielded between 3 and 400,000l. profit. Their capital about the first half of the period was 60,000l.; the latter half 130,000l.—During the latter part of the time the thefts did not amount to five shillings a-year; the people were happy, and he was sure their whole heart and soul was with him. He frequently left home for six, seven, or eight months together, and on his return he found that his directions had been attended to as punctually as if he had been with them. A conversation then ensued on the merits of the Regeneration Society, and the advantages of free trade. Mr. Owen contended, that under the present system there was no way of protecting the producers, and making the non-producers pay a fair equivalent for labour and profit, but limiting the supply; this would be done by working eight hours instead of twelve. Mr. Fielden and himself had devoted three days to the consideration of the subject, and at last they came to the conclusion that eight hours should be the maximum of labour, and the present wages the minimum of remuneration. Free trade, without new principles prevailed, provisions were lower, and taxes remitted, he was confident would prove a curse. At first it would be decidedly ad-

vantageous to Great Britain and America, but it would give, under the present system, the most complete control to a few individuals over the working classes—create one hundred despots, and reduce the artisans to a state of abject slavery. He had no doubt that the Regenerating Society, when it came into operation, would restore trade to a healthy state, and the workmen would pass rapidly from a state of ignorance, poverty, and bad feeling towards their employers, to one of union and happiness. Mr. Owen then stated, that he had been actively engaged for many years, like a mole under ground, propagating his views. He had communicated with all the Governments of Europe; Lord Liverpool acknowledged his principles were true, but said the people were not ready to adopt them. His Lordship asked what he would recommend, and he advised that two hundred copies of his book should be bound up with blank leaves, and sent to the Bishops, the Universities, the other Governments of Europe, and the leading minds in society, with a request that they would point out any errors in his principles. This was done, but his principles could not be impugned. Mr. Huskisson acknowledged they were correct. The King of Prussia was pleased with his views, and ordered them to be acted upon as far as possible, to the full extent of his kingdom. The king of Saxony presented him with a gold medal, as a mark of his approbation; and he was happy to know that his principles were widely spreading. The first infant school was formed by him at New Lanark; the second was established in London, under the patronage of the present Lord Chancellor, and some others—the master was sent from New Lanark. All acknowledged he was right except the modern political economists, who, he was persuaded, would urge on measures next Session of Parliament that would turn the present ministers out of office. It was much better to go on, on the old system, till the advantages of the new could be obtained. He next reverted to the Report of the Committee on the Poor Laws, published in 1816. In consequence of that Report a public meeting was called in London, which was attended by the heads of government, the leading legislators, and political economists. The Archbishop of Canterbury was in the chair. Mr. Owen was there, and he was much surprised at the wild and erudite notions that emanated from that assembly. He then stated, that during the twenty-five years' war, the machinery of Great Britain had clothed nearly all the armies of Europe. At its termination there was an immense superfluity of both agricultural and manufactured produce; this, under a wise system, would have been of the greatest benefit, but under the present system it was the source of poverty and misery. He was urged by Mr. Colquhoun to state what he thought was the amount of labour superseeded by the use of machinery; and, after a careful investigation, he found the spinning machinery alone superseded the labour of eighty millions of men, and he was sure it was doubled since that time. The government then did not suppose that the produce of machinery would exceed the labour of one million of men, when it could not be less, taking the whole, than 350 millions—how was it possible, thus ignorant, that they could govern thus wisely and beneficially? In support of his views, Mr. Owen referred to a community of Germans who settled in America, mentioned by Mr. Stewart in his book, called *Rappahanna*. Amongst them there was no competition; they had a common depot of provisions and necessities, and all were allowed freely to use whatever they liked. They had the best houses and gardens in America, and between four and five thousand acres of highly-cultivated land; they worked lightly and pleasantly, but they raised twice the provision they could consume; and although they had shifted three times, and gone into the wilderness, and cleared fresh land each time, they had now 500,000 dollars in the bank, and this he was afraid would destroy them. The first year they had liked to have perished, as all their property was exhausted before the first

crop was ripe. The reason for their repeated removals he had reason to know was to be attributed to the policy of their leaders, who found a difficulty in keeping them in order when they accumulated too much. They were kept in a state of ignorance; but he had put them in a way to acquire knowledge; they were by far the most prosperous community in the civilized world. Mr. Owen was then asked how we could compete with foreign manufacturers, if the hours of labour per day were limited to eight, under the disadvantages of high taxation and dear food? He replied, that Unions for the same limitations of the hours of labour were forming throughout France and Germany. He did not consider foreign trade legitimate, till the wants of the whole population were supplied, and with eight hours' labour not merely sufficient would be produced, but also a greater supply than was necessary for the purpose of exchange for such foreign productions as were required. If the corn laws were abolished, and the tithes and taxes remitted, the present wretched system of trade would perpetuate the toil and misery of the working classes.

A conversation afterwards took place respecting an adjustment between the turn-outs and their employers. Most of the masters and manufacturers had left the room, but such as were present objected for themselves to receiving any overtures from the present Trades' Union. Mr. Owen would not advise them to abandon the Union, and contended that the masters were the most unfit persons to settle disputes with their work-people. He said a Regeneration Society had been formed in the town, but it did not appear that any steps had been taken to dissolve the present Union. We were glad to hear from Mr. Owen that the Regeneration Society had no intention of recommending a turn-out on the first of March. They should wait till arrangements could be made with such a number of manufacturers to limit the hours of labour to eight per day, as would effect the object of the Society by the force of public opinion alone, which he considered more powerful than Acts of Parliament. This conference terminated about two o'clock, without any terms of reconciliation being proposed between the masters and workmen. Mr. Owen said he should return in a few weeks, and if the desirable object were not effected, he should be happy to be a mediator for that purpose.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have been obliged to defer D. G. and others till next week, on account of certain long articles which could not be omitted.

The Birmingham Report is in type, but omitted this week for want of room.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JAN. 18.

THERE can be no doubt, we think, that all men are mad. It is needless to speak of wise men, and prudent men, &c. There are no wise men, no prudent men in being. The world is a great lunatic asylum, and legislators and magistrates may be called the keepers, who are themselves quite as mad as those in the cells—many of whom would make very good magistrates, if they could get out of confinement. A Bedlamite once asked the reason why he and his fellow-prisoners were accounted mad, and all the world besides allowed to be sound in mind. He answered the question himself; for he regarded the person he addressed as a lunatic. "Why," says he, "it is only because we are in the minority, and you in the majority. Were the majority of men as mad as we are, we would put such fellows as you in strait waistcoats." In making a remark of this kind to a lady, she very wittily replied, "How, in-

deed, can we be any thing else than mad, seeing the world whirls round about with such velocity, both in its diurnal and annual motion?" If this be the true cause of our giddiness and chaos of mind, we can have very poor chance of a remedy. It is a species of original sin, which nothing but a miracle can cure; and our pious friends in the majority, if they do not literally adduce this as the cause of moral evil, yet adduce something which is equally beyond the influence of human power to act upon, and therefore they say "Let us stand still and see the salvation of God. Wait till it comes, and in the meanwhile use the whip and the strait waistcoat, and the prisons, and the cells, and keep the poor in subjection; but as for curing human nature of original sin by union and fraternity, you may just as well try to stop the earth from whirling."

It is also very amusing to see one party, "as mad as a March hare" and as visionary as an Arabian romance-monger, stigmatizing his opponent as a visionary also. Words are actually beginning to lose their meaning. It is hard now-a-days to tell what a visionary is. Pleasure means debauchery; religion means hypocrisy or austerity; and a Christian is one who opposes the establishment of Christianity, the supremacy of moral over physical government, and the deliverance of the poor from misery and servitude. The world ought all to be put in a strait waistcoat together, since we cannot stop the whirling. One writer upon property says, that property prevents contests, wars, turmoils, &c.; other parties say that property creates contests, wars, and turmoil. Which of these two ought to be in confinement? The same author, a Mr. Wade, as quoted in *Chambers's Journal*, with approbation, says, in alluding to co-operation, "Do not the several classes of society already co-operate in the most advantageous manner for the common benefit of the community?" Who is to answer this question—the rich or the poor?—for we will take in hand to get two opposite answers to any question.—And of Mr. Owen's system he says, "It is more like corporation than co-operation, the principle of the old monastic institutions and commercial monopolies;—associations of whose stagnating, debasing, and injurious tendency, the world has already had sufficient experience." We wonder where this writer got his information respecting Owen and the Catholic monks. It is the first time we ever saw a comparison drawn between Robert Owen and his holiness the Pope and the shaven friars. No doubt, there is also a very great resemblance between their opinions! There is this striking resemblance, that both Robert Owen and his holiness the Pope and the shaven monks maintain, that the moral government of society ought to rule supreme, and that all physical or magisterial government, if any is required, ought to be subject to the moral. Owen would do away with physical force altogether, and make the moral power, which is the Church, supreme. But it would be done without any compulsion.

which is more than the Pope and the monks could manage. But the Protestants would have the physical power predominant, and no other method of preventing crime than that of torturing it out of existence. Which of the two ought to have the preference—the physical or the moral—fear or love? The latter, surely; that is the Church, the moral power, which Owen says is the only power which ought to reign—he would convert the world into a church—but not one of a stagnating, debasing tendency: for he would have no penal laws to bind a man to follow a prescribed creed or course of life—he would have no articles of stationary faith, like the present church; his church is a progressive church, which, unlike the Catholic or Protestant churches, is always ready to receive new truth. It is laughable to hear a Protestant accusing another party of stagnation, when his own principles are directly favorable to stagnation. How little this writer must have known of Owen's system is so evident, that we are really surprised at Chambers's approbation of such doctrine: but the prejudices of society must be fed.

We may observe here, that Mr. Owen is not responsible personally for the opinions propagated through the medium of the *Crisis*, as it is not at present conducted by him.

In last week's *Crisis* we stated, upon the authority of one of the parties, that Robert Armingher had been dismissed from service, by Mr. Baynes, a dyer, and a member of the Society of Friends, on account of his attempting to persuade his fellow-workmen to join the Union. We had a visit from Mr. Baynes himself, who positively denies it: and as we are always ready to do justice to all parties, we willingly insert a counter-statement. Mr. Baynes says that, although he objects to the Unions, yet he never interferes with what his men do out of doors, but if any individual agitates their minds whilst they ought to be engaged at work, he conceives it to be a duty which he owes to himself, as a competitor in trade, either to suppress this agitation or remove the cause. He gave us other reasons for parting with Armingher, with which we have nothing particular to do, as they are personal; and we do not mean to interfere between the two parties: at the same time, we cannot deny that, in the present state of society, a master is quite justifiable in acting as Mr. Baynes did under circumstances such as he described, admitting them to be correct. The men have certainly no right to interrupt the progress of industry, and discuss political and other questions during the hours of labour.

Mr. Baynes says he has no objections to any increase of wages, and diminution of time, provided other masters give the same, for then it would not affect his private interest. But he is afraid, even in a moral point of view, that an increase of time would do much harm in his trade, at least where drunkenness so much prevails, that if a man has any money and leisure time, he flies immediately to the gin or beer-shop to brutalize himself. Were he to go to a coffee-house, and improve his mind by reading and reflection, he thinks it might be of great moral advantage; but unless men moralize themselves, all additional temporal privileges must prove pernicious: this is irresistibly true, and we have seen so much of late of the ruinous effects of debauchery amongst the working men, that we cannot but cry out, alas, for humanity! But still,

it is as clear as a sunbeam, that if these men had the same chances of education, and the same moral and physical advantages, they would be better men: it is the system which is the cause of all the evil. Therefore, we say, let us by all means wage war against the system; even though individuals should suffer. We shall do as little personal injury as possible, but it is necessary to keep alive the spirit of reformation. Let the men merely join resolution with prudence and sobriety, and they must ultimately prosper. It is evident that something is to be gained by resolution, as may be demonstrated by the case of Mr. Beattie, a dyer, in Oakley-street, Westminster-road, who has promised his men an additional two shillings per week, and constant employment for twelve months, provided they have nothing to do with Unions or Associations of any kind; the men have accepted the terms. We hope this will settle the matter between Armingher and Brooks, as we do not wish to have to do with individual character, and mentioned the case chiefly as an advertisement for Armingher.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Knowing you to be an able advocate for bettering the condition of the working classes generally, being desirous of adding my feeble assistance in the same cause, and seeing that the mechanic, the manufacturer, and the artisan have their Trades' Unions, their Co-operative Societies, &c. &c.; but the agricultural labourer is nearly lost sight of. Struck by an article in your paper by your excellent correspondent, V. C. L., in No. 13, of the 23d of November, 1833, by which he has shown (in extracts from the report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the administration of the poor laws) the anomalous condition in which some of the agricultural districts of this country are placed by the mal-administration of the poor laws, and by which it appears that land which has been in cultivation for centuries is now going out of cultivation (notwithstanding the protection of the corn laws), and at the same time there are too many labourers to cultivate it; that such surplus labour is now unprofitably employed at the expense of the farmer, in the shape of poor rates, and that the labourers are living (or rather starving) on the small pittance of sixpence a-day each; this would lead any reflecting mind to inquire whether some remedy could not be devised for such a cruel state of things. What! the agricultural labourer starving on the soil that gave him birth! (and the land uncultivated;) able and willing to work, yet, for want of employment, becoming a degraded, vicious, immoral character, from the mismanagement or misconduct of those who administer the laws. Surely, then, it is necessary to inquire whether such labourers could not be profitably employed in raising their own subsistence, by cultivating land with the spade, and thus become valuable members of society, rather than a burden. And as some of your readers, I believe, have it in contemplation to locate themselves on land, perhaps you may not think the following calculations unworthy a place in your valuable little paper.

The general rotation of crops on the land, alluded to in the report, in Sussex, is a four years' course.—First year, wheat; second, oats; third, clover and rye-grass; fourth summer, fallow; and it is, I believe, generally

admitted, that the summer-fallow (by which one year's crop is lost) is only necessary to clear the land from weeds, &c.; and if cultivated with the spade, it might be dispensed with, and some fallow crop substituted, such as potatoes. The following calculations are made for such a course of crops; and the quantity of labour required to cultivate an acre of each, with one acre of garden, which I believe will be found generally correct.

Estimate of the labour required to cultivate five English acres, in five allotments, under the following crops:—

ONE ACRE OF POTATOES.	Days' Labour.
Trenching ground	32
Manuring and Planting	6
Hoeing, Earthing-up, &c.	8
Digging up the Crop, and Levelling Ground for Sowing Wheat	18
ONE ACRE OF WHEAT.	
Sowing, and raking-in Seed	2
Harvesting	4
ONE ACRE OF OATS.	
Digging in Spring, after Wheat	14
Sowing Grass Seeds, &c.	2
Harvesting	3
ONE ACRE OF CLOVER, &c.	
Mowing and Hay-making	4
ONE ACRE OF GARDEN.	
Digging twice or thrice, and Sowing and Planting Beans, Peas, Turnips, Cabbage, Vetches, &c. for feeding Cows and Pigs	48

Total labour 145

Quantity and present value of the foregoing five acres, of moderate quality, as cultivated by the plough.

One acre Wheat, 25 bushels, at 7s. 8 15 0
One ditto Oats, 40 ditto, 2s. 6d. 5 0 0
One ditto Potatoes, 350 ditto, 10d. 14 11 0
One ditto Clover 10 0 0
One ditto Garden 12 0 0

£50 6 0

Then, if to cultivate five acres with the spade will take one able-bodied man 145 days, $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres will take one man 217 days in the year, leaving 148 days for holidays, Sundays, bad weather, &c. And the produce of $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres, according to the above value, will be

Deduct rent, $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres, at 15s.	5 12 6
Tithes, 5s. in the pound	1 8 0
Seed and manure	10 0 0
Use of Tools	0 10 6

£37 18 0

Thus then, an able-bodied man would produce by his own labour, after paying rent, tithes, &c., 57l. 18s., or 22s. per week, working on an average four days in each week, which is double what he now receives from the farmer, and with the help of a lad, he would cultivate ten acres, producing one-fourth more, or 27s. 6d. per week; and it may be fairly presumed, and repeated experiments have proved* that spade culture would in two or three years

* From experiments made in 1819 and 1820, by Mr. Fallin, of Gateshead, near Newcastle, in cultivating wheat by the spade (published in an "Appendix to a Report to the County of Lanark, of a Plan for Relieving Public Distress, and removing Discontent, by giving Permanent Employment to the Poor and Working Classes. By Robert Owen). And recently on twelve acres of land at Hornsey, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, (an account of which appeared in the public papers;) and many other experiments, by which it appears that the crop has been more than doubled by spade cultivation, as compared with the plough.

produce at least one-third more than by the plough; and if a labourer and his family were established on as much land as he could cultivate with the spade, and consume the produce by keeping cows, pigs, poultry, &c., preserving manure of every description, and selling his surplus produce, in the shape of pork, butter, &c., he would keep his family in comfort and independence, and the land would be constantly improving; or if the labourer should by these means be considered as *too independent*, allow him to rent and secure to him one or two acres of land near his cottage, according to his family, not the small pittance of a quarter of an acre, as is now the fashion, to cultivate after slaving twelve hours a-day for the farmer; but give him time to cultivate his acre or two, either by working eight hours a-day for his employer, or allowing him one day in the week, (which the black slave in the West Indies is allowed,) and he would require no parochial relief, and the farmer would be relieved from the poor-rate, now his greatest burden.

Surely, then, by abolishing the *corn laws*, to enable the manufacturer to exchange the produce of his labour for food, and the agricultural labourer to cultivate land with the spade, feed himself, and with his surplus produce to become a customer to the manufacturer, this country could not for many years be overpopulated, nor ought any of its inhabitants to be in poverty.

Will the landed proprietors longer continue so blind to their own interests, as to allow the present system to continue? Whilst the land lies uncultivated, the farmer is ruined, and the labourers continue in sullen despair to set fire to the corn-stacks their labour has produced, but of which they cannot obtain their fair share. Give the labourer an interest in the soil he cultivates, and he will become industrious; let him by industry obtain the necessities of life, and he will be honest; give him time for education and rational recreation, and he will be cheerful, contented, happy.

Beware, then, in time, ye lords of the soil, ye landed proprietors, lest ye destroy the peasantry; and reflect on the following lines of Goldsmith:

Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay;
Princes and Lords may flourish and may fade,—
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold PEASANTRY, a country's pride,
When once destroy'd, can never be supply'd.

A. B. C.

[We recommend this letter to the attention of our Community friends; the calculations are not so aerial and extravagant as those they have sometimes been treated with. That spade husbandry is more productive than ploughing, is an ascertained fact; but we hope the destiny of man points to higher things, and not to a retrogression in respect to manual labour. We shall have mechanical self-acting spades by and by, which shall save man the toil of digging, which is the most oppressive of all labour. We certainly agree, however, with our correspondent, in saying that the digging is much better than the present system, which seems to be the acmé of folly and injustice.]

* Mr. Cobbett, in his *Cottage Economy*, states, that a labourer could keep a cow on a quarter of an acre of land, by feeding her on sugar-loaf cabbage and Swedish turnips.

MONTHLY MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Mr. Owen, in taking the chair, exhorted the members to the continual cultivation of good feeling, without which, the industrious classes could never co-operate to any effect in emancipating themselves from the evils of the present constitution of society.

The Secretary read the report of the proceedings of the last month. It is as follows:—

REPORT

of the Proceedings of the National Equitable Labour Exchange Association, for the month ending Jan. 6, 1834.

The fifth month of our proceedings having terminated, your committee present their usual report, and although they cannot yet congratulate you on the total removal of those unfavourable circumstances which have caused a temporary check to our onward progress, still they believe that, many of those causes being removed, our future progress will be more rapid, and that this Exchange will eventually become the model, on which the whole commercial operations of the wealth-producing classes of this country will ere long be conducted.

Your committee are unable to pronounce an opinion on the workings of the new arrangements agreed on at your last monthly meeting, little progress having yet been made towards raising the fund, without which, it can scarcely be expected that any measure of such importance can be established. It is only in the power of your committee to proceed in this, or any other measure, as far as the means placed at their disposal will allow. They have, in conjunction with the tailors' department, fitted up a shop in the Exchange, in which the whole of their business is now conducted; and your committee has every reason to believe, that the practical operations of that department will soon show the policy and good effects to be derived from the speedy introduction of other trades on a similar footing. Your committee having proceeded thus far, now earnestly appeal to all, who are directly or indirectly interested in the success of our measures, to come forward in aid of the fund which is to be exclusively applied in purchasing raw material, on which the whole of the members of this association may be eventually employed.

Your committee have also to lament the ill-success attending their endeavours to carry out the alterations in the provision department, the present arrangements not having produced those beneficial results which were anticipated by those who were most active in recommending its adoption; at the same time, it should be observed, that the diminution in the cash receipts has prevented us from purchasing so largely or beneficially as we formerly did, thereby preventing us from effecting that reduction in the prices which was promised, and which could alone compensate for the inconvenience the alteration has given to depositors. It now becomes a question, whether a different plan should be in future adopted, a continuation of the same, or a return to the original. This is a subject of such vital importance as to call for the earliest consideration of the committee of management. Your committee also announce their intention of immediately taking into their consideration the present condition of the business of the Exchange, with a view to discover what measures can be entered on or devised to increase the business, and to see how far it may be practicable to effect reduction in the expenditure.

Your committee have great pleasure in congratulating you on the uninterrupted success that has attended the lectures and festivals; these meetings being eminently distinguished, not only for the increasing numbers of those who attend them, but for the excellent order, correct deportment, and general good feeling evinced and manifestly enjoyed by our visitors; among whom are continually observed a great number of comparative strangers, who have lately contributed their assistance to promote the genuine happiness pro-

duced and enjoyed at these meetings. Your committee, on their part, have done all in their power to increase the general comfort and enjoyment. The various arrangements have been much simplified and improved, and, aided by the assistance of many kind friends, who from time to time lend their assistance, are approaching that state of perfection, which will soon leave little to be desired or effected in the way of improvement. Your committee have indeed, great pleasure in saying that the Social Festivals of the Industrious Classes stand pre-eminently distinguished above all other places of resort for real and rational enjoyment. In connexion with this subject, your committee would fail in their duty, if they did not bear testimony to the indefatigable exertions of the ladies and gentlemen of the musical department, who upon every occasion and in every possible manner have exerted themselves to contribute to the attractions of these meetings, and in forwarding continually the successful progress of this Institution.

Your committee regret the necessity which arose for removing the School, which for some time was carried on in these premises, but which, from the obstruction it gave to the business, rendered its removal painfully imperative; but your committee are glad to hear the subject is not likely to drop, the Moral Union having taken the subject up in a manner so energetic, that if followed up in a similar spirit, must lead to the most important results: as every successful effort to carry into practice any one of those important doctrines which we preach, must tend to remove from us the reproachful epithets of visionaries and enthusiasts, so liberally bestowed on us by the unthinking and ignorant.

Your committee beg now to refer to an event which has occurred since their last report, which, whether viewed in connexion with the sympathies which injustice and oppression must ever awaken in the breasts of those who have been taught to view man as his brother, and having a strong claim on his love and affection, or as an important and memorable incident in the great revolutionary drama now developing itself throughout Europe, called upon your committee to take the most prompt and decided steps.

Your committee allude to the extraordinary measures adopted by the Derby master manufacturers, which are only exceeded in their cruelty by their extreme folly, as if the wealth-producers of England, in their present advanced state of knowledge, would permit any portion of their fellow-men to be sacrificed to the insatiable *Moloch, Competition*. Your committee felt themselves bound, on the part of this Association, to take a pre-eminent position among those who are resolved to support and contend for the rights of industry. They called a public meeting,—the first public meeting held on this subject; the results of that meeting are well known to all; upwards of 65*l.* have been collected for the men, women, and children of Derby through this Institution. Your committee cannot doubt you will approve of the use they have made, in this instance, of the powers you have entrusted them with.

The indefinite and obscure construction of the fifth article of the constitution having led to much perplexity and inconvenience, your committee have turned their attention to the providing of a more explicit and enlarged law, to be substituted in the next edition of the constitution. They think that the alteration will meet the exigencies of the case, and they now submit it for your sanction.

“Resolved—That each department do elect its own valuator or valutors, and its own representative or representatives in the committee of management. Each department, section, or society, consisting of twenty-five members, may return one delegate or representative; if consisting of fifty members, and not amounting to one hundred members, to return two delegates; if consisting of one hundred and fifty members, to return three dele-

gates; and for every additional fifty members, to return one additional delegate. But, that any society, in its infancy, having less than twenty-five members, may be allowed to send a delegate on application to the committee, if such application is approved."

Your committee, in conclusion, call your attention to a communication received from the officers of the Institution, relative to the late election of the Miscellaneous department. The subject must be brought under your notice this evening, which renders it unnecessary to enter on it in this report. Your committee, anxiously desirous of impressing on their brother members, that the interest of the whole association should be the object of each individual, and all measures should have that single end in view.

It is to be hoped that, from whatever cause the existing misunderstanding has arisen, that cause may be sought after and discovered, that by its removal that harmony and good feeling may be restored, without which all our exertion in the cause we are embarked in will be vain and illusory.

Mr. Warden moved an amendment to the proposition, relative to the election of the committee, which he recommended to take place in the same manner as the election of the officers. After considerable discussion, the amendment was negatived, and the report received.

Mr. Norman then brought before the notice of the meeting, the late election of delegates to the committee from the Miscellaneous department, and moved a resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Ashdown, "that in the opinion of the members, the said election was irregular, and not in accordance with the constitution."

After much discussion, an amendment was moved by Mr. Henderson, to the effect, "that the return be considered valid; but that the committee be instructed to make such regulations and arrangements as shall lead to a regular return at the next election," which was carried.

Mr. Voak said he considered a great deal of misunderstanding, and of mischief, had resulted from the imprudent and uncourteous exclusion of the officers from the committee; he therefore moved that it be a request from the meeting, that the officers do attend the discussions of the committee as frequently as they possibly can; which was carried unanimously.

INFLUENCE OF FACTITIOUS REWARDS, HONOURS, &c., ON SCIENTIFIC MEN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—In the *Passages from the Diary of a late Physician*, is a brief memoir of a man of great scientific attainments, in the course of which the following passage occurs. The opinions of the dying philosopher on the subject of which he speaks are so much in accordance with the "new views," that I thought it worth while to send them for publication in the *Crisis*. I am, yours, &c.

Birmingham, Jan. 5, 1834.

W. PARE.

After giving the reader, a brief narrative of the life of Mr. E—, whom he calls the "*Martyr Philosopher*," and the cause of his last illness, the physician proceeds thus:—

"Wednesday.—He looked much reduced this evening. I had hurried to his lodgings to communicate what I considered would be the gratifying intelligence, that the highest prize of a foreign learned society had just been awarded him, for his work on —, together with a fellowship. My heated and hurried manner somewhat discomposed him; and before I had communicated my news, he asked, with some agitation, 'What!—some new misfortune?' When I had told him my errand, 'Oh, bubble! bubble! bubble!' he exclaimed, shaking his head with a melancholy smile; 'would I not give a thousand of these for a poor man's blessing? Are these, *these*, the trifles man toils through a life for? Oh, if it had pleased God to give me a single glimpse of

what I now see, thirty years ago, how true an estimate I should have formed of the littleness—the vanity—of human applause! How much happier would my end have been! How much nearer should I have come to the character of a true philosopher—an impartial, independent, sincere searcher after truth for its own sake!"

"But honours of this kind are of admirable service to science, Mr. E—," said I, "as supplying strong incentives and stimulants to a pursuit of philosophy."

"Yes—but does it not argue a defect in the constitution of men's minds to require them? What is the use of stimulants in medicine doctor? Don't they pre-suppose a morbid sluggishness in the parts they are applied to? Do you ever stimulate a *healthy* organ? So it is with the little honours and distinctions we are speaking of. Directly a man becomes *anxious* about obtaining them, his mind has lost its healthy tone—its sympathies with truth—with real philosophy."

"Would you, then, discourage striving for them? Would you banish honours and prizes from the scientific world?"

"Assuredly—altogether: did we but exist in a better state of society than we do. . . . What is the proper spirit in which, as matters at present stand, a philosopher should accept of honours? Merely as evidence, testimonials, to the multitude of those who are *otherwise* incapable of appreciating his merits, and would set him down as a dreamer—a visionary, but that they saw the estimation in which he was held by those who are likely to canvass his claims strictly. They compel the deference, if not the respect, of the *si populi*. A philosopher ought to receive them therefore, as it were in *self-defence*,—a shut-mouth to babbling envious gossamers. Were all the world philosophers, in the true sense of the word, not merely would honour be unnecessary, but an insult—a reproach. Directly a philosopher is conscious that the love of fame, the ambition to secure such distinctions, is gradually insinuating—interweaving itself with the very texture of his mind—that such considerations are becoming *necessary* in any degree to prompt him to undertake or prosecute scientific pursuits,—he may write ICHABOD on the door of his soul's temple, for the glory is departed. His motives are spurious, his aims false! To the extent of this necessity for such motives is, as it were, the pure ore of his soul adulterated. Minerva's jealous eyes can detect the slightest veniality or inconsistency in her votaries, and discover her rival even before the votary himself is sensible of her existence; and withdraws from her faithless admirer in cold disdain, perhaps never more to return.

"Do you think that Archimedes, Plato, or Sir Isaac Newton would have cared a straw for even royal honours? The true test, believe me—the almost infallible criterion of a man's having attained to true greatness of mind—to the true philosophic temper,—is, his utter indifference to all sorts of honours and distinctions. Why,—what seeks he—or professes to seek—but TRUTH? Is he to stop in the race, to look with Atalanta after the golden apples?"

"He should *endure* honours, not go out of his way to seek them. If an apple hitches in his vest, he may carry it with him, not stop to dislodge it. Scientific distinctions, however, are absolutely necessary in the present state of society, *because* it is defective. A mere ambitious struggle for college honours, through rivalry, has induced many a man to enter so far upon philosophical studies, as that their charms, unfolding in proportion to his progress, have been, of *themselves*, at last sufficient to prevail upon him to go onwards—to love science for *herself* alone. Honours make a man open his eyes, who else would have gone to his grave with them shut: and when once he has seen the divinity of truth, he laughs at obstacles, and follows it through evil and through good report—

If his soul be properly constituted—if it have in it any of the nobler sympathies of our nature.

"That is my *humble* on honours," said E—, with a faint smile.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT, ENDING JAN. 4.

DEPOSITS.	3928h. 1s.—	EXCHANGES.	5328h. 5s.
RECEIPTS.	Cash & Notes.	PAYMENTS.	
Meat	23 14 4	Meat	23 11 4
Cheese &c.	17 4 1	Cheese &c.	9 2 2
Grocery, &c.	15 18 9	Grocery, &c.	10 0 0
Coal	1 10 7	Festival	25 7 0
Festivals	51 18 4	Lectures	3 14 4
Lectures	14 17 0	Rent	24 0 0
Rent, Subs. &c.	1 14 2	Wages	24 7 0
Commission	11 3 6	Charges &c.	11 18 5

137 16 10 132 0 3

Stock, goods on hand . . . 55,340h. 5s.
Notes now in circulation 33,686 3

Excess Stock over Notes 21,653 2

Audited by Managing Committee,
R. PRYER, Chairman.

NOTICES.

A public meeting will be held on Wednesday next, the 22d instant, in the National Equitable Labour Exchange, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, at eight o'clock in the evening, to take into consideration the necessity which exists to petition the legislature to suspend, at the commencement of the session, all party questions, and to enter at once on the inquiry whether the existing system, on which all laws and institutions have been founded, are not based on fundamental errors which necessarily demoralize society throughout all its ramifications, and perpetually reproduces the most grievous evils to the mass of the people in all countries; and whether the time has not arrived when a system founded on principles derived solely from facts which admit of no doubt; and which system would remove the causes of the evils of which men now complain, could now be introduced advantageously for society.

Mr. Smith will deliver a lecture at the Rational School, Grosvenor-street, Millbank, Westminster, on Sunday evening, at half-past seven; and Mr. Owen will lecture on the Monday evening following at seven o'clock.—On Tuesday evening, Jan. 21, the First Social Festival.

A meeting of the members of the Moral Union will be held on Sunday next, at three o'clock, when a public discussion will be held on the following question:—"What is the best system of instruction that can be introduced into the schools about to be established by the Moral Union?"

Grand Concert and Ball, on Monday, Jan. 20, 1834, in the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square; for the Benefit of Mr. Stevens, Conductor, and Mr. Collins, Leader of the Musical Department. On this occasion Master Viotti Collins, on the Violin, and his little Brother, Master Lindley Collins, only five years of age, on the Violinello, (being absolutely the youngest performer upon that instrument in the world,) will be among the novelties intended to be produced. A double Band, including the celebrated *Pandora Band*, in Costume, from the *Royal Gardens, Funchall*, will be in attendance. Mr. Coleman, from the Opera House, Master of the Ceremonies.—Tickets 1s. 6d. each, including Tea and Coffee, may be had at the Institution. The doors to be open at Seven, and the Concert to commence at Eight o'clock.

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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, JANUARY 19.

Mr. Smith lectured on "CRIME."

Crime, like every thing else in nature, has a twofold character, which may, for the sake of distinction, be called physical and moral; or, perhaps, the distinction may be better expressed by the two terms which are employed to distinguish the two different species of taxation. We have direct taxes and indirect taxes. The direct taxes are those for which the tax-gatherer calls at our own homes; so much for being permitted to live in our own houses, even after we have paid the rent to the landlord, or purchased the whole property by our own money; so much for permitting the light of the sun to come in by the windows, for the government claims the sun as its own property; so much for poor-rates and church-rates, dogs, horses, &c. For all these, the tax-gatherer calls personally, delivers his bills like any other creditor, demands payment, under penalty of seizure, and makes no allowance either for your want of goodwill or your want of ability. Indirect taxes, on the contrary, are levied by an invisible hand; they are put upon articles of trade, upon food and clothing, and form a part of the price of the articles; and so mysteriously are these taxes levied, that the greater proportion of people, when purchasing food or clothing, are not aware that they are paying any tribute either to king or to government.

Now, of these two species of taxes, the former, which are usually called the direct taxes, are the more obnoxious, merely because they are personal and violent; and at present the resistance is more severely manifested against them than against the invisible levying; yet the invisible or indirect taxes are by far the most oppressive. The indirect taxes are seven or eight times more oppressive than the direct taxes are. We are paying them daily in the purchase of food, and every other article of consumption; yet we have a thousand times more murmuring and complaining of the other kind, which are only levied occasionally, and in much smaller amount. The reason of this is very obvious; men are not what they must ultimately become—

moral and intellectual beings; they merely judge by the eye and the ear, or the effect produced upon their personal feelings. They are gross materialists, both in thought and deed, and never think of the evils of life as unjust or capable of being remedied, unless they see the hand that commits them.

Apply this mode of reasoning, this plain matter of fact, to the subject of crime, and you will find the same grand law of analogy prevail. There are two species of crime, direct and indirect; the direct crime is that species which is committed by a visible hand, or by an attack upon the person or property of the individual. The other species is that indefinable sort of vice, which is peculiar to all men, more or less, of selfishness and appropriation of wealth, which leads to all the artifices, schemes, machinations, and projects of individual speculators, who contrive to promote their own interests by undermining the interests of other men; heaping together treasures for themselves to the ruin of their neighbours and the increase of poverty. Now, of these two species of crime, like the indirect and direct taxes, the direct crime is accounted the most vile and pernicious. There are many loud complaints of violence committed against the person and property of individuals. If a man knocks another man down, and takes a sovereign or two from his pocket, a general cry of indignation is heard against the perpetrator of the crime; if our house is entered violently by thieves, our pockets picked, or our property abstracted by any other gross or direct means, we are shocked at the villany of the deed; and think no punishment too great for the perpetrators. Such characters are considered the most dangerous members of society; we ship them off in cargoes to New South Wales, or hang them up by the neck till they are dead, dead, dead. These are the direct tax-gatherers, the most obnoxious of all; but there are other criminals in society, who are much more pernicious to the well-being of the community than direct criminals. These are the accumulators of individual wealth, the schemers and plotters, and puffers and blowers in all sorts of vendible articles, who perform in a more sleight-of-hand and conjuration style, the very same crime of the abstraction of property that the less refined, less intellectual, and less moral

criminal performs like a beast of prey, by merely seizing the article and walking off.

Hitherto the governments of the world have merely devoted their attention to the suppression of one of these species of crimes, the suppression of direct crimes. They have not even known or acknowledged any other; or if they have at times alluded to them, they have regarded them as of a very venial nature, because they were committed by the rich, the well-educated, and the respectable portion of society, to which they themselves belonged. The first crimes to which government looks are those which are apparent to the senses. This results entirely from their ignorance. In this respect they act like children or savages, who look merely to the effect, without inquiring into the cause. If you hold out a stick to a surly dog, he becomes enraged at the stick, seizes it with his mouth, and, perhaps, breaks it in pieces; if you throw a stone at him, he seizes the stone; for the stick and the stone are the apparent causes of mischief. This is the real brute or material, or physical, style of punishment and government. All our legislators have followed this dog-system; they seize at the stick and the stone, and worry themselves by tearing, and rending, and barking, and grinning at all thieves, housebreakers, pickpockets, murderers, &c.; but they never look beyond the stick and the stone to the moral power which protected them, otherwise they would overlook the more effect, and proceed at once to the cause, and remove the evil. They have hanged, transported, imprisoned, all to no purpose; they are mere materialists, working only with dead matter, and the evil is multiplying around them, because they are not striking at the root. The indirect crimes are the greatest of all crimes, and these are not committed by the poor, but by the rich.

As governments become enlightened, they become more and more moral, and less and less physical. But they always begin at the material or brute department. Thus, the first effort at making laws is to prevent murder or stealing by hanging the murderer and thief. Then, by and by, they begin to discover that these crimes are most frequently committed by the poor; hence they first direct their attention to poor people, and having discovered

that idleness is a great cause of crime, they make laws to restrict the amusements of the people. The Mosaic law ordained that the people should labour six days, and rest upon the seventh; but, to relax this severity, a number of feast-days were permitted,—the feast of tabernacles, feast of the passover, pentecost, &c.,—which gave a great amount of relaxation to the people, considering the infancy of society at the time. The Greeks had also numbers of holidays. "The gods," says Plato, "pitied the laborious condition to which men were born, appointed holy rites to themselves as seasons of rest to men, and gave them the Muses, with Apollo as their leader, to assist in the celebrations." The Romans had fewer holidays than the Greeks, for they were a more laborious people; but every ninth day was set apart for a day of rest, so that their month was divided into three weeks, as ours is divided into four. But, in order to prevent the licentiousness of the people, they were obliged to pass very severe laws, limiting the number of persons assembled at a feast, and making very severe restrictions on the public exhibitions, and the frequency of their occurrence. Had they not done so, the state would have been thrown into confusion by the increase of idleness, and, consequently, of physical crime; for in that infant age of society man could not afford to be idle; he had no machinery to work for him; and only the great, who possessed an inheritance of land, could dispose with safety of their own time. Our own kings and government have followed the same example. A statute of Henry VIII. expressly enacts that no manner of artificer or craftsman, of any handicraft or occupation, husbandman, apprentice, &c., shall play at the tables, tennis, dice, cards, bowls, &c., except at Christmas, under a penalty of twenty shillings.

This is a species of moral treatment, for it looks in part to the cause; but it employs physical means to cure the evil. And these physical means are pure violence, fines, and imprisonment; besides, they are manifestly unjust, considered abstractly, inasmuch as they give ample liberty to all men of property to amuse themselves as they may; but to the poor, who produce all the wealth, who are the scape-goats and slaves of the rich, they only allow a small yearly relaxation, and that too under the superintendence of an officer of justice to keep them from going to excess. I say this is unjust, abstractly considered; but it was a necessary expedient in the infancy of society; there was no possibility of preventing the evil. Men were ignorant; society was in its infancy; man was obliged to labour with his hands, and, in order to make him labour, for he is idly disposed, Nature placed taskmasters over him to compel him to work, and bring forth the arts and the sciences, which have all been brought into existence by the poor. The first philosophers were slaves; they were bought and sold like cattle, and, no doubt, valued according to their skill in the sciences. In those days men were pure materialists, and bodily strength and property were the only powers that swayed the destiny of nations. There was no stimulus to study; it was too refined for the age; and physical force was employed even to force into being the sciences as well as the arts. Hence it was that the Roman slaves were the most learned, the most ingenious men of business, and physicians. They were the tailors, the shoemakers, the mechanics of every description; and the arts of life, as well as the sciences, were, consequently, held in chains, and subject to the physical power. This is still the case, for man has not yet become a moral being, and governments are still brutish in their mode of discipline. They merely punish external open violence, and do not go to the source of crime, which exists in the constitution of society.

There is no method of curing crime, unless, by doing justice, you remove it altogether; but in the present system of society, it is impossible to preserve order, otherwise than by such

severe treatment. Hence it follows that, in the present system, pure benevolence really cannot be exercised. Mercy is a noble attribute, and it is destined ultimately to triumph over judgment; but mercy, practised with unlimited scope in such an unjust, unequal state of things as this, would be productive of dreadful consequences. Were a judge, from a mere feeling of benevolence to pardon every criminal who was convicted at the bar of judgment, his mercy would be equal in amount to crime itself; for by acquitting the criminal, he would give encouragement to him and others also to prosecute their depredations upon society to an alarming extent. This prerogative of mercy is the prerogative of majesty. The king convicts no criminal, but he has the power of forgiveness. But a very shrewd writer upon this subject of mercy, in the true spirit of the old world, advises all those who have the ears of the king to be very cautious how they infuse ideas of false compassion into his mind, to the great danger of the commonwealth; "and since our king," says he, (as with less truth said of another,) "is of all men the truest image of his Maker in mercy, I hope too much good nature will transport no nobleman so far as it did once a clergyman of Scotland, who, in the fervour of his benevolence, prayed to God that he would graciously be pleased to pardon the poor Devil. To speak out fairly and honestly," he continues, "mercy may appear more amiable in a magistrate. Severity is a more wholesome virtue. Nay, severity to an individual may, perhaps, be in the end the greatest mercy, not only to the public in general, for the reason given above, but the individual himself."

This is certainly a fearful picture of humanity, but, notwithstanding, it is perfectly true that severity at present is necessary, and that mercy is not a virtue. Love is not a virtue; benevolence is vicious under the present state of things. Can this state be good? Is it not possible to alter it, so as to render love and benevolence virtuous principles, and give them an opportunity of exercising themselves? What a revolting view of human nature it gives us, to think that violence and revenge, and severity and cruelty, should be necessary to preserve the peace of society, and that the judges of the land should require to clothe themselves with these, in preference to mercy and kindness. Well do the Scriptures represent the Devil as the God of this world; for all those attributes which are peculiarly ascribed to him are the very attributes with which our peace-officers, our ministers of justice and judgment, require in an especial manner to be invested. Fielding, who wrote much upon this subject, and seems very zealous to promote reformation in the administration of justice, had no other plan but that of making the executions more fearful. He proposed that a gallows should be erected before the court of the Old Bailey; that all the criminals should be brought down into the court, and tried before the gallows, and as soon as they were convicted, that they should be immediately hung up without a moment's warning. By this means, every man would be tried with the gallows before his eyes; and if he made his escape, it would be with a palpitating heart, and a firm resolution never to come back to such a place again. Such attempts have been tried, but failed, and must fail; people cannot long tolerate such cruelties. They only tend to excite a spirit of violence in the people, to create bloody revenge and cruelty, to multiply private assassinations, and compel government to increase the load of taxation, to enable it to suppress the crimes of its own creation.

Let us compare this severity and cruelty of justice, as they call it, with the cause of the crime, namely, the poverty of the poor, from whom all these criminals are taken; for it is a memorable fact that the crimes of the rich are not amenable to justice, but the crimes of the poor only. There are no rich men hanged, transported, or even brought to the bar of justice; the crimes they

commit are indirect crimes, a sort of *legendenais*; they are done by an invisible hand, and therefore they escape, although they are, in reality, the sole cause of all the crime which is committed by the poor. Nearly a hundred years ago the high constable of Holborn gave such a picture of distress and filthiness in St. Giles's, as would shock the ears of humanity, and to-day it is a great deal worse. At that time there were crowds of people, to the amount of fifty or sixty, huddled together into small apartments, where they paid twopence a-piece for their night's lodging, where the greatest excess of debauchery, filth, and drunkenness was committed, and the most revolting pictures of starvation and misery beheld. Sixty men and women have been found in one apartment, and when searched, the whole of the money found upon them did not amount to one shilling. What can be done with such wretches? Many of them are vagabonds and idlers, no doubt; but many cannot by any means improve their circumstances; and what must become of their poor children? for you will always find young ones amongst them. Their parents cannot provide for them, they, therefore, teach them to steal from their earliest years: in fact they get no other education. This is all their literature, all their science, all their moral philosophy, and they really regard it as innocent, and rejoice in their own dexterity. Having no education and no trade, for their parents cannot afford to put them to a trade, what can they do but steal? Many of them are healthy and strong, and when you see them, your first verdict is a verdict of judgment against them, for you think it can be nothing but idleness and apathy that could have tempted them to resort to such an infamous life; but you must remember their birth, you must remember the education they received from their parents, you must remember the habits of life which have been already formed; all these things must be taken into consideration before you can form a proper estimate of their character, and the power, the irresistible power, of unfortunate circumstances upon them.

Is it not cruel, infamously cruel, in the governments of this world, which profess to be the ministers of justice, to treat these unfortunate wretches with no other remedy than prisons, tread-mills, houses of correction, bridewells, and other such recipes, which only render the poor creatures' circumstances more miserable, but do not, and never can, remove the evil? But is it not greater folly still, and greater cruelty also, to maintain that the present arrangements of society are the best possible arrangements for promoting the welfare of the people; that the system is a suitable system, and cannot be altered; and that the evil is not in the system, but in the human heart, which is said to be so very bad that it would corrupt any system? But this assertion is contradicted by the fact that the poor are the only portion of society that are affected with that species of crime which it is the prerogative of the magistrates to punish: the rich go at large and commit their crimes with impunity, because they are considered innocent crimes. Is not this a tacit acknowledgement that, were these poor wretches well born, well bred, well educated, and instructed in the useful arts, they would become useful and innocent members of society?

Mankind have not yet been fairly tried: their moral character is not sufficiently known. All parties are placed in circumstances which are exceedingly unfavourable to the development of character. The rich are too idle, and the poor are too busy; there is no proper medium preserved in society. Now and then, in the middle ranks of life, you find something like a medium between pure idleness and slavery; and these people, wherever they are found, are the best specimens of humanity. But the idle rich are proud, supercilious, and haughty. The hard-wrought poor are ignorant, and prone to dissipation; these are the inevitable consequences of

their peculiar circumstances. Could we produce a middle state between idleness on the one hand, and slavery on the other, and at the same time bestow on every individual a good moral and scientific education, there is not a shadow of doubt, but crime would be removed from society; but what can men expect from slaves but resistance? What can we expect from those whom we bring up in ignorance, and merely keep in subjection by physical force? We can expect nothing else than the re-action of that physical force upon ourselves, in personal violence and abstraction of property. It is a false and unfounded accusation which is brought against mankind, by the advocates of the good old way, that man is bad by nature; man is like Nature herself, good or bad, as you choose to make him. You may make all men good if you treat them well, and all men bad if you do not treat them well; and the character of a system of government ought just to be judged by the character and condition of the people. Are the people happy and good? then the government is good. Are the people bad and miserable, then the government is bad. The crimes of the people must all be charged upon the influential part of society; there the whole national character originates; there either virtue or vice has its source; consequently they ought to bear the sins of the nation; the poor ought to be spared and forgiven, and the rich brought to account; and that proper balance restored to society, without which, all the tortures of hell-fire will not be able to put a stop to the commission even of the most venial crimes.

REPORT.

The Council of the Birmingham Equitable Labour Exchange, after a careful examination of the stock, and investigation of the accounts, in which latter they have called in the assistance of a professional gentleman, have been enabled to present the accounts which have just been read, and by which it appears that the result of three months' trial of the system of the equitable exchange of labour, with the extremely small capital of only 450*l.*, has been an actual realization of a profit, clear of all rent, salaries, and other payments, of 262*l.*, or 66 per cent. on the capital employed, equal to 260 per cent. per annum on such capital.

It is true that, of this actual profit, only 76*l.* remains in the hands of the managers; because the expenditure previously to the opening of the Exchange was unavoidably large, and a journey to Ireland has also been undertaken. The entire charges amounting, as has been stated, to 186*l.*

This circumstance, however, does not affect the actual amount of profit realized, as this sum of 186*l.* consists of charges that cannot recur, and the result must surely be considered as placing the success of the system, if worked in good faith, beyond all doubt. That it shall be so worked—that it shall continue to be worked successfully,—that it shall continue to be worked at all, lies within the will and choice of the workmen themselves.

The promoters of this Establishment have ever, in the strongest language they could use, urged the paramount necessity of every deposit being introduced in perfect good faith; that is, unexceptionable in material and workmanship, according to the proposed quality of the article, and charged at its lowest actual value, in material and labour, according to the existing state of prices in the market.

If each and every depositor can lay his hand upon his heart, and aver that, for his share, all articles have been so fabricated and so priced; if each valuer can, with equal sincerity, pledge himself that he has never, from motives of interest, favour, or affection, indolence or indifference, been induced to let an erroneous valuation pass unnoted, never permitted any visible defects in fabrication to pass unrebuked; then, the wealth in store, whose value is stated at 1238*l.*, is really

to be so taken, and will be exchangeable for other wealth of equal value.

The Council would fain hope, and would gladly believe, that such is the case; but their knowledge of the still-prevalent ignorance of the system forbids them to assume, that the articles deposited have all been so conscientiously fabricated and valued; should any depositor or valuer feel conscious of having defrauded or connived at fraud, the Council are willing to express their conviction that such instances are the result of those habits of selfishness and suspicion which are carefully infused into the minds of all by the present system of hostile competition. But the recurrence of such cases must not be allowed, if the utmost vigilance on the part of the managers and their assistants can suffice to detect and expose them.

There ought, however, to be no cause for such a preventive system. The depositors, every one of them, should form a higher and more ennobling estimate of their position, scorning, by any petty artifice to attempt the acquisition of unfair advantage, they should conceive of themselves as participants in a magnificent public trust, as co-operators in the execution of a principle, which, persevered in, tends inevitably to the forwarding of a great, peaceable, happiness-producing revolution, which, in importance, leaves immeasurably behind all previous political changes.

Conducted on true and upright principles, then, the beneficial action of an establishment like ours is certain. If perverted, if the Exchange be regarded as a place where articles may be sold at unfair prices, where imperfect fabrics may be got rid of, the speedy result must be the closing of the doors; and the triumph of the inimical and the incredulous, who would willingly, in the ill success of this experiment, seem to justify the terms, "absurd, needless, unjust, and visionary," which they are sufficiently disposed, without inquiry, to cast on the system in all its forms.

Your reporters, however, trust that such will not be the result of their and your efforts, and they cannot but call your attention to the progress which is making in other places. In the Potteries, 500*l.* have been subscribed, and an Exchange will be speedily opened. At Barnsley and Huddersfield, still larger sums have been raised for similar purposes. At Limerick, and other places in Ireland, as appears by the reports of your active missionary, Mr. Pare, the most intense interest prevails, and the early establishment of Exchanges in that island seems certain. Your reporters beseech you to reflect on the sure consequences of the opening of such Exchanges. They will be marks for the reception of immense quantities of your well-selected and honestly-made articles of hardware, in exchange for any quantity of potter's goods, of linens, woollen cloths, cottons, and provisions. They urge you to ask yourselves whether your efforts ought not to be continued, whether some moral interest ought not to be evinced, some actual, though inconsiderable, sacrifices submitted to, some liberality exercised, on your parts, preparatory to the happy and confidently-expected day, when all difficulties shall cease—when your system shall be firmly established on the basis of public opinion, when your notes shall be received as unquestioned—unquestionable—unvarying currency; when the great fiat shall go forth "Competition is fallen—is fallen!" When the shout of gratulation shall be borne upon all the winds, "Exchange is free! It is as easy to sell for money, as it is to buy with money!"

Your Council might here close their report; but they are induced (at the hazard of prolixity) to allude to the growing disposition manifested by the working classes, both in this and other countries, to combine for the realization of the full produce of their labour. The leaders of the various trades' associations are invited to the consideration that their real object, and that of this establish-

ment, is one and indivisible—namely, "the production of the greatest happiness to the greatest number," by the destruction of injurious monopolies and reckless competition, and the consequent facilitation of an equitable exchange of the labour of each one for the labour of others, or the wealth produced by them. The Council of the Birmingham Exchange, therefore, deprecate the existence of any feelings—they would not say of hostility—but of diversity of interest, between the Institution they represent and the leaders of the great Unions. They cordially desire that the most complete success may reward the efforts of these Unions. They particularly express the delight they have received on beholding the visible exhibition of the power of the Unions, in the active commencement of an edifice, which this Council would consider as a temple dedicated to the cause of truth, knowledge, liberty, and humanity. They anxiously look forward to the period when, increasing in strength and intelligence, the widely spread union of Unions will be enabled to establish "Trades' Manufactories" in connexion with Equitable Labour Exchanges, and thus, without doubt or fear, secure to themselves the entire produce of their useful labours.

Your Council, therefore, wish to consider these embodied workmen, of whatever description, as co-operating with you in urging forward the progress of that increased knowledge—that enlightened philanthropy—that laudable adherence to the rules of temperance and strict morality—that determined and even self-denying avoidance of all desire for unfair, selfish advantage, which, conjoined, must be omnipotent for the effectuating of the sublime objects for which all the industrious as well as all the wise and beneficent, of all classes, ought to feel themselves united,—a sacred brotherhood,—a holy alliance, for the production of universal happiness.

The following is a translation of a letter from a Parisian gentleman to Mr. Owen, requesting him to visit France, and proclaim his views of society in person.

SIR,—In a letter addressed to you last February, which Dr. Bowring undertook to deliver, I expressed the lively interest I experienced in your projects of association, and requested you would be pleased to furnish me with a detailed account of them. Not being a public character, and at the same time not having had the honour of being introduced to you, I had no claim on your consideration; however, I flattered myself you would have had the goodness to reply to my solicitations, the more, perhaps, because I ardently wished it. Did you know how sincerely I am attached to your ideas of association, you would know likewise how keenly I felt the disappointment of not hearing from you in reply. I now again take the liberty of repeating my request, in the hope that this importunity is not a momentary ebullition, but the result of permanent conviction. I regret my inability to address you in English, well knowing, however, that an enlightened man like yourself will experience little difficulty in translating a foreign idiom.

I could willingly, Sir, expatiate upon the ideas of association, in order to prove to you that I am identified with those ideas, but you are so much better acquainted with these affairs than myself, that you would unquestionably discover numerous errors in my opinions, and might be induced to believe that I am attached to those errors. This is by no means the case; I earnestly desire to arrive at truth, and the object of association is, in my opinion, the greatest possible measure of happiness for mankind, both individually and collectively. But, although I have paid attention to the most minute particulars, I shall limit my observations to a general view of the doctrine of association, and at the same time, request you will

have the goodness to correct any erroneous notions I may entertain on the subject.

I believe, then, and I presume you teach, that large associations of men, an entire population assembled in a district; in other words, social communities, should be substituted for the prevailing system of isolated families; that, in fine, the greatest possible association of men should replace the greatest possible fractions into which society is divided; the greatest simplicity should be preferred to the most complicated state of things, and that for a multiplicity of reasons; whereas there is not one single reason deserving of consideration to be alleged in opposition to the change.

1. The advantages attending it, in an economical point of view, would be immense; as by co-operation there would be an end of that competition, occasioned by a hundred individuals, where one would suffice; in the suppression of a considerable number of professions, which would be absolutely useless, and be readily renounced by those who exercise them, as police-agents, constables, judges, barristers, attorneys, special pleaders, and witnesses, since there would be no crimes committed, no law-suits carried on, no distresses levied to require them. Custom-house officers, smugglers, tax-gatherers, game-keepers, spies, soldiers, and marines, princes, nobles, wealthy individuals, prisoners, priests, religious orders, beggars, thieves, prostitutes, week-jobbers, politicians, linguists, &c. would be equally dispensed with. Labourers, who now appropriate two days in the week as holidays, and on account of which are constrained to additional and excessive employment the remaining five days, instead of varying their work, to recruit their exhausted frames, would, by a judicious and economical arrangement of labour-hours be materially benefited; as well as gardeners, maroons, and others, who can only work a part of the year. The health of those individuals who now devote themselves to either physical or mental pursuits, with intensity of application, would likewise be so ameliorated, as to be productive of real economy; to which may be also added, the absence of the effects of war, as wounds and other injuries. A considerable reduction in the number of physicians, who are compelled, in civilized countries, like individuals of almost every other profession, to sacrifice the interests of others to their own, would naturally take place. The same reduction would be made in reference to clerks, gun-smiths, &c. To these may be added, male and female servants, who would henceforth be employed in useful pursuits; children, and finally, women, who are now either idle, or embarrassed with complicated domestic arrangements. By a minute computation of all these channels of production, we shall find that not more than a third part of the powers of production are beneficially employed at the present moment.

2. Production will not only be tripled in quantity, but would indefinitely increase, so as to exceed any positive calculation which might be made, for various reasons;—an individual employed for his own advantage, in company with others equally interested, and not being isolated, is less liable to ennui, and that which would otherwise have been irksome to him becomes a pleasure, especially if, when fatigued, he has the power of substituting some other kind of labour, in concert with friends, who, like himself, are interested in the perfection of their work. When labour becomes pleasurable, the workshop will discontinue to be that repulsive and disagreeable place it is frequently considered, wherein the employed remain no longer than they are absolutely obliged; but on the contrary, manufactories will be both commodiously and elegantly fitted up, whilst the tools will be both embellished and brought to perfection, as are those instruments which are appropriated to the art of war. It is customary at the present time, for mechanics, when the master quits the manufactory,

to relax their exertions, or suspend them; but in this ameliorated system, each individual being a partner will exert himself to the utmost, both to improve the article, and augment its quantity. All, therefore, having one undivided interest, the catastrophe attendant on competition will be unknown, and enthusiasm replace opposition. Capital will no longer be in danger, but produce abundant interest; it will be advantageously appropriated, and not as heretofore used in fractional parts. At the present moment there is great difficulty in procuring materials, books, and instruction in the arts and sciences; and they who are solicitous to study and perfect their knowledge in them, experience the greatest discouragements; but hereafter improvements will be rendered easy of access, and will continually add both to the fortune and reputation of the associates. In a word, at this juncture, misery and dissatisfaction are the lot of the working classes, but eventually fortune and enthusiasm will be the concomitants of labour:—although it will be optional for an individual to work, or not, still there is none who will not hereafter consider idleness as the privation of enjoyment.

3. All inequality between the sexes, as well as between persons of the same sex, will be unknown, inasmuch as the advantages resulting from the system will be equally allotted to each individual of the association; whilst there will be no distinction as to lodging, food, quality of dress, and amusements. Patriotism is now unknown, because its existence is impossible, and would be tantamount to deception where an aristocracy of rank, public functions, fortune, and honours prevail. Friendship, too, is unknown, because divergence of interest engenders distrust, and society is divided into a multiplicity of classes, whose social positions are dissimilar. Filial affection is materially weakened by the exercise of parental authority, and the anticipation of inheritance. Love can only exist prior to marriage, for the authority of a husband speedily interposes to destroy it; and the same observation is applicable to kept mistresses, who scarcely ever love their keeper, inasmuch as he is likewise a master.

Every affection is annihilated in the present day by inequality of condition; there is no enthusiasm, and which can only result from devotedness in love, friendship, or patriotism; enthusiasm is, on the contrary, obliged to yield to corrosive irksomeness. The immense fortunes, and particularly the gratified vanity of the princes of the earth, by no means exempts them from this irksomeness, which likewise renders them strangers to the best affections of the heart. Kings, then, are far from being completely happy, for who amongst them, at any time, experiences the ennobling sentiment of enthusiasm?

4. Those crimes which originate from hatred excited by inequality of condition, as well as those which spring from conflicting interests occasioned by the fractional system hitherto adopted, will disappear when the new order of things is established: together with these crimes will likewise disappear the inefficient remedies now applied, which are unable to destroy the cause of the malady, and are at the same time deleterious in their effects. Thus religion endeavours to render us victims to deception, and to obscure our reason; bravery considers murder as honourable, and is invariably accompanied with incontinuity; austerity induces to complete abnegation, in imitation of Diogenes, and moreover to vegetate in indolence, which is the source of dissatisfaction, misanthropy, and innumerable vices; amongst which inimitability, egotism, and venality are eminently conspicuous. The republican form of government is highly praised as a remedy for the evils in question, but is by no means so, for the state of affairs continues the same, as well as the fractional divisions of capital, operation, private interest, inequality of rank and fortune between individuals, and of authority in reference to sex,—all

which incongruities tend to crush, and would for ever overwhelm civilized society, as it is termed.

It would be easy to expatiate on the various advantages accruing from the system of association; but as you are infinitely better acquainted with the subject than myself, I abstain merely take the liberty of requesting a reply to the following questions:

Man, being happy in reference to love, friendship, and patriotism, and constituting one single family upon earth, may it not be reasonably supposed that the completion of this felicity will induce those classes of society, as the nobles, priests, robbers, and savages, who are at present most opposed to the system, to acquiesce in it?

Where, otherwise, can we expect to find complete felicity, than in the universal progress of the human race in associations, in simultaneousness of labour and produce, in one general language to the exclusion of others, and which will be soon established, and in fraternity, through the instrumentality of which an individual will be enabled to visit a rational association, whether situated at the North Cape, or in New Holland, near the Cataracts of Niagara, or on the shores of the Bosphorus, and find himself amongst relatives and intimate friends. Are not the riches of nature inexhaustible, and when properly exploited by combination of effort, may they not be augmented to an inconceivable degree? And if so, is it not the natural result and consequence of the system? Might not each palace of harmony (associated establishment) be at no distant period situated on an eminence in a picturesque country, constructed in an elegant and graceful style, as is observable in the ruins of Palmyra, and adorned with marble, a variety of valuable materials, and splendid furniture? Isolated residences may be demolished, the architecture of civilization; but an immense palace, constituting a city in itself, is a *palace of harmony*, where might likewise be accumulated valuable collections of the works of art of every description for the purposes of study.

The establishment of these associations would be accelerated by means of rail-roads and steam-carriages. I am at a loss to know what dimensions would be most judicious for the establishments in question; and consequently the number of inhabitants; I have, however, taken as the greatest presumed maximum, the twenty-fifth of a degree, about fourteen English miles, for the greater part, with a superficies of about 60,000 acres, which conformably to the population of this country, would comprise from 12 to 15,000 souls. Another circumstance, likewise, embarrasses me, which is, the uncertainty as to whether every establishment may be rendered a commercial depot, but at all events, I have appropriated a place for one in the plan. A plan of a similar description might be arranged ad libitum; but I am anxious to know whether any thing analogous is consonant with your ideas? The buildings, from east to west, will be about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile long, by less than a mile broad from north to south. The chief construction on the south will be half a mile in its greatest length. The dining-room, or refectory, capable of containing more than 12,000 guests, is situated in the centre. Each square court will be of the same size as the Court of the Louvre at Paris. The manufactories, and women's public and private baths, are on the right of these courts; those for the men on the left. The men's and women's dormitories, a small and elegant chamber being appropriated to each, are in the eleven detached buildings, nine of which are to the right, the other half on the left. I imagine six stories, including the ground floor, the right of which is designed for weaned children and others. Children at nurse will have upper apartments allotted them, with a southern aspect. The dimensions are not computed by metres, but by the duodecimal system; it is for this reason that I have not added a scale; but the ordinary dimensions of each building, as to thickness, is 20 metres, or 11 furloms.

The tower in the centre may be used as an observatory, light-house, belfry, or telegraph; and the basement of the half-circle appropriated as stables, wash-houses, &c. The forges will be placed in the second half-circle, and in the four sheds attached; beyond these will be the botanical garden and orangery, opposite to which it is proposed to construct the bot-houses, below the surface of the ground. On the left the saloons of the agricultural societies, and store-houses, whilst on the right is a space allotted to invalids. On the right of the main building is an extensive circle, capable of containing the whole association, as well as the deputations of other associations. I do not see the particular utility of this, inasmuch as the theatre, in the centre of the southern front of the palace, might be equally efficient for that purpose.* Under a large open amphitheatre is the menagerie; and around it are the fish-ponds. The commercial depot on the left of the palace, is contiguous to the port of the neighbouring river. The wash-house, gar-work, water-works, slaughter-house, manufactories of naval stores, &c., are likewise in the immediate vicinity. The eastern parallel sides will contain the cow-houses and hay-lofts, as well as the poultry-yard. The first story of the southern building is destined for the reception of zoological and mineralogical collections. Two different shades of green, discriminate land appropriated to agricultural purposes from that destined to horticulture. Rustic amusements, panorama, &c., will be found in that part of the park, situated opposite the palace, on this side the terraces.

The above sketch is doubtless very imperfect, for, according to my opinion, every thing, to be properly done, should be the result of combined, not individual ideas. Independently of this, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the system of association, in its most complete point of view.

It appears to me, I must confess, inconceivable that you have not hitherto undertaken to propagate your ideas in France, where they would be so well received, and would be adopted. A clear, intelligible, and public exposition of your doctrine of association, based on equality of rights, and divested of the dogmas of the St. Simonians; together with your personal appearance in Paris, would long since have been hailed with congratulation by several individuals, devoted to your ideas, and have been crowned with success. You would, unquestionably, by this means, have made a favourable impression on the public, and laid a foundation to build upon hereafter. I therefore strongly recommend you, Sir, to undertake this enterprise, for since you have nobly devoted your life to effectuate a reformation in the social system of man, you should naturally use the most available means to establish it; which is to make known the principles of the doctrine at Paris, where it would be attended to, and where the public is by no means enamoured of the charms of republicanism; and where again, without a tangible account and explanation of your doctrine, the systems of religion and inequality propagated by the disciples of Saint Simon, and by Fourier, will tend to prejudice the public against the term *association*. Your doctrine cannot be effectually promulgated, unless under the sanction of your name, and by your appearance amongst us; under other circumstances the attempt will be fruitless. In this case, I conceive it would be necessary to make an appeal to the enlightened, to men of talent, to the rich and powerful, and an embryo association might be established, which might be superior to any other; it would, however, be more advisable to commence by degrees, than to wait for the establishment of a complete association an indefinite length of time, particularly in those

countries where private property is divided into innumerable fractions. With an auspicious beginning, your association would soon attain perfection. The regulations would be analogous to those adopted in commercial or other companies, accompanied by the principles you would develop, and the profit as well as satisfaction of the associates would be manifested. A minute investigation of these important questions will convince you of the validity of my assertions. For my part, I can conceive no other means of happiness, than that pointed out by you. I beg you will pardon me for having trespassed upon your valuable time by a communication in a foreign language; but I assure you I have merely stated an inconsiderable part of the subject in question.

With every sentiment of consideration and respect, I have the honour to be, Sir, your most humble and devoted servant,
J. GAY.

Paris, rue St. Antoine, No. 149.

Sept. 2, 1833.

P. S. You will have observed, Sir, from the few observations comprised in this communication, that the principles of the system of association have frequently engrossed my attention;—but I repeat, that my object is the pursuit of truth, and that I have not formed any system. I have sketched a plan of association for 12,000 souls, not because I consider it important that an association should consist of that precise number, for should you state that it would be preferable to consist of 3,000 only, I would readily acquiesce in your views on the subject; but my motive was, that my plan admitted of the principal hall or theatre containing from 8 to 9,000 souls, and that by means of steam conveyance, a quarter of an hour would suffice to go from the centre to the extremities of the territory belonging to the association. If I assert that a society of people of fortune, talent, or science would be preferable to any other, it is because the customary urbanity of decorum of these classes is highly important, in an establishment of this nature, which may be considered as a family union; but these individuals would not permit others, whose habits of life did not coincide with their own, to associate with them; and other societies would be naturally formed. A considerable number of the operative classes, which might be selected to colonize a distant country, or disseminate co-operative principles therein, could be found much more readily in cities like London and Paris, than elsewhere. An expedition with that object in view, would consist of engineers, literary men, mechanics, metal-founders, miners, constructors of fire-engines and steam-vessels, shipwrights, and labourers of every description; it would embrace a variety of important projects; as commerce, colonization, civilization, advancement of science, particularly geology, and would, in a word, be at the same time highly agreeable; for it is the peculiar characteristic of the system to combine pleasure with utility.

I once again repeat, Sir, that you cannot fail in establishing the reign of harmony; every one well knows that the doctrine of political economy as taught by the Saint Simonians was approved by the majority of enlightened men, and it was their religious pretensions alone which were ridiculed and condemned. The political economy in question, was identified with the principle of association reduced to practice. At the present moment, Mr. Fourier's theory disgusts the friends of co-operative association; for he proposes himself to select the 2000 members of which his societies are composed, who would be unknown to each other, and would doubtless be better assorted if left to their own choice; moreover, Fourier wishes to have the sole direction, and the associates would have no voice in the management of their own concerns. Finally, the vanity of many individuals would be no obstacle to the realization of your projects, for these persons would be flattered by constituting part of a wealthy and select association. Young people, too, who, during the period

of infancy, were all equal and reciprocally amicable, will warmly espouse the spirit of equality, and adopt the benevolent and harmonious system of association both readily and with enthusiasm.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are sorry we cannot introduce Mr. Owen's Lecture, as the Report was too late in coming to hand. We must make amends next week.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JAN. 25.

On Friday, the 17th, a meeting took place at the Burton Rooms, for the purpose of comparing the St. Simonian and Owenian systems. Dr. Prati and Mr. Owen both gave a development of their peculiar views; but we were rather disappointed at the result, as neither the resemblances nor the differences were laid distinctly before the meeting. We think that questions of that nature ought to be settled in a more business-like manner, as it seems to be a matter of importance to the two parties. Let a formula be drawn up, containing their respective views of religion, formation of character, education, government, production, distribution, &c., and a comparison be instituted between the two on each of these heads, that the public may be able distinctly to say—the St. Simonians hold this doctrine and deny that; Owen takes this view, and the St. Simonians take that view. As yet the public cannot do so; hence a great deal of idle nonsense is talked of both parties; some say they are quite the same; others say they are diametrically opposite. One party says the St. Simonians are Christian fanatics; another party says they are atheists in disguise. One party says they want to bring us under priestly and superstitious tyranny once more; another, that they want to dislocate society by the subversion of good order, faith, and moral responsibility. Owen is much better understood, and never accused of superstition, visionary as some think he is: but if one of the parties be misunderstood, this is quite enough to prevent the possibility of drawing a just comparison. It is impossible to force an union; physical unions are merely preparations for war; a moral union is the only species of union that can preserve peace amongst mankind; and that is only to be brought about by reflection and conviction, by one party gaining an acknowledged advantage over the other, or the two parties being partly convinced of their respective deficiencies, and filling up these deficiencies by amalgamation. The two parties are decidedly opposed upon one department, and that is the doctrinal; for the one is the extreme of faith, the other the opposite extreme. The faith of the St. Simonians, however, is not confined to Christianity. Upon this department it is desirable that the public were informed; for the one might engage the religious world, whilst the other engages the infidel world. Time and experience will decide the result; man sees but a little way into futurity, for his experience and knowledge of nature are very limited.

* The baths, which I had originally placed on the right and left of the dining-hall, have been substituted for this rotunda.

FOR THE CRISIS.

No. II.

Education and custom have hitherto successfully co-operated in the enslavement of the human mind, and have prevented to a melancholy degree its reception of those invaluable principles, which display to man his true political rights, and direct him in the advancement of his social interests. Hence, he has never yet attained a comprehension of the elements of his own character, and the attributes of his own being. Not, indeed, that we can deny that knowledge has progressed and expanded the human intellect, for this would argue that men were still uneducated savages, and had remained through all past ages in a stationary condition. To such an absurd assumption, the mighty mechanical powers with which modern science has enriched us opposes ample refutation. But is this the only species of mental acquisition essential to establish general prosperity? Undoubtedly, it is the primary and most palpable requisite to this end, but if allowed to become the limit of our progress, does it not leave us in a condition almost as widely removed from this object as we should remain without it? In other words, does not the possession of illimitable physical resources, contrasted with the all-pervading immorality and political slavery necessarily engendered by an ignorance of social and moral truth, and in which we are now involved, constitute us a nation of *refined barbarians*, boasting the means of supplying every want experienced in a savage state, and wanting the genuine kindness, the mutual sympathy, and the sincere goodwill for which, even to this day, all savage nations are celebrated? This remark will appear to many an unfounded and unjustifiable stigma upon the character of our *Christian* country. Pointing to the innumerable stately churches, whose architectural grandeur produces such an imposing effect in every principal thoroughfare, they will ask, how such piety-producing institutions can have failed in impressing every individual of the population with the practical knowledge of moral virtue? And again, appealing to the numerous edifices of Dissenting sects, inquire how men can now be accused of intolerance, and want of charity? Truly, these are important questions, and demand the serious attention of all men.

How happens it that, after an elapse of 1800 years since the personal revelation of the principles of a religious creed, which expressly enjoins love, charity, and forbearance, and prescribes a list of commandments, in the obedience to which the highest moral virtue is said to consist, and during which period the labours of all men have been heavily taxed to contribute to the support and propagation of this creed; after this has been done, how does it happen that no human being has yet been taught to practise love to his neighbours, charity towards all men, and forbearance with those whose opinions differ from his own? And that all dependant on their exertions, either of mind or body, for support, are at this time irresistibly compelled, day by day, to break many of the commandments of this divine religion, and thus involuntarily render themselves guilty of a gross dereliction of moral duty? Nay, the very men who act as spiritual pastors, and preach these benign doctrines, are seen to act hypocritically, and practise, along with all the erring mortals they profess to guide, the very vices which these doctrines proscrib. If any one deny this, let him regard facts, and say, if he who luxuriates upon the accumulated exactions from his fellow-men, under the pretence of leading them from error, and gaining for them an eternal life of bliss, who invests himself with the surplice, as the chosen agent of Omnipotent Providence, who enforces toleration and charity, and in the same breath denounces as infidels, unworthy of the one and the other, all who entertain dissimilar notions from his own, is not a hypocrite of the deepest stamp, surpassing all unpretending sinners in his hypocrisy, inas-

much as he renders it subservient to his own aggrandizement, by means of imposing upon his fellow-creatures? And if these men, initiated through their lives in the principle of this religion, said to be the only foundation for moral rectitude, remain coarsely vicious, is it possible that the rest of mankind, consigned to unremitting toil, and confiding the charge of their moral character to the keeping of these well-paid guardians, can attain a virtuous practice? The condition of mankind at this day proves this impossible, and the records of past times testify to the utter worthlessness and inutility of all religions, including that promulgated by the reformer of Nazareth, in promoting general virtue and universal charity.

The answer to the query before us lies in the consideration, that religious systems, although emanating, perhaps, in many instances, from sincere philanthropists, are totally incompetent to insure the practical influence of the virtues they inculcate; and the truly benevolent precept, "do unto others as you would be done unto," remains a dead letter of the moral code, to be found only on the scriptural page, or the tongue of him who propounds it.

It has been decreed right, that "man should have a reason for the faith which is in him;" it were well for mankind had this decree been obeyed. Moral duties have ever yet been attached to theological tenets, bequeathed by the father and inherited by the son, as a birthright, and hence the vices and follies of one generation being received by the next without reason or inquiry. Men have to this day vainly wasted their energies in attempting to establish the doctrine of universal charity and goodwill upon the power of an injunction merely, without for a moment imagining that charity is the inevitable concomitant of a state of mind, induced by reason and conviction, and that mankind cannot be imbued with feelings of goodwill and benevolence by virtue of a revealed command, however high the authority whence it proceeds, or however heavy the penalty attached to non-compliance. In this ignorance, men have adopted the most unphilosophical course, suffering anger to sway their minds, and hatred to dictate their conduct. Under this misleading influence, nearly all who have applied themselves to inquire for the causes of general distress have laboured; and hence violent declamation and bitter reflections have too often characterized their proceedings. In consequence, little practical good has resulted from their labours, for, wanting that charity which a correct knowledge of human nature and human history infallibly inspires, they have traced all social grievances to the immediate agents of their indiction, and believing these to be the voluntary authors of human misery, have held them up to public execration, worthy of contempt and hatred. In the progression of social improvement, however, to be longer retarded, by thus creating discord and animosity among men? Prior to the discovery of the immutable principles which govern human actions and decide individual character; and while men knew not the means of securing general prosperity, this question might have appeared problematical; but these principles have satisfactorily solved it, by developing the reasons for a genuine charity, which will ultimately force conviction upon the public mind, and urge onward the march of virtue and happiness. It is pre-eminently desirable that we should entertain this charity before we proceed to investigate the causes of our present distress, and the means for its removal; and of this point I now invite your consideration.

The intelligence of the present age has discerned the great principle that the ultimate aim of all human actions is the attainment of the same common object; viz. *individual happiness*; and in this one truth we have at once a key which explains the otherwise inexplicable conduct of men, justifies their apparent misdeeds, exonerates them from blame, and disqualifies them for praise; thus

laying a solid and philosophical foundation for the establishment of universal charity and forbearance.

If we regard man through the scenes of his past history, we shall perceive this ruling instinct to have directed his course in every action of every individual. In each private arrangement and public measure, from the most trivial to the most important, through every stage and condition of existence, has man bowed to the dominion of this instinctive monitor. It aways omnipotent with the most insatiate tyrant, as with the humblest slave; with the most ruthless despoiler of human happiness, as with the most sanguine philanthropist; with the most virtuous as with the most vicious; with whatever character the individual may be endowed, in whatever circumstances he may find himself, he is still the powerless slave of this inherent instinct, which incites him to good or to evil conduct, as the one or the other is made to appear subservient to it. It is this natural principle of the human character which prompts even to crimes of the blackest dye, and, for the time being, justifies their commission to the perpetrators. Persons are heard to wonder at the existence of such wretches; and by what preternatural agency they became guilty of this abhorrent vice. Embued with this knowledge, the wonder ceases, and they are seen to act under the identical impulse which prompts others to the practice of benevolence. In the case of the most sanguinary murderer, could we analyze the moving feelings of the murderer, can we doubt that we should discover him obeying this law of our common nature, and acting in a manner which it had induced his ignorance or passion to believe justifiable.

Upon this view of the matter, then, (and who disputes its correctness?) all reasons for ill-will and anger disappear, and universal charity becomes the only rational feeling, in the spirit of which to judge and estimate the doings of our species. This fact explains the over-riding cause of men's enormities upon an irrefutable basis, acquitting the most flagitious of discredit, and depriving the virtuous of that false merit and honour hitherto their meed.

Let it not be said, however, that this doctrine encourages vice, and opposes all laws for its suppression. Truly, it does absolve it from villainy, and consequently from punishment; but the primitive cause of vice has to be considered, and it will be found that this cause is omnipresent in mis-called civilized society, and that, were the laws which have been necessarily enacted to suppress it, repealed, the wider extension of crime and immorality, and the immediate disorganization and ruin of society, would ensue. This is not the course suggested by this knowledge. The same influencing principle which has created all human mischief, will now furnish a sovereign remedy; and this, by the ameliorative power of knowledge, for it is ignorance only which has perverted the dictates of human nature, and rendered them productive of evil and misery. The desire of happiness is inseparable from our existence; it throbs as strongly in the breast of every savage as in our own, and prompted our fraternal father, Adam, to eat the forbidden fruit, even in disobedience to his command; nay, it compelled Eve to listen to the wily tongue of the serpent, and follow his persuasive advice, and in all probability induced the very instigator of evil to seek his own gratification in the anguish and torment of the fabled couple of Eden, thus constituting the origin of evil!

Knowledge, on the other hand, is not born with man; he has to acquire it at an expense of labour and experience, and after an elapse of time. Hence, then, for many ages, even to this day, has man toiled in ignorance of the means of securing his prosperity and happiness; and while acting from the first period of his existence under the influence of the desire of their attainment, he has been ignorantly compelled to adopt measures, the

least calculated to effect his desired object, which have ultimately marred his exertions, and created poverty, hatred, and misery, when he wished for and expected plenty, love, and happiness. Knowledge must, therefore, be diffused and exalted into an absolute dominion, in place of the error which now paralyzes the efforts of men before the restrictive and avenging laws which this error has called into existence can be with justice and safety abandoned. This doctrine is a species of *moral optimism*, which, while it declares all past circumstances to have been necessary and unavoidable, and exculpates the conduct of all men, furnishes the key to future improvement, and provides for the ultimate abolition of all uncharitableness, vice, and misery. It is the natural dictation of educated common sense, confirmed by all past history; it is founded in genuine philosophy, and derived from human nature, alone sufficient to inculcate practical virtue, and able, as time will infallibly demonstrate, to effect that which all religious creeds have failed in effecting,—universal charity and kindness. It supplies the rules of moral rectitude, and supplies the only basis for the practical establishment of the precept: "Do unto others as you would be done unto;" and at the same time illustrates, most forcibly, the value of knowledge; thus enabling man to estimate the character of his past progress, and furnishing an incentive to future exertions in the cause of humanity.

My next will contain an examination of the causes of our distress. D. G.

[We hope D. G. will forgive us for keeping his present article so long. We had given it out several times, but were prevented from getting it inserted, by the number of reports, proceedings, &c., with which we were loaded about the time. He is an excellent writer; but we would have him be a little more bold in coming to the point. It appears as if there were some restraint upon him, on which account we fear that many will not perceive all his meaning.]

TO THE ADVOCATES OF CO-OPERATION.

RESPECTED FRIENDS,—Some time since I wrote a letter to the friends of co-operation, and directed it to the conductors of the *Crisis*, hoping that it would have been inserted, but from some cause it has not yet appeared.

That letter contained my views on co-operation, and on Mr. Owen's general principles, both of which, after mature examination, I have adopted.

Repeated calls have been made since then, in the *Crisis*, to the advocates of co-operation, to give public expression to their wishes. In agreement with this call, I write as the representative of the friends of the National System in Bolton, who deem it their interest and their duty to themselves, their children, and their country, to press forward in the good, and we believe the only, path that will lead to universal virtue and happiness. We have deferred writing, under the expectation that Mr. Owen, in his tour through Lancashire, would have avowed us with a visit to Bolton. We were very anxious to have an interview with him, and have been very much disappointed at his not having embraced the opportunity, while so near Bolton, leaving his powerful aid to the spread of co-operative principles here.

We are rather surprised that no steps have yet been taken to establish a community, and are convinced that an effort should be made by all who are convinced of the practicability of such a move. That the principles of community are understood by a number sufficient, if selected, to form a community, we believe.

Let the friends of this redeeming principle, then, stir themselves, and prove to the world, by action, what they have so long professed and believed to be true principle. We concur with A. Baume where he states, in one of his admirable letters, "that we want but one good exam-

ple;" which example would be attended with incalculable advantage in impelling forward the great, the glorious object of redeeming the world from poverty, error, and vice. As soon as arrangements can be made, we are anxious and willing to devote our talents, our lives, and our property, to the advancement of a measure that will cut up by the root that hydra-headed monster—Competition, and give permanent happiness to ourselves and to our offspring. This only we consider to be the means by which the load of anxious care with which we are oppressed, on account of the future destiny of our children, can be removed; and which solicitude makes the days and nights of thousands of parents bitterness and pain. We do not wish for procrastination, nor should we be favourable to any premature course: in such an important undertaking, great caution must be used. The first steps to be taken, in our opinion, are as follow:—To ascertain the amount of number; secondly, what amount of capital can be raised by the whole; thirdly, the fitness of persons offering themselves candidates for community; and fourthly, a specific plan of arrangement for the increase of their capital, which shall insure the interest of all. This being done, we should be able to ascertain if one community of 2000 persons could be raised, or more. We are of our late friend, Mr. Thompson's opinion, that fewer than 2000 could not, in community, unite to the best advantage,—that a community should be formed on principles that would insure permanency, is our ardent desire, and should be glad to correspond with any, with a view to the realization of this great object. We should be obliged by this being noticed either in the *Crisis* or by post. The friends in Bolton are all of the productive class, and of course do not possess wealth in proportion to what would be required by Mr. Owen's estimate, which amounts to 120*l.* per head: in this we are much deficient, as our capital would not yield more than 40*l.* per individual. Our numbers are upwards of 50, a majority of whom are children. Hoping this will be noticed, I remain, dear friends,

Yours, respectfully,

JAMES ROBISON.

Bolton, Dec. 16, 1833.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—A statement having been given, in the last number of the *Man*, to the effect that the Committee of the National Equitable Labour Exchange had refused the use of their premises to Mr. Owen and the St. Simonians, I beg, on the part of the Committee, to give that statement the most unqualified contradiction, the Committee never having been applied to, either by Mr. Owen, the St. Simonians, or any other person, on that subject; consequently no refusal of the premises could have taken place.

The statement in question, if uncontradicted, is calculated to engender an opinion that there is a want of sympathy and good understanding between Mr. Owen and the Committee. I trust that all friends to truth will lend their aid to neutralize the evil tendency of the paragraph in question.—I am, Sir, yours, respectfully,

13th Jan., 1834.

WM. PEEL,

Secretary to the Committee of Management.

TO MRS. WHEELER.

"A friend, who wishes to subscribe five pounds per quarter, until the trustees obtain justice regarding Mr. Thompson's property in Ireland, begs leave to inclose the five pound note (No. 27,692), 2d Dec., 1833."

I do likewise acknowledge that, on the 5th instant, Mr. Baume did pay me 1*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*, arising from profits at the Christmas Social Festival.

A. D. WHEELER.

HUMAN FLESH THE INDISPUTABLE FOOD OF VULTURES.

A TALE.

Many naturalists are of opinion that the animals which we commonly consider as mute, have the power of imparting their thoughts to one another. That they can express general sensations is very certain. Every being that can utter sounds has a different voice for pleasure and for pain. The hound informs his fellows when he scents his game; the hen calls her chickens to their food, by her cluck, and drives them from danger by her scream.

Birds have the greatest variety of notes; they have indeed a variety which seems almost sufficient to make a speech adequate to the purposes of a life which is regulated by instinct, and can admit little change or improvement. To the cries of birds curiosity or superstition has been always attentive; many have studied the language of the feathered tribes, and some boasted that they understood it.

The most skilful or most confident interpreters of the sylvan dialogues have been commonly found among the philosophers of the east, in a country where the calmness of the air, and the mildness of the seasons, allow the student to pass a great part of the year in groves and bowers. But what may be done in one country by peculiar opportunities, may be performed in another by peculiar diligence. A shepherd of Bohemia has, by long abode in the forests, enabled himself to understand the voice of birds, at least he relates with great confidence a story, of which the credibility is left to be considered by the learned.

"As I was sitting," said he "within a hollow rock, and watching my sheep that fed in the valley, I heard two vultures interchangeably crying on the summit of a cliff. Both voices were earnest and deliberate. My curiosity prevailed over my care of the flock. I clambered slowly and silently from crag to crag, concealed among the shrubs, till I found a cavity, where I might sit and listen without suffering or giving disturbance.

"I soon perceived that my labour would be well repaid, for an old vulture was sitting on a naked prominence, with her young about her, whom she was instructing in the art of a vulture's life, and preparing, by the last lecture, for their final dismission to the mountains and the skies.

"My children," said the old vulture, "you will the less want my instructions, because you have had my practice before your eyes; you have seen me snatch from the farm the household fowl; you have seen me seize the leveret in the bush, and the kid in the pasture; you know how to fix your talons, and how to balance your flight, when you are laden with your prey. But you remember the taste of more delicious food; I have often regaled you with the flesh of man." "Tell us," said the young vultures, "where man may be found, and how he may be known; his flesh is surely the natural food of a vulture: why have you never brought a man in your talons to the nest?" "He is too bulky," said the mother; "when we find a man, we can only tear away his flesh, and leave his bones upon the ground." "Since man is so big," said the young ones, "how do you kill him? You are afraid of the wolf and the bear; by what power are vultures superior to man?" "We have not the strength of man," returned the mother, "and I am sometimes in doubt whether we have the subtlety; and the vultures would seldom feast upon his flesh, had not pride and ignorance devoted him to our uses, and infused into him a strange ferocity, which I have never observed in any other animal that feeds upon the earth. Two herds of men will often meet, and shake the earth with noise, and fill the air with fire. When you hear noise, and see fire, with flashes along the ground, hasten to the place with your swiftest wing, for men are surely destroying one another; you will then find the ground smoking with blood, and covered with carcasses, of which many are dismembered and

struggled for the convenience of the vulture." "But when men have killed their prey," said the pupils, "why do they not eat it? When the wolf has killed a sheep, he suffers not the vulture to touch it till he has satisfied himself. Is not man another kind of wolf?" "Man," said the mother, "is the only animal who kills that which he does not devour. And this quality makes him so much a benefactor to our species."

"If men kill our prey, and lay it in our way," said the young ones, "what need shall we have of labouring for ourselves?" "Because man will sometimes," replied the mother, "remain for a long time quiet in his den; the old vultures will tell you when you are to watch his motions. Whenever you see men in great numbers moving close together, like a flight of storks, you may conclude that they are hunting, and that you will soon revel in human blood." "But still," said the young ones, "I would gladly know the reason of this mutual slaughter; we never kill what we cannot eat." "My children," said the mother, "this is a question which I cannot answer, though I am reckoned the most experienced and subtle bird of the mountain. When I was young, I used frequently to visit the abode of an old vulture who dwelt upon the Carpathian rocks. He had made many observations; he knew the places that afforded prey round his habitation, as far in every direction as the strongest wing can fly between the rising and setting of the summer sun; he had fed year after year on the entrails of men. His opinion was, that men had only the appearance of animal life, being vegetables, with a power of motion, and that, as the boughs of an oak are dashed together by the storm, that swine may fatten upon the fallen acorns, so men are by some unaccountable power driven one against another, till they lose all motion, that vultures may be fed. Others think they have observed something of contrivance and policy among these mischievous beings; and those that hover more closely round them, pretend that there is in every herd, one that gives directions to the rest, and seems to be more eminently delighted with a wide caruage. What it is that entitles him to such pre-eminence we know not; he is seldom the biggest, handsomest, or the swiftest; but he shows by his eagerness and diligence that he is, more than any of the others, a friend to the vultures."—DR. JOHNSON.

The following we extract from a pamphlet lately published, entitled "Responsibility Inevitable, Immediate, and Necessary." It is a well-written essay, and takes a very just and practical view of the subject:—

"Did not constant experience justify the effort, it might, *a priori*, seem superfluous to call upon man to examine his own feelings, to understand his own nature; so solicitous does each seem about all that concerns himself, so anxious to avail himself of every opportunity to increase his enjoyment; yet the sage, many years ago, said, 'Know thyself;' and the lesson still remains unlearned. If it be not so—if man be not so ignorant of himself, how, while we observe the universal wish for happiness, can we understand the folly which seeks it in evil, where from its nature it cannot be found?—how shall we account for the irrationality which characterises the proceedings of the many for the eager pursuit of a bubble, which bursts at the touch—for the mad desires which hunt a shadow—for the sacrifices of youth, health, talent, to a facied deity called power, glory, or wealth, which mocks the offerer with disappointment and remorse? Could it be thus if man knew his own nature—if he understood the laws by which he is governed—if he had found that happiness can only be obtained by obeying those laws, by following that nature?—but no; in his ignorance he perverts the latter—he disregards the former—and the result is certain, the responsibility inevitable.

"If a man swallow poison, we, from having remarked its natural effect on the human system, expect that he will die; if he do not, it will be either because an efficient remedy was applied, or because he did not take enough poison. When Shylock inquires, 'If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh?' we understand him rather as making an assertion, because such are in general the natural effects of the supposed acts. And even when in urging respecting causes that affect either the mind or the moral feelings, we assert that similar circumstances will produce similar results, no one will be found so inconsistent as to deny it. When we say that a known departure from truth will compel us to withdraw our confidence, it is seen at once that such is the inevitable consequence; and yet the man who but now declared such to be his belief, the next moment, perhaps, acts or speaks a falsehood, and thinks it hard that he has to bear that result which by a law of our nature we cannot prevent. There may be every wish to confide in him—it may even be inconvenient to find that we cannot; but as he has been tried and found wanting, nothing but repeated proofs of his integrity can induce us again to trust him. The morose and ignominiously selfish man would probably be the first to tax with folly one whom he saw disturbing a nest of wasps after having been once stung by them. Is he consistent when he complains that he is left solitary? that those whose society would be pleasant to him when he is disposed to social intercourse, shun him because they have so often found him otherwise? Does he not know that we naturally avoid feelings and situations that are not pleasurable? Has he forgotten that petulance, intolerance, disregard of others, are repaid by weariness, irritation, and neglect? Does the husband, the wife, cease to cultivate those qualities which originally caused love,

"And eyes forget the gentle ray
They wore in courtship's smiling day,
And voices lose the tone that shed
A tenderness round all they said,
Till fast declining, one by one,
The sweetest moments of life are gone!—

let not the result surprise—let them not expect that the affection which is produced by, which supports upon, congeniality and kindness alone, can survive their loss. Will the father encourage selfishness and passion in his child, and call it proper spirit? will the mother smile at her daughter's incipient vanity and affectation?—of course they are aware of the results—and have sufficient fortitude to bear them: if not, let them begin to teach their hearts the hard lesson of disappointment and sorrow—or rather, much rather, let them, while in the mind's eye they trace the victim of passion and folly step by step to ruin, let them take timely warning, and, by wisdom and kindness, educate their children according to the laws of nature and truth.

"In all these, and similar cases, in vain do we flatter ourselves with obtaining an exemption from an invariable law—the effect is natural, the responsibility universal. Rank may interpose and attempt to shield the offender; nay, it may do so effectually, so far as artificial consequences are to be averted; it may intimidate the accuser, it may silence the censor, it may even arrest the strong arm of justice, but will it scare the busy fiend within? will it silence the still small voice of conscience? can it prevent the mischievous effects of an evil act? Can power command intelligence and wisdom? Surely not. Like Glendower, it may 'call spirits from the vasty deep,' but will they come when it doth call for them? Can riches purchase science? No; the royal road to geometry is still undiscovered; application and patient investigation are the price we must continue to pay for knowledge; and though there may be some situations in which ignorance is less inconvenient than others, those situations cannot give the rational, the unalienable pleasures of culti-

vated intellect—they cannot supply the mental resources of the well-informed. Let, therefore, the idle view well the consequence of idleness—the vicious, the results of vice—and let each be certain, that from these effects he cannot escape."

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT, ENDING JAN. 11.

Deposits	3943b.	Exchanges	4558b. 4s.
RECEIPTS.	Cash & Notes.	PAYMENTS.	
Meat	26 5 6	Meat	29 8 3
Grocery, &c.	31 4 0	Grocery, &c.	31 1 1
Coals	2 11 0	Festival	14 8 3
Festival	35 15 8	Lectures	1 0 2
Lectures	14 13 10	Wages	18 13 0
Rent, Subs., &c.	4 11 1	Charges, inc.	
Commission	7 8 0	alterations	18 17 3
Charges	1 5 0	Coals	12 1 10

123 14 1

125 7 4

Stock, goods on hand . 54,734b. 1s.

Notes now in circulation 32,503 5

Audited by Managing Committee,
J. NORMAN, Chairman.

NOTICES.

On Sunday, the 26th instant, Mr. Plant will deliver a lecture on Music, at Bowling-square Chapel, Lower Whitecross-street, at three o'clock.

The Musical Academy connected with the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, is now open for the reception of Pupils, both vocal and instrumental. Mr. Stevens, Organist, and Mr. Collins, the English Paganini, Teachers. Particulars as to Terms, &c., may be known by applying to the Secretary of the Musical Department, every Tuesday, Friday, and Sunday evening. It is also in contemplation to establish a preparatory Dancing Academy, in connection with the Musical Department; the particulars of which will be duly announced.

In a few days will be published,

A SERMON, by the Rev. G. EDWARDS, A.M., of Angel-street Chapel, Worcester, on the doctrines of ROBERT OWEN, &c., to which is appended a REPLY, by the Rev. J. E. SMITH, A.M., of London.—Price 6d.

B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-in.

BLAIR'S GOUT and RHEUMATIC PILLS a pleasant, safe, and effectual cure for every description of Gout and Rheumatism, are recommended to the afflicted with a confidence arising from experience; are one of the valuable results of the improved state of Medical Science, and the only efficient remedy ever discovered for these excruciating Disorders. In Gout, Rheumatic Gout, and acute Rheumatism, these PILLS will have a most wonderful effect in most cases, giving relief from the intolerable pains in one or two hours; and one box will frequently carry off the attack in two or three days, even where the patient has usually kept his bed for as many weeks, and sometimes months. They are equally certain in Lumbago, Pains in the Head or Face, frequently treated as the Tooth-ache. Rheumatism of long standing will be perfectly cured by a slight degree of perseverance in the use of these PILLS, which require neither confinement nor attention during their use; and the continued decided approbation sent unsolicited to the Proprietor, from all parts of the kingdom, and from all classes of society, fully warrants the assurance that no person subject to these disorders will, after a trial, ever be without them.—Sold by Thomas Frost, 295, Strand, London, seven doors from Temple Bar; and, by his appointment, by Bellby and Co. Birmingham; Stoby, St. Ann's-square, Manchester; Reanie, Lord-street, Liverpool; and all other Medicine Vendors through the kingdom.

Printed and published by B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-in; and at 278, Strand.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, JANUARY 19.

Mr. OWEN lectured.—The system which I advocate is altogether different from any other system, ancient or modern; it has no connexion with any other; it has been derived from, and is founded upon, eternal and never-changing facts and principles, essentially opposed to all the notions on which every other system hitherto taught to any portion of the human race has been founded. It is, therefore, difficult for minds familiar only with the old systems of the world, to elevate themselves to form any correct conception of this system. On account of this difficulty, it has been called visionary and impracticable by those who have not the knowledge and experience to determine what is, and what is not, impracticable and visionary. It has, therefore, always been assailed the most violently by the least informed; by those whose minds have been filled from infancy with prejudices, which totally unfit them to give any rational opinion upon a subject so far beyond their utmost conceptions. It is these presumptions of the ignorant which have so frequently compelled me to say, "You do not yet understand any part of this system."

In fact, to understand it, as it has been long familiar to me, "The mind must be born again," for all the early associations of ideas and prejudices must die, or be unassociated, and entirely removed out of the mind, even to the first impressions made in infancy and childhood; and new principles, in accordance with facts, laid for another foundation, on which, combined with those new principles, other associations of ideas must be in strict accordance with every other idea of the whole association, and at the same time in perfect consistency with every fact of which an accurate knowledge has been acquired. For if any system be true, there will be no inconsistency or incongruity of any kind in its original principles; in any of the associations of ideas arising from them, or in any practice which emanates from them.

None of the systems ever promulgated, in ancient or modern times, have any pretensions

to these qualifications; not one of them will bear the test of investigation on these principles. One and all will be found based on false principles, and to be incongruous and inconsistent in their theories, and necessarily vicious and degrading in practice.

No individual, however, would be justified in denouncing the whole system of society, ancient and modern, without making evident—

1st. The errors upon which it has been based, the evils to which it must lead, the miseries which it has created, and the utter impossibility that any permanent improvement in the condition can be effected, while it shall be allowed to continue.

2d. Without making equally evident that another and a far superior system may be introduced into practice; a system founded on principles derived solely from facts, undisputed by the educated in all countries; principles consistent with all known facts existing through all known past times and at present; principles, by a right application of which to practice, the causes of the evils of the present system would be removed, and a virtuous, intelligent, and happy state of human existence would be permanently established.

I have thus, long since, developed, 1st. the errors on which the past and present system of the world has been based, and shown the necessary and unavoidable evils which must result from such errors when applied to practice, and that the evils do exist.

2d. I have explained the principles derived from nature or facts, to form another and highly-superior system; shown its superiority over the old worn-out system; and given an ample detail of the mode and manner by which this superior system may be gradually and most beneficially to all introduced into practice.

I am, therefore, most desirous now that the system which I advocate should not be confounded with other systems, ancient or modern, for by so doing erroneous notions, and vague impressions only will be given to the public.

To enable the public more easily to comprehend the subject, it is necessary to begin with first principles.

The object of all human exertions is to be happy.

Happiness cannot be attained, enjoyed, and secured, unless all men possess health, real knowledge, and wealth.

Hitherto health and real knowledge have been neglected for the attainment of wealth, and other exclusive individual objects; but which, when acquired, even in the greatest abundance, have been, and ever will be, found to destroy happiness.

The world is now saturated with wealth—with abundant means of still increasing it—and yet misery abounds! Such at this moment is the actual state of human society. No arrangement, proceeding from a defined intention to attain an object of desire, could be worse devised than that which is now in practice, throughout all the nations of the earth. Immense, invaluable energies, competent with ease to procure every thing beneficial to humanity, lie waste, or are so misdirected as to defeat the object of all their wishes.

The world, however, is now amply supplied with the means to stop the current of human folly; to call those dormant powers into action, and to give a right straight-forward direction to all the energies of man.

The means are wanted to give health, real knowledge, and wealth to all men.

The means surround us, are at our instant disposal, and exist in a 'superfluity' of abundance; yet the great mass of the world is in the depth of ignorance, without the comforts of life; a large proportion of them are in want of a sufficiency of food, subject to every privation, and are to be found at this hour in the midst of almost inconceivable distress and wretchedness.

Is the change then from the one state to the other difficult? Are there any insurmountable obstacles in the way to prevent the accomplishment of that which is so desirable?

On the contrary, extraordinary as it may seem, the change will be most easy. No difficulty or obstacle of magnitude will be found in the whole progress. **THE WORLD KNOWS AND FEELS THE EXISTING EVILS: IT WILL LOOK AT THE NEW ORDER OF THINGS PROPOSED—APPROVE—WILL THE CHANGE—AND IT IS DONE.**

Who, or what, shall now prevent man from being well-trained, instructed, and productively employed? Who, or what, shall now prevent him from being so trained, instructed, and employed, amidst every comfort and enjoyment, when it shall be proved even to demonstration, that all, *without a single exception*, shall be essentially benefited by the change?

To proceed systematically in the subject, it is necessary here to state what man is by nature; what he has been made by the previous circumstances which have surrounded him; and afterwards to show what he may be made by surrounding him with new circumstances, all of which are now at the control of society.

Man, then, is born with combined propensities and qualities, differing in degree of power, and in combination, sufficient to create, through life, individuality and distinctness of person and character.

But however much the power and combination of these propensities and qualities may differ in individuals at birth, they may be all so directed

subsequent circumstances as to be made to form general characters; and these characters to be of any—of the most opposite nature—even to be made entirely *irrational* or *rational*.

The progress shall now be slightly traced as well as the means by which the first has been completely effected; and a hasty sketch shall also be given, by which the last may, with equal certainty be accomplished.

In every known region of the earth, up to the present hour, man has been compelled from fancy to receive the peculiar notions of some sect, some class, some party, and of some country. In consequence, each individual has been surrounded by four dense atmospheres of error and prejudice, and through which he must look at every object around him. These mental atmospheres vary materially in different countries; but in all they are so dense, that (as every object must be observed through them), each object becomes distorted or indistinct; none of them, in any country, or by a single individual, can yet be seen in their just proportions, and, in consequence, nature has hitherto been hidden from man.

Throughout all past ages, a limited number of individuals, on various spots of the earth, have been surrounded with atmospheres, the shades of which have been more or less differently combined from all the other atmospheres; and each of these combinations has presented to the individual within its influence, a particular distortion of all the objects of nature peculiar to itself. When individuals, thus differently surrounded, happen to meet and converse together, they soon discover that they do not see objects alike; and wholly unconscious of the real cause of difference between them, an opposition of feeling as well as of seeing is created, extending from a light degree of dislike to anger, hatred, revenge, death, and destruction, in every form and shape. Hence, from differences of opinion on notions of sect, arise the evils and miseries of human life, which, more than all the other atmospheres of class, party, and of country, have in every age separated man from man, and made him a degraded and wretched being.

The several atmospheres of class have also created various feelings of strong separation among men, and have essentially tended to increase their irrationality and their misery.

The atmospheres of party and of country have been equally injurious; they have, even until now, compelled man to remain a stranger to his fellows.

A combination of every conceivable degree of ignorance, weakness, and inconsistency has been the natural consequence of men's actions during such a state of existence.

All the past and present institutions of the world are a proof of the ever-changing insanity with which the human mind has been enveloped.

The result of each change under these circumstances has disappointed the fondest hopes, and the most sanguine expectations; and while the circumstances are permitted to remain, folly alone will expect any other result from any change whatever, but their entire removal.

Happiness is not one jot nearer the grasp of a single individual now, than it was at the period when we have the first records of man. Born in ignorance, he imagined first, and he has ever since been systematically taught, that he himself created the motives for his own actions; his mind has been formed on this base; it has been, and is now, the very foundation of his thoughts; it has been combined into all the associations of his ideas, and only doubt, disorder, and confusion of intellect could follow!

It was truly said, that before man could be wise and happy, his mind "must be born again"—that is, it must be discharged of all the inconsistent associations which have been formed within it; the foundation must be laid anew, and a superstructure raised of just and useful proportions,

consistent in each and in all its parts, and such as shall please, gratify, and delight the eye of all beholders; that shall bear the test of the most scientific investigations; that, through all future ages, shall satisfy each mind as it advances, well trained and formed, to maturity, that it is the abode of happiness proceeding from correct conduct, under the guidance of the best intelligence and the soundest wisdom!

Man is born in ignorance, and from his birth he is surrounded with the errors of some sect, some class, frequently of some party, and always of some country.

He is consequently rendered ignorant of himself, of his fellow-creatures, and of nature.

The seeds of disunion and separation are deeply and extensively sown during infancy and childhood.

He is individualized, and made, openly or covertly, to oppose every other human being.

His natural wishes are to press onwards towards happiness; but he is strongly and successfully opposed by the multitudes around him, and by the ignorantly-devised institutions of society.

As he advances to youth and manhood, the soil into which the seeds of disunion and separation have been put, is cultivated with the greatest care, and every conceivable means are adopted to cherish the plants, insure their growth, and secure a plentiful crop.

Such care and culture cannot fail of success; opposition to his natural feelings and to all his exertions to attain happiness, brings forth in due time an abundant harvest of discontent, dislikes, displeasure, anger, hatred, revenge, and of all the evil passions; and at length he becomes intimately involved in all the irrationality which must inevitably arise from such a mode of training and culture!

He is compelled to be insincere: and this circumstance alone will destroy human happiness! Were any individual to speak the truth within either of these deranging atmospheres of the human intellect, he would be at once termed a fool and a madman!

His finest feelings, his highest intellectual powers, and his best energies, must lie waste, or be so misdirected as to produce evil continually.

Such is a just and accurate outline of man as he has been made—and as he is made—under all the past and present systems.

Were I now to descend to particulars: to give a faithful representation in detail of the errors, inconsistencies, and of the miseries which arise from the existing arrangements of society throughout all its parts; the public mind would be too suddenly enlightened for its own happiness: ignorant and untrained as it yet is, it would not retain the requisite patience to allow the change to be gradually effected; to proceed only as speedily as practical measures will admit; it would too eagerly press forward to seize the good which in due time shall be certainly placed within its grasp, and by such over-haste it would injure and destroy many in its course. In effecting this change—and where is the existing mind that can now comprehend its magnitude?—it is my most ardent wish, my anxious desire, that the least possible irritation should be created; that it should be accomplished without any real injury to a human being! Those who possess comprehension of mind, and some practical knowledge of the existing state of society, will understand the purport of this language, and will of course act accordingly.

Yes, my friends, full of folly, inconsistency, and wretchedness, as all the existing systems are, *they must not be touched by ill-informed and rude hands.* A single premature or ill-advised step, were it now to be taken, might retard our best-founded hopes, and deprive some generations yet to come of that happiness which otherwise we and our children shall surely enjoy in no inconsiderable degree.

Alay, therefore, your present irritations—do not urge forward any ill-digested, or rather undigested, plans of premature reform; yet attend with all your powers of earnestness to the proceedings which are about to commence, and in the shortest possible time for your own good and for the benefit of posterity, you shall be relieved from the existing miseries; you shall be put in possession of all the comfort and enjoyment that can be advantageous to human beings.

To accomplish however, this great end, without injury to any one, it is absolutely necessary that all the existing institutions should be supported for a time as they are, to enable them to protect, and beneficially direct and control the mighty change which is coming rapidly upon us and upon all nations; from which it is utterly impossible for us to escape; and from which, when it shall be properly understood, not one of us shall desire to escape; on the contrary, one and all of us will hail it as the harbinger of whatever is good for individual man, and advantageous for him in his social capacity.

When right principles are acted upon, it is, and ever will be, unnecessary to deceive the public; the truth may be told for or against any national impressions with advantage to every just cause; and this course shall be now adopted.

The present governing powers of Europe and America, with a few unimportant exceptions, are not in reality opposed to the practical improvement of society; they wish to advance, and, when they shall fully understand how it can be effected, they will not withhold their active assistance.

Statesmen in all countries have yet to learn the principles of the science that will enable them to govern states so as to make themselves and the people happy.

Of the existing systems I trust it is unnecessary for me to say more, than that I consider them wretched indeed! but, bad as they are, they must be protected until a better shall be actually in practice:

We will now view man under the new circumstances in which he is about to be placed.

In the new, as under the old, he will be born in ignorance.

He will be trained from earliest infancy to acquire only kind and benevolent dispositions.

He will be taught facts only. These will enable him very early in life to understand clearly his own character and the character of his fellow-creatures have been formed and are forming. He will thus be secured from being enveloped by any of the evil and demoralizing atmospheres with which every man yet born has been surrounded.

No circumstances will exist to compel him to acquire feelings of disunion and separation from any other human being. On the contrary, his heart will be open to receive, and his hand ready to assist, each of his fellow-creatures, whatever may be his sect, his class, his party, his country, or his colour. Anger, hatred, and revenge will have no place in which to rest; the passion on which all the evil passions fed will no longer exist; unity and mutual co-operation to any extent will become easy of execution, and the common practice of all.

Men will soon read their past history, only to retain a remembrance of the errors and inconsistencies from whence they emerged, and to compare the happiness around them with the misery of former times.

Look now at the model exhibited, and compare the scenes which it but faintly represents with the situation of the existing poor and working classes in the manufacturing towns; and yet the expense and trouble of the latter are more than those of the one represented. We will very hastily and slightly sketch the contrast.

IN THE MANUFACTURING TOWNS.

The poor and working classes now usually live in garrets or cellars, within narrow lanes or confined courts.

They are surrounded with dirt, enveloped in smoke, and they have seldom a pleasant object on which to fix their eye.

Parents are oppressed with anxiety to secure the means of subsistence for themselves and children.

Each family has the care and trouble of going to market, to supply their individual wants, and under every disadvantage.

Each family must have domestic arrangements for cooking, &c., and one person must be wholly occupied in preparing provisions, &c., for a family of ordinary numbers.

The parents must toil from 10 to 16 hours in the day, to procure the wretched subsistence which they obtain for themselves and children, and very often under circumstances the most unfavourable to health and natural enjoyments.

In bad times, and which frequently occur, the parties experience a distress not easily to be described.

In case of sickness, very evil takes place among these individual beings.

The early death of parents leaves the children orphans and subject to every evil.

The children are usually sickly, and, as well as their parents, ill-nursed.

The young children are much neglected,

IN THE PROPOSED VILLAGES.

The poor and working classes will live in dwellings formed into a large square, rendered in every way convenient, and usefully ornamented.

They will be surrounded by gardens, have abundance of space in all directions to keep the air healthy and pleasant; they will have walks and plantations before them, within the square, and well cultivated grounds, kept in good order around, as far as the eye can reach.

In consequence of the principle of mutual co-operation being understood and practised to its full extent, the necessities and comforts of life are enjoyed by all in abundance.

Under the proposed arrangements the same trouble will provide for 1,000 as it now requires for one family, and all articles are procured on the best terms.

The best provisions will be cooked in the best manner, under arrangements that will enable five or six individuals to prepare provisions for 1,000.

The parents will be healthfully and pleasantly occupied not more than eight hours in the day.

Under the arrangements proposed no bad times can occur from a change of markets, or from any commercial uncertainties, as the parties will always have a plentiful stock of all things necessary.

In the event of sickness, the utmost attention and care will be experienced; every one, both from principle and interest, will be active and have pleasure in rendering the situation of the invalid as comfortable as possible.

The early death of parents will leave the children in all respects well provided and protected.

The children will be ruddy and healthy, and, as well as their parents, neat, clean, and properly clothed.

The children will be well looked after, pre-

and hourly acquire bad habits.

The education of the children neglected.

The children sent early in life to some one trade or manufacture, usually of a very unhealthy nature, and at which they must attend from 10 to 16 hours per day.

The children trained under ignorant persons, possessing many bad habits.

Scolding, coercion, and punishments are the usual instruments of training here.

To proceed with the contrast would be endless; the mind of the reader will easily supply the remainder: suffice it therefore to say,—

That this — is the abode of poverty, vice, crime, and misery.

vented from acquiring bad, and taught good, habits.

The children all well trained and well informed.

The children gradually instructed in gardening, agriculture, and some trade or manufacture, and only employed according to age and strength.

The children will be trained by intelligent persons, possessing only good habits.

But here kindness and good sense will be the only instruments of training.

While this will ever be the abode of abundance, active intelligence, correct conduct, and happiness.

SUNDAY EVENING, JAN. 26.

Mr. Owen alluded to the ignorant and abusive attacks which had been made upon his system and proceedings, by the daily press; chiefly that part of the press which is supposed to be the organ of government. These editorial writers, he observed, were far behind the spirit and intelligence of the age, and were entirely ignorant of the present condition of the working classes. After reading one of these articles, he observed that these gentlemen seemed to take it for granted that he (Mr. O.) was a supporter of monopolies, more especially of the monopoly of the corn laws. Nothing could be further from his principles; he merely asserted that the fundamental cause of the evils of society must be sought much deeper, and that a repeal of the corn laws could not prove an effectual remedy to the existing distress. Political economists, having failed in all their schemes of government, now attempt to justify themselves, by laying all the blame upon the corn laws; but they are very superficial politicians who can trace the evil no further. As long as the increase of machinery and individual competition continues, there is no expedient whatsoever that can prevent the downward movement of the working-classes.

He then alluded to the false insinuations which had been made in these papers respecting the success of his experiments; they had been represented as a total failure from beginning to end. He could boldly assert, that no living individual had been more successful in his experiments than he; but he had always been checked in his experimental operations by the prejudices of those with whom he was associated. When he was only nineteen years of age, he had a manufactory of five hundred men, women, and children committed to his charge in Manchester. He had many difficulties to contend with; but, by the application of his own principles of reformation to practice, he produced such a decided moral and physical change, that his employer promised, if he would continue with him, to raise his salary from 300*l.* to 400*l.* next year, and 500*l.* the year following. He then built large and expensive works in Manchester, in which he car-

ried on the same practical measures with equal success. He then, in a visit to the Falls of the Clyde, saw the works of New Lanark, which appeared to him well calculated for an experiment of his views; and in twelve months after he became the purchaser. His own partners in this interest were alarmed at the visionary notions he entertained; and the learned and the religious, to whom he addressed himself, said it would all be labour lost, to attempt to realize his principles; but he persisted, and, in spite of all the opposition he met from his partners, and the public in general, he found all obstacles fly before him; and the success of the experiment exceeded his most sanguine expectations. The people he found immoral and intractable; they had been long preached to in vain, by good and well-meaning men; but he (Mr. O.) took another course than preaching; he proceeded to action, and, in order to place them in more favourable circumstances, expended 10,000*l.* in making arrangements.—The other partners were now alarmed at his proceedings. "They asked me what I was about; they did not know what cotton-spinners had to do with formation of character; that all they had to do was merely to spin cotton, and make money. They wanted to get out of the concern. I made them an offer, which they accepted, and, in addition to their own capital, they took out a profit of 60,000*l.* I then made arrangements with other partners, and stipulated with them to be permitted to carry on my visionary schemes. They also in turn became alarmed, and asked me what I was doing? I said, I am going to make this population happy, and the children good. We parted, and now the contest was—who was to have the establishment? It was agreed that it should come to the hammer; and as they wished to retain possession, and merely exclude myself, they diligently spread the report, that the property was not worth more than 40,000*l.* When the day of sale came, I asked them what was to be the starting price? They said 40,000*l.* I asked them if they would take 80,000*l.* for it? They said no! Then, said I, the starting price shall be 80,000*l.* This was disappointment to them; but they were still further disappointed; for I had ordered my agent to go as high as 120,000*l.*, and then come to me for further orders. My partners offered to the amount of 114,000*l.*; my agent a hundred more, and the hammer struck. Yet one of the partners, in chagrin exclaimed, "Confound that Owen, he has got it 20,000*l.* too cheap."

"I then looked out for more liberal-minded men to associate with, and formed one of the most extraordinary partnerships ever made. There were two Quakers, one Baptist, a member of the Church of England, the celebrated Jeremy Bentham, myself, and others, and a pretty compound we were. I stipulated for the sole direction, yielding, however, to the request of my Quaker friends, that the children be taught the Scriptures in a particular manner; and with the same unqualified success as formerly, we went on for the next fourteen years, realizing a profit equal to the purchase money, besides paying the interest of capital, and carrying on arrangements for the improvement of the condition of the population, at an expense of 1200*l.* a-year. We reduced their hours of labour to ten hours a-day, surrounded them with gardens and pleasure-grounds, and provided them all with comfortable dwellings, and the means

of mental improvement. During all this time, with a population of two thousand people, I never once applied to a magistrate nor allowed a lawyer to come amongst us about any business whatsoever; and such was the security of the foundation upon which the whole establishment rested, that I could leave the place for six, seven, or eight months at a time, as I often did, and at my return find every thing in good order, and the most perfect harmony prevailing. For twenty-nine years this experiment was carried on, and never any experiment succeeded better. How, then, can the writer in the *Times* say that my experiment never succeeded?

"The result of these experiments of mine was the speedy establishment of infant schools, which have now extended over the four quarters of the world. The original idea was borrowed from my own practical measures, and their acknowledged success. But never could I get any aid from the parliament, to enable me to carry out these measures to general utility; all that I was able to procure was what is generally called Peel's Bill for improving the condition of children in factories."

Mr. Owen then stated that he had proposed measures to parliament for the relief of the poor and the total abolition of pauperism; but so little encouragement could he receive from that wise body, that they debated two days with closed doors, whether or not he should be examined, and at last decided that he should not. But his report, which was rejected by the English legislators, was received by the Dutch, and the consequence was the establishment in Holland of what are commonly called the *Poor Colonies*. "Surely these are practical measures, and successful also; and I say to these editors that, in defiance of all their sneers and all their sarcasms, I will yet prove to them and the world that I have been the most successful practical man that the world has ever seen, and that the truths which I have put into the minds of the working classes have there found a resting-place, and no power on earth can dislodge them."

Mr. Owen then exposed the ignorance of the EDITORIAL question, "How the working men could exist by working eight hours, when they could now scarcely exist by working sixteen?" by showing that the mechanical power of science was now so great as to dispense with the necessity of manual labour, under proper arrangements; that the present arrangements were so bad that great mechanical power was in abeyance, not brought into action, for fear of injuring the working classes; but capable of creating such an amount of wealth as would actually saturate Europe. These men know nothing about the creation of wealth, and there is no more wisdom in what they say than in the raving of lunatics.

Mr. Owen then gave an account of his treatment by the Liverpool administration; he said he believed there was a great deal of honesty in that administration. They examined his system carefully, expressed themselves highly pleased with it, but said that the people were not prepared for it; but as soon as he could prepare the mind of the people, they were willing to take the lead and complete its establishment. It was upon this acknowledgment and promise of a former administration that he now felt himself justified in applying once more to the legislature by petition. He merely requested an examination of his principles; let him be called to the bar of the

house, personally, and there, he said, with all the advantages on their side, of asking questions, "without me having the opportunity of asking in return, but merely replying, I shall demonstrate to them and the public that the principles of their government are entirely erroneous, and must ultimately lead to universal ruin."

GREAT AND MOST IMPORTANT PUBLIC MEETING,

Held at the National Equitable Labour Exchange, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, on Wednesday, January 22, 1834, to consider measures to prevent the collision of parties in the approaching Session of Parliament, and reconcile all the leading national interests.

The Rev. Dr. Wade in the chair.

The Chairman opened the business of the meeting, by stating that he had taken the chair solely with a view to aid in obtaining relief for the oppressed classes, and, if possible, to reconcile all the great contending national interests, in measures that would insure peace, confidence, and a good understanding between all the classes of which our population is composed. He was determined to be impartial, and he hoped all would have a fair hearing; that Mr. Owen would open the very important business of the meeting; and as it was, as he understood, to propose to unite all parties to overcome our national evils, he had no doubt the utmost harmony of sentiment and attention to the subject would pervade the meeting from its commencement to its termination.

Mr. Owen, having various documents before him, commenced what, in the present temper of men's minds, and the extraordinary position of the producing and non-producing classes in this country, we consider one of the most important developments that could perhaps at this crisis of our national affairs be given to the public. He said he had long been aware that the crisis which had arrived, and which placed the producers of wealth and knowledge, and the non-producers of either, in juxtaposition to each other, was approaching; he had distinctly placed this subject several years ago before all the sovereigns and governments in Europe and America, and more especially, at various periods, before the administration of this country, forewarning them in the most open but friendly manner, of what must inevitably arise in the natural course of events, if not prevented by a great and decided change of policy in their principles of governing; and that wise and conciliatory measures, prudently carried into execution, were absolutely received on the part of all the governments of the civilized world, to guide men's minds aright during the moral, political, and commercial revolution which no human force could stay, and which would effect a deeper and more extensive change in human nature and human affairs than has been produced by all former changes united as known to us in history. He then said, the last time he had applied to the government of this country was between three and four years ago, when he pressed the administration of that day to take the subject fairly, openly, and honestly into consideration, and he wrote a letter to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, and sent him a copy of the whole development of the change which he proposed the government should take a lead in carrying into execution.

Mr. Owen then read the letter and the plan, which, with his observations, occupied more than an hour.

[A copy of the letter and plan having been lent to us, we now give them as most highly important public documents, and which will for ever exculpate Mr. Owen from the charge of undigested or premature proceedings, or of unnecessary opposition to the constituted authorities.]

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN.

MY LORD DUKE,—Seeing that, from the erroneous nature of the principles on which society has been hitherto conducted, that its present state is a most unsatisfactory one to all parties, and that the British empire, in consequence of having taken a lead among nations in the false civilization which these errors have created, has attained a perplexing and painful pre-eminence, which it is impossible for it much longer to support, I requested an interview with your Grace, for the purpose of explaining the outline of a system, founded upon other principles; a system, by the introduction of which, the evils that now press so heavily upon the working part of the population may be speedily withdrawn, and by which, ultimately, without injury to any, the condition of all classes would be essentially and permanently improved.

To this application your Grace replied by suggesting, as a better mode of explaining so extensive and important a subject, that I should commit my ideas to paper, as in a written form only could they be acted upon officially.

In accordance with this suggestion, I beg now to submit to your Grace, for the consideration of Government, an exposition of the reasons that demonstrated the necessity of a general change of system throughout the British empire, and of those which render the change I am about to propose the only effectual means of relieving all classes from the difficulties in which they are now placed.

That your Grace and the present administration, may, under his Majesty's auspices, be the happy instruments of commencing, guiding, and perfecting such a change among the population of this country, and, by means of its influence and example, of gradually introducing the same throughout the world, is the ardent desire of,

My Lord,
Your Grace's faithful servant,
ROBERT OWEN.
London, 1829.

Proposals for a change of system in the British Empire, submitted to the consideration of the British Government.

Propositions demonstrating the necessity of a general change.

1. That the late progress made in the mechanical arts, in chemistry, and in various other sciences, has rendered manual labour less necessary, and therefore, less valuable, in a commercial point of view, than formerly.

2. That manual labour being, as society is now constituted, the only medium through which the industrious class can obtain the means of support for themselves and their families, the reduction in the commercial value of labour has necessarily produced among them the great and general distress at present prevailing.

3. That the commercial value of manual labour, in agriculture, and in many branches

of manufacture, having in many cases sunk to its minimum, while the extension of scientific power still continues rapidly on the increase, commercial difficulties are consequently speedily advancing to a crisis, the approach of which, is viewed by the middle and working classes (a number comprising two-thirds of the whole population) with feelings of the utmost anxiety and alarm.

4. That, under the existing commercial system, it is impossible that manual labour should ever again compete with the powers of science.

5. That the working classes, as the only practicable mode of ameliorating their condition, will be compelled to adopt a system of mutual exchange of labour, and thereby render themselves at once independent of the non-producing classes.

6. That this measure, if generally adopted by the working class, would create great confusion and misery among the non-producing classes, as their wealth would thus lose the adventitious value which it now possesses.

7. That although this system, if adopted by the working classes alone, would be attended by the injurious consequences above-mentioned, yet that, if carried into effect by the aid of the higher classes, and under the sanction of government, the introduction of the measure would produce the most beneficial permanent results to the whole population.

8. That the physical and mental, as well as the scientific powers of society, are now so mis-directed that enormous evils, moral, political, and commercial, are entailed upon all classes.

9. That those evils are such as to excite among a large portion of the community an ardent desire for an entire change in the system of society.

Propositions demonstrating the fitness of the present period for the introduction of a change.

1. That experience has now developed the origin of evil among mankind, and the means of its removal.

2. That the state of the world has never hitherto been such as to admit of moral truth being taught to the rising generation, nor therefore of the introduction of a system founded upon consistent and rational principles.

3. That the extraordinary political events which have lately occurred, and the general progress made in scientific and in moral knowledge among the population in the leading states of Europe and America, have in a remarkable manner prepared all classes in these countries to expect some great moral, political, and commercial changes.

4. That the commencement of this change is, at this time more particularly, looked for in the British empire, in consequence of its surplus powers for the production of wealth being superabundant for all purposes, yet continually on the increase; while, under the existing moral, political, and commercial notions of society, those powers must continually more and more oppress, instead of ameliorate the condition of the people; and because there is sufficient stability in the government and knowledge in the population to introduce and control the progress of such a change most advantageously for the British dominions, and for the world.

Propositions demonstrating the necessity of a moral change.

1. That the moral system of the world has hitherto been founded on the supposition that

man is so constituted as to have the power of creating his own opinions and feelings, and consequently of forming his individual character.

2. That facts have now proved this supposition to be an error fatal to all genuine moral truth, and therefore fatal to the well-being and happiness of society.

3. That man is forced to think in obedience to the strongest conviction that is made at any moment upon his mind, and to feel in obedience to the particular impression which any object is fitted to produce upon his individual organization; that his character is entirely formed for him by the action of external circumstances upon his own peculiar original organization.

4. That the erroneous supposition that man had the power to think and to feel as he pleased, and the character of each individual is formed by himself, is the origin of evil among mankind, and has created all the misery which has been ever produced in human society.

5. That the whole nature of man is decidedly opposed to all the doctrines which this erroneous supposition involves; yet that the religious and political power of the world has compelled him to submit to the effects of these doctrines, and that he has been forced to become an ignorant hypocrite, and thereby fitted with every motive to the commission of vice and crime.

6. That, while the doctrines which necessarily arise from this erroneous supposition shall continue to be taught to the rising generation, the most superior character that can be formed will still be a compound of imbecility, deceit, selfishness, and distrust, accompanied, at the same time, with a strong but unavailing desire to counteract these lamentable defects.

7th. That while human beings shall be compelled to receive an unnatural character, it will be impossible for them to become rational, or to be generally united in opinions, feelings, or actions.

8. That, until the principles which can effect a general union among mankind shall be universally disseminated, which can only be done by instilling into every mind, from birth, a correct knowledge of human nature, it will be in vain to expect that permanent prosperity and happiness shall ever be found among any portion of the human race.

Propositions demonstrating the beneficial effects necessarily arising from the adoption of a new Moral System, founded upon the knowledge that man has neither the power to THINK nor to FEEL as he pleases, nor to form his own character.

1. That, in consequence of men being trained from their infancy in these principles, they will acquire a knowledge of human nature, and thereby unavoidably become sincere, intelligent, and rational, and be filled with kindness alone for the entire family of mankind.

2. That they will receive natural impressions, and therefore right feelings from that power, whatever experience may ultimately prove it to be, whence all the movements of the universe originate.

3. That individual responsibility being thus withdrawn, no motive can exist to generate anger, nor any of the inferior passions which are now so prevalent and injurious throughout society.

4. That all individuals being thus trained from infancy to be rational beings, no motive

to whim or caprice could be formed in any mind, but that every one would be consistent in thought, word, and action.

5. That a character of this consistent nature, combined with the best dispositions, habits, and manners, and the most valuable knowledge, will be secured to every one by a science as certain in its laws and results as those of any of the fixed sciences now known.

Propositions demonstrating the necessity of a political change.

1. That all governments having necessarily been founded upon the same erroneous notions from which the spurious morality of the world has originated, their code of laws has been opposed to nature complicated, and unjust, and their practice therefore has been of necessity deceit, contention, and war.

2. That, under this error each government has been compelled, in its own defence, to pursue the same course, or otherwise to fall victim to some other power, superior in force or in these arts of deception.

3. That all nations, having been forced by this error into a miserable and irrational state of existence, governments have been compelled, for their own support and security, to oppress the governed, and to keep them, as much as possible, in ignorance of the motives on which they have acted.

4. That, under the present system, all being ignorant of the fundamental laws of human nature, no good government can exist, nor can any be devised which would mutually benefit the governing and governed.

5. That, under this error, armies and navies have been necessarily created, to govern human nature by force instead of by reason.

6. That a government of force requires for its support a very large proportion of the labour and best faculties of the population, and necessarily entails innumerable other evils upon both the governing and the governed.

7. That war, under this error, is unavoidable, and that, although incidentally it has been productive of some partial advantages, it is yet, almost without exception, the cause of the most grievous evils to both the victors and the vanquished.

8. That, under this error, the whole system of government has necessarily made irrationality and folly of every conceivable description the high fashion among the leading parties of all nations, and that, in consequence, the most valuable powers, national and individual, have been applied to produce the most useless or injurious results.

Proposals demonstrating the beneficial effects necessarily arising from the adoption of a political system, founded on the foregoing new Moral System.

1. That, under the new Moral System of truth and sincerity, which would arise from an accurate knowledge of human nature, no motives could exist to tempt governments to pursue any other course than that which would be most conducive to the public good, and that they would then clearly perceive how to direct all their proceedings for the mutual permanent benefit of themselves and the governed.

2. That, in consequence, no contest could arise between the government and the people; and that, as both parties would evidently have but one common interest, all men would engage in promoting it with more zeal

satisfaction, and pleasure, than they now engage in the schemes of individual interest, ambition, or sensual gratification.

3. That, under this system, no cause can ever arise to disturb the confidence or weaken the good feelings which will naturally subsist between the government and the people; and that a union of mind and action, proceeding from a correct knowledge of the best means of promoting the permanent happiness of both, will necessarily pervade all their transactions.

4. That governments would no longer be a mystery to the people nor an object of contest between individuals or parties, nor be maintained by a counteraction of interests; because all their transactions would be made solely with a view to the public good, and be made familiar to all.

Propositions demonstrating the necessity of a commercial change.

1. That the interchange of commodities, and the practices of commerce, as hitherto carried on, have arisen from the same erroneous notions of human nature as those that have created the false morality and mistaken policy of all countries.

2. That, in consequence, trade, commerce, and manufactures, which ought to be productive of unmixed good, are now almost an unmixed evil, producing falsehood, cunning, competition, and opposition of feeling, between buyers and sellers individually, oppression and poverty among the community at large, and counteraction, contest, and war between nations.

3. That as these departments of life are now conducted, they are instruments by which the weaker part of society is imposed upon by the stronger, or, in other words, by those who possess greater capital, influence, or cunning; and by means of which men are trained to endeavour, through their lives, to take advantage one of another.

4. That all, from the highest to the lowest, are now engaged, in one form or other, in this universal traffic of deception.

5. That the effects which necessarily arise from conducting commercial affairs on these erroneous notions are, first, to excite a most mischievous desire on the part of all for individual gain; a desire, which, in its consequences, deteriorates the finest feelings and best faculties of the human race; and secondly, to deprive all of the real advantages which belong to a rational interchange of both commodities and of the productions of the human faculties.

6. That the human race is thus made to live, contrary to its interest and happiness, in perpetual contest; and in the constant fear of poverty, and to have all the highest faculties of the mind perverted by the universal practice of buying cheap and of selling dear.

7. That this universal desire, as now applied to practice, so blinds the understanding or judgment of all, that they cannot perceive that they are thereby, as all are doing at this moment, compelled to sell cheap and to buy dear; for that now, in this supposed enlightened age of commerce, the productive physical and mental powers of all human beings are sold at one per cent. of their real value.

8. That this enormous loss in the real value of the productive powers, both physical and mental, of human nature, is an unavoidable result of men being, through ignorance of the laws of their nature, so placed, that they

must prey upon one another, in order to support themselves, and are thus compelled to live by contest instead of by union.

Propositions demonstrating the beneficial effects necessarily arising from the adoption of a Commercial System, founded on the foregoing new Moral and Political Systems.

1. That, as no motive could exist for deception of any kind, nor any arise to induce one man to counteract another in any pursuit, the physical and mental powers of all will be brought to an equitable market, one in which, without any bargaining, each will obtain full value in exchange for the productions of those powers.

2. That, by this moral and equitable mode of interchange, each will receive a full supply of every thing most beneficial for human nature, or, in other words, of every thing that can contribute to the improvement of men, and to his highest enjoyment of life.

3. That these results will be secured without contest or competition between individuals or nations, except as to which among them shall be the instrument of producing the greatest amount of happiness to the greatest number.

4. That this great change in the commercial transactions of society is only to be brought about by giving an entirely new direction to the latterly discovered scientific powers of production, which could only be effected under the new Moral System, out of which no thought or practice but of good can ever arise.

5. That these powers of production are now so unwisely directed as to deprive a large proportion of the working classes of the means of existence, and grievously to oppress the whole of them; and that, in consequence, the time must soon arrive when the prosperity of the non-producing classes will be equally endangered; while, by the proposed change of system, these new powers will be applied to aid the labour of the producing classes, and thereby secure incalculable advantages to all individuals of every rank and condition.

Outline of the mode by which this beneficial change may be effected in the British Empire.

The most direct and the most effectual mode of producing this great change is, to create a new public opinion. A right public opinion upon these subjects will, perhaps, be best formed by the truths included in them being published in the most plain and simple manner, in all newspapers and periodicals which may be under the influence of government, or of individuals who may be made to feel the importance of the measure.

Public meetings in London and in the principal cities and towns in the empire, if properly conducted, may also be made a powerful means of aiding the press in producing this change in public opinion; and as religion, under the new Moral System, will consist in truth, in sincerity, in universal charity and kindness, and in good actions only, from each to every other human being; and as this character will be secured to every individual by the new mode of education recommended, all cathedrals, churches, chapels, meeting-houses, synagogues, mosques, pagodas, temples, and every other description of buildings now dedicated to mistaken notions of the utility of senseless forms and ceremonies, may be appropriated to the daily instruction of the population of every country in which Great Britain has, or may

acquire, sufficient influence, in a knowledge of the laws of human nature, and in the ultimate good effects which will arise from the introduction into practice of the new Moral, Political, and Commercial System, founded on these laws. And all should be taught, especially, to understand that truth, when undefiled by error or inconsistency of any kind, is alone pure religion; for that moral truth and genuine religion are synonymous terms.

And as moral truth, when unmixed with error, can be readily taught to the human mind, all may be made to comprehend it.

By these means, aided by the hearty co-operation of the clergy of all denominations, whose situation it is intended, by the practical arrangements to be proposed, shall be greatly changed for the better, the population of the British dominions may be so enlightened in an incredibly short period, that they will be enabled to ascertain whatever is true or false, in moral or religious principle that may be presented to them. Because that, by their superior instruction, they will soon perceive that truth is always consistent with itself, that, consequently, each separate truth is in unison with every other truth in the universe, and that, therefore, wherever there is inconsistency there must be error.

By these means pure and genuine religion, or moral truth, or, in figurative language, "the knowledge of the Lord," will be made speedily "to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea."

While the means of disseminating moral truth, or pure and genuine religion, shall be in full operation, some of the enormous surplus capital, skill, and labour, which now overwhelm and oppress the British population may be rationally employed, under the sanction of government, to create, for all classes, new moral, political, and commercial arrangements, to supersede the vicious circumstances by which, in every department of life, individuals are now surrounded; all of which circumstances are, more or less, calculated to produce, as they now actually do, vice, and crime, and misery, throughout the British dominions.

[We intended to have given "The Constitution and Laws of Human Nature, or Moral Science of Man, as contained in the Synopsis;" but for want of space, we are obliged to omit it. In next Crisis it will be given, with a complete outline of the principles of our Social System.]

The experience of past ages has elicited the preceding facts, and proved them to be the only sure guide to instruct man in a knowledge of his nature, and in the means to insure his happiness as an individual, and as a member of society; it also proved that, in consequence of the ignorance of these facts, the nature of man has not been properly understood, that he has been surrounded, from infancy, with circumstances uncongenial to, or in opposition to his nature, and thereby made a vicious, inconsistent, irrational, miserable being.

From the writings of our ancestors, therefore, no useful knowledge can be derived, except that of simple facts. The past history of our race, as known to us, is no more than a development of a period of human existence, when, under the influence of an immoral system, generating universal disunion of mind and feeling, counteraction, wars, and massacres, human beings were rendered irrational. Under the new Moral System, none of these evils could have place; but the past will be

an everlasting memento of human sufferings, which, by comparison, will always add to the enjoyment of the new state of existence, in which these sufferings will be wholly unknown, except as a matter of history.

The new preliminary arrangements intended for the existing division of classes in society, consist of a new combination of circumstances, calculated to change them gradually, from the irrational state in which they now are, to become, with the least loss of time, comparatively superior beings, and to enjoy, as much as their respective habits will admit, the yet unknown pleasures of a rational existence.

To prepare mankind for a superior state of existence, they must be educated, from infancy, in the knowledge, dispositions, and habits which would be given to them in the new Moral System; for the present generation, therefore, preliminary or compromising arrangements will be the best suited for the three classes into which society is now divided. These arrangements, however, may be so formed as to secure, without too great a change of their present habits, the means of continued improvement, and much enjoyment for the adults and the best education for the children. Until the overwhelming effects of an education founded on a knowledge of the laws of human nature, shall be witnessed, the public will be incompetent to judge of the practicability of forming permanent arrangements to secure to all individually the best of every thing.

Proposed preliminary arrangements necessary to effect a general change throughout the British Empire.

Towns to be formed of sufficient extent to admit of a population composed of a due proportion of the higher, middle, and lower classes, and the buildings to be arranged in the manner most convenient for each class, according to its present habits.

The towns to be of sufficient extent, and the buildings to be so arranged, as to give the inhabitants the united advantages of a metropolis, an university, and of a country residence, without the disadvantages of either, which, under the whole combination of circumstances proposed, will be practicable. Schools to be established in each town, for the purpose of educating the children of the population in a very superior manner, compared with any past or existing mode of education; that is, by training the children, by placing them under proper circumstances from infancy, to become rational beings.

A sufficient quantity of land to be around each town to allow of the formation of a superior agricultural establishment, that the inhabitants may, by means of their capital, knowledge, skill, and industry, obtain a perpetual supply of the best of every thing for the three classes respectively, according to their present wants and habits. A portion of the land to be laid out as gardens and pleasure-grounds, to combine, as far as might be practicable, the useful and the beautiful.

Manufactories, on a superior plan, to be established at a convenient distance from the town, of sufficient extent to furnish the inhabitants with such productions as they may require; and to create a surplus, to give in exchange to the inhabitants of other towns for a similar amount of such of their productions as may be necessary to keep up a continual supply for all in the stores and granaries, and to

enable them to procure the best of every thing generally for human nature.

Each town to be furnished with libraries, laboratories, lectures, artists, music, and assembly-rooms, for the improvement and amusement of the population; as well as with the means of engaging in field-sports, and other exercises, according to the respective habits of the three classes.

No class to interfere with the amusements or exercises of the other, except by mutual consent.

The children of the whole population to be educated together, as one class, and trained to live afterwards on an equality, within much superior arrangements to any which can now be formed. For the enjoyment of this higher order of society, they will be prepared through a rational education from infancy, by which they will receive superior knowledge, dispositions, and feelings, literally be formed into perfect beings, compared with any of the known past or present inhabitants of the world.

The population of each town to be limited to the number most convenient to be governed, educated, employed, supplied, and amused under one general arrangement.

In each town, every new improvement and discovery in machinery, in manufactures, and in agriculture, in chemistry, and in the arts and sciences generally, to be introduced and acted upon, by means of which labour may be diminished, and the happiness of the whole population promoted; and when each individual shall be scientifically educated, theoretically as well as practically, from childhood, and when all shall be trained to delight in the most useful application of their powers, mental and physical, surrounded, as they will be, by means for the most beneficial exercise of both, the general progress that society will make, cannot be estimated by those so irrationally educated and placed as all of the present generation have been.

The respective classes in each town to be governed by a committee of twelve persons, chosen by ballot, by the members of each class who are between 35 and 45 years of age. Three members to be renewed annually.

The general establishment to be governed by a committee of nine persons, chosen by ballot by the class committees, three from each class; three new members to be elected every third year; in both cases the retiring members to be eligible for re-election, after one period of absence.

All differences between the inhabitants to be adjusted by the division of a majority of three persons, one chosen from each class committee by ballot; one member to be renewed annually, but always eligible, after one year, for re-election.

Pure morality to be taught in the schools of each town, by training each child to speak the truth only, without fear, by forming him to be perfectly sincere in look, word, and action; to have real charity and kind feelings for every individual of his race, and to receive his highest pleasures from the performance of kind offices and beneficial services for all, without exception, with whom he may come in contact. Each child to be educated to become his own priest, physician, and lawyer; which, under this new moral, political, and commercial system, will be easy of attainment.

The capital to be furnished by the upper classes, for which they are to receive an equi-

table return from the middle and working classes, by obtaining, in proportion to the capital advanced, a supply of the best of every thing for human nature. That which is best for human nature, to be agreed upon at the formation of the establishment. It is presumed that, by means of this arrangement, the capital of the upper classes will obtain for them at least double the number of advantages which they now derive from their present mode of expenditure.

The general rules and regulations for conducting the affairs of each establishment to be as much in accordance with the fundamental laws of human nature, and the conditions necessary for its happiness, as the present habits of man will admit.

Under this new combination of comparatively rational circumstances, the habits, views, and conduct of the parties might be confidently expected daily to approach a state of rationality.

This arrangement would unite the interest of the whole population; for it would, at once relieve all from the fear of poverty, and from sinking in the scale of society; it would speedily remove ignorance and all inferior habits, and gradually introduce a better understanding and kindly feeling between all classes, than ever exist under the present irrational system of universal disunion and counteraction.

It would be discovered, with surprise, and pleasure, how rapidly, in proper circumstances, formed under a knowledge of the laws of human nature, each individual would acquire a character in all respects superior to any that has hitherto been formed for him. The change which these new circumstances would speedily create would appear to the ignorant as a miraculous new birth, or regeneration; and such, no doubt, is the change which the ancients anticipated would take place as soon as their descendants should acquire a knowledge of the laws of human nature, and live under circumstances in unison with them.

The general principles now recommended, if applied to Ireland, would be the means of relieving it from its present distresses; for under this arrangement its population and revenues might be advantageously doubled, trebled, and quadrupled.

Or, the middle and working-classes, both in Great Britain and Ireland, might be united, under similar arrangements to those recommended; the establishments being formed upon a less expensive scale by dispensing with that part of the arrangements extended for the general accommodation of the upper classes. On the system might, in the first instance, be applied to the relief of the working-classes and to the relief of pauperism, under an arrangement possessing somewhat of the following character.

Plan for the Relief of the Working Classes, and for the Gradual Diminution and future Prevention of Pauperism.

A population composed of the usual proportion of men, women, and children, to be congregated in such numbers, as will be more conveniently governed, educated, supplied, and rendered happy in the best manner for themselves and the public. To ascertain this number is the first problem to be solved in the science of political economy; for without a solution of this problem, no correct knowledge on the subject can be obtained. The present

miserable condition of the working-classes may shortly perhaps force this valuable discovery upon society. It is probable that the number most convenient for these combined purposes is from 500 to 2000 as a minimum and a maximum, and from 800 to 1200 as the best general aggregate, were it advantageous to make permanent arrangements for a number less than 2000, which perhaps is not the case.

A population of from 500 to 2000 would, if properly educated, comprise within itself all the elements of a superior independent association; and it is probable that it would be highly advantageous to each individual and to the public that society should never consist of a greater or less number in one congregated mass.

That the nucleus of society should be formed upon associations such as are recommended, instead of the isolated families of which it now consists, is rendered apparent by the fact that the division of society into single families continually generates selfishness, vice, and misery, and will keep man, as long as it shall exist, in an immoral state of great degradation and universal disunion. It is a state of society which has been framed in ignorance of the laws of human nature, and of the conditions necessary to its happiness, and one which is calculated to render man perpetually deceitful, weak, dependent, ignorant, and irrational.

Arrangements to be therefore formed, at the commencement of each establishment, to admit advantageously of a gradual increase of population, from 500 to 2000.

In choosing the first members to form the nucleus of each establishment, a due proportion of trades and physical and mental occupations, requisite to supply the wants of the population, to be selected.

Each village to be laid out, at its commencement, with a view to the health, convenience, and comfort of the population, when it shall have attained its maximum, as well as during the period of its gradual increase.

Around this village to be as much land as will be sufficient to secure to the whole population, when at its maximum, by means of its own well-directed industry, a full supply of the necessaries and comforts of life.

Schools to be established, in which to train all the children, from infancy to maturity, in the best manner, physically, mentally, and morally.

Manufactories, of the most useful descriptions, well arranged, to be established, at a convenient distance from each village, sufficient, together with agriculture and gardening, to occupy as much of the time as may be found to be beneficial of the whole population capable of being advantageously employed.

The village arrangements to be under the general direction, for a certain period, of a board of commissioners, composed of experienced and intelligent individuals, familiar with the general practical business of life, and consisting of such a number as would most conveniently direct measures of so much magnitude and importance. The members of this board of commissioners to be chosen by the government or the parliament.

Each village to be directed in all its internal affairs by a committee, under the general direction, for a limited time, of the board of commissioners. The committee to be chosen by all the inhabitants of the village, who may be between thirty-five and forty-five years of age, and to consist of twelve members.

The business of each village to be divided into the six departments of education: agriculture, building, manufactures, police, and external and internal exchanges, or commercial transactions; and each of these departments to be under the control of a sub-committee, appointed by the general village committee.

Differences of every description that may arise between the villagers to be speedily and finally adjusted by the decision of a majority of three persons, chosen by a majority of the inhabitants between 35 and 45 years of age; one new member to be elected annually, to replace one of the former members, who, at the expiration of a year will be eligible for reelection.

As long as the present inferior habits in which all have been trained shall render any individual exchanges beneficial or necessary, all exchanges of commodities, as well as those of services, to be made on the principle of labour for equal labour, at a bazaar to be established in each village, and so arranged that every commodity may be conveniently exchanged, without loss of time or morals to the producers, or to those who have personal services to dispose of. The value of all kinds of labour, as well as that of personal services, to be estimated by the sub-committee for external and internal exchanges. No money to be circulated among the members of the same village, except labour-notes of time and an account of all business transactions between the individual members and between the members of the village bazaar to be kept in days and hours, reckoning ten hours to the day.

The external exchanges between the associated villagers to be made in time-notes; but between the villagers and common or general society, in the currency of the country, to be obtained in exchange by the time-note, at a par of exchange which will be always regulated by the punctuality of the bazaar payments. No principle to be inculcated which will lead the members to desire to buy cheap from, and to sell dear to, any one; and the sub-committee of exchanges never to attempt to take the slightest advantage, in any of their transactions, of the members of their own village, of other villages, or of any individual or parties in common or general society. By these arrangements, the necessity for all the immense machinery now employed in the prevention of fraud, and in the production of inferior or useless articles, would be superseded. The articles of the greatest necessity and utility to first made at and in these villages, and afterwards the less useful, or the merely ornamental, to be gradually introduced, as the knowledge and powers of the inhabitants increase. Each village might be made, by means of its superior fundamental arrangement, by the just proportion of each part to the whole, in the architecture of the dwelling-houses and manufactories, in the arrangement of the gardens or pleasure-grounds, and in the general order and cleanliness of the establishment and its population, an object of great interest, and of high ornament to the country. The funds to purchase the land, erect the buildings and machinery, to stock the farm, to purchase the first supply of raw materials, and the means of supply for one year, for the inhabitants, to be borrowed by the Government upon the best terms on which money can now be procured. The funds so vested under the control of government, to bear the same interest as charged to government, with the addition of a

sinking fund to pay off the capital in twenty years. When the interest shall be paid, and the original capital repaid, the property in its improved state, to belong to the inhabitants; government until then holding sufficient security over the services of the inhabitants jointly and severally.

Until the whole capital and interest shall be paid, the board of commissioners to be empowered to inspect at all times, each establishment, in order to ascertain if the buildings are in good repair, the lands under efficient cultivation, and the whole arrangement of the establishment properly conducted.

Reasons for the adoption, at the present period, of or more of the preceding plans.

Great Britain can no longer command a foreign commercial monopoly, nor is the command of it at all necessary for her own prosperity and happiness. It is therefore requisite that another foundation should be laid on which to erect her future permanent security, and to establish a new moral influence with the leading powers of the world.

In the internal strength of the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, their best security for the obtaining of these desirable results will be found. These islands can be made to maintain a certain population, all in the highest state of enjoyment that human nature can experience. The precise number cannot now be ascertained, but it may probably exceed that of ten times its present population. The real strength of the British dominions must at all times depend upon the number and character of the population, and more especially upon the number and character of that portion of it which shall occupy the islands of Great Britain and Ireland.

That plan, therefore, will be the best for Great Britain, by which the greatest amount of population can be supported in the greatest degree of comfort, and by which the best individual and national character would be secured.

A greater number of persons can be maintained in these islands, under an arrangement which will secure a comfortable support, and a superior moral and general character, to the whole population, than when any part of it is allowed to exist in poverty, or to be viciously or defectively trained.

A much larger population can be supported in comfort, and be furnished with the advantages of a superior education, when the greatest number of the industrious class is employed in producing real wealth, and when the smallest number is employed in distributing only, or in the production of useless wealth.

A much larger population can also be maintained in comfort, and be made to receive a superior character, in a country in which public opinion shall be in favour of that part of the population whose physical and mental faculties are beneficially employed for themselves and the public, than in a country in which public opinion is in favour of the individual whose physical and mental powers are uselessly or viciously employed.

Those arrangements, therefore, are the most to be desired which will admit of the greatest amount of the population being employed in producing the most useful wealth, and which will require the fewest persons to be employed as distributors of it; which will create a public opinion in favour of the useful and the superior ornamental occupations, over those which are

vicious, or which merely consume time without producing any beneficial result.

That country in which pure and genuine religion shall form the essential part of every character, will have an incalculable advantage over all countries in which religion is made to consist in mysteries, miracles, and in useless forms and ceremonies.

It is reason itself which proves that religion consists not in these, but in a real charity for the opinions, feelings, and conduct of mankind, without any exception whatever; in the absence of every feeling of anger for, or any desire to injure, a single individual; in an inclination evidently displayed throughout the whole conduct, to benefit our fellow-creatures to the utmost extent of our power; in not unnecessarily giving pain, but, on the contrary, in promoting the happiness of all. This religion is only to be secured by openly opposing with reason and argument whatever tends to keep man in ignorance and poverty, under oppression, or in subjugation to a false system of religion, which necessarily forms his character to hypocrisy and all manner of deceit. Such arrangements, therefore, as will, by rendering this false religion unnecessary, gradually remove it for ever from society, and in the place thereof shall establish pure religion in the heart of every one, will be found, beyond all estimate, more beneficial for every country than the existing systems of deception, which unavoidably lead to all kinds of error and crime.

It is also true economy to produce, manufacture, and use only the best of every thing for human nature that the existing state of the arts and sciences, and general knowledge, will enable the population of any country to procure. Those arrangements, therefore, which will train all to acquire the knowledge, and give them the inclination, to produce the best of every thing in every department of life, are greatly to be preferred.

Arrangements that will destroy the motives which generate all the inferior passions and bad feelings that now pervade the human race, are evidently more to be desired than those circumstances which generate the motives that create all the inferior passions and bad feelings which, through error, are now made to exist among mankind.

The same may also be said of those arrangements which will gradually remove the circumstances that create poverty, and the fear of a deficiency in any of the necessities, comforts, and advantages of life, opposed to those arrangements which have a contrary tendency. Those arrangements, in short, which will secure the means of a due exercise of all the physical, mental, and moral powers of human nature, by the due exercise of which man can alone become a rational and permanently happy being, are beyond all comparison, more to be desired than a continuance of those circumstances which a general ignorance of the laws of human nature, and of the conditions necessary for its happiness, has rendered universally prevalent.

It is believed that either the general or the partial plan now proposed, when it shall be fully investigated, will be discovered to contain the foundation of all the arrangements requisite for the attainment of all the beneficial results now enumerated, by exhibiting the means of gradually removing all the vicious circumstances which now surround men from their birth to their death, rendering them irrational, and, consequently,

miserable; and by the removal of which a race would, in the second, or, at the latest, in the third generation from the commencement of the change, be formed far superior in character to any thing we can now conceive. Nor would the beneficial effects of such a change of system end here. The character of each generation would be an improvement on the preceding, while the daily accession of real knowledge would perpetually keep the minds of all in a continued state of joyous activity.

To conclude: it is believed by the proposer of these plans, that the happiness of each individual can never be secured until all individuals shall have a superior character formed for them from infancy, and until all shall be made independent in their condition; and further, that, by the adoption of these plans, both these results may, without injury to any class, be gradually obtained for the whole human race.

When these documents were finished, Mr. Owen stated that he was desirous of proposing to the present administration the measures which, if now adopted, even at the eleventh hour, he believed would not only prevent any further separation of feelings between the different classes and interests in society, but effectually heal those now existing, and give permanency to the prosperity of society. He thought the best mode of proceeding would be to petition both Houses of Parliament to take the whole subject, at the commencement of the session, into their most grave and serious consideration; and also to petition his Majesty for his concurrence in the measure; but having so long occupied the time of the meeting, he would merely propose the first resolution for their consideration, which, having done, he sat down amidst the warm applause of the assembly, which, at this period, could not have been less than 2000.

The resolutions were all moved and seconded separately, as well as the petitions to his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. That the notions relative to human nature, and the forms, ceremonies, and institutions which have emanated from them, and which now constitute what is called the system of society in the civilized parts of the world, have originated in a period when men were inexperienced, and consequently barbarous,—when a few individuals only, who by force and fraud obtained power, governed the mass of the people in ignorance, and ruled them according to their caprice, without wisdom or foresight to direct them how to obtain and secure their own well-being and the happiness of the governed.

2. That this system of society was unavoidable in the times of ignorance and while men remained irrational, proceeding in all their measures under the guidance of their imaginations, without any accurate or scientific knowledge of themselves or of society, and regardless of the most plain, simple, and yet highly important facts; facts, which to us appear self-evident truths.

3. That these facts have, in this our day, become obvious through the extended experience of the human race, and are sufficient to demonstrate the error of the notions on which all human society has been hitherto formed; and to make evident the truth of those eternal principles, from the application of which to practice another state of society may now with ease be founded, which shall exclude the causes of the ignorance, violence, opposition, barbarity, irrationality, and all the injurious passions which now, more or less, pervade all people and nations; and which shall place all men within such rational circumstances as shall gradually, but yet in a comparatively

short period, produce another state of human existence, which shall for ever establish peace, good will, ever-increasing intelligence, and happiness, among the whole family of mankind.

4. That, in consequence of this increased knowledge among the human race, an improved mode of governing has become absolutely necessary to preserve order in society; and that, as the British Government is the most advanced and stable of all governments, it can with the greatest advantage enter upon the examination of this important subject; and therefore that this meeting do petition his Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament, to institute a solemn investigation of the proposed "New System of Society," and that, if it shall be found far superior to the old measures, it may be immediately adopted to bring it into practice.

5. That a Committee, consisting of the following Gentlemen, be appointed to carry the object of this meeting into execution, viz. Messrs. Owen, Brown, Lemage, Braby, Green, and Austin.

PETITION TO HIS MAJESTY.

We, your Majesty's Petitioners and faithful Friends, have discovered that the system by which this country and other countries have been governed from the earliest period which history records, was devised when men were in a state of ignorance, and consequent barbarism, and that, therefore, it is not calculated for a state of high prosperity such as now might be attained.

That this system continually operates to change those means which are capable of being made to produce the greatest advantages to mankind, into causes of oppression and poverty to all the industrious classes, and now to endanger the safety and well-being of the whole population.

We, your Majesty's Petitioners and Friends, believe that the time is fully arrived when another system for the government of society may be introduced advantageously for those who govern, and for those who are governed.

We, therefore, respectfully request your Majesty to cause a fair examination and comparison of the two systems to be instituted, and if the one which your Majesty's Petitioners and Friends recommend should prove to contain far more advantages for all the purposes for which men associate than that which has hitherto prevailed, that your Majesty will permit the superior system to be introduced with the least possible delay, for the benefit of this country and of all other countries.

And your Petitioners shall for ever pray, &c.

PETITION TO THE HOUSES OF LORDS AND COMMONS.

We, the producers of wealth and knowledge, both masters and men, professors and students, present ourselves before you as petitioners in form, but in reality as friends, having but one and the same interest with you in the object which we thus place before you.

We are, after the most mature deliberation, thoroughly convinced that there are fundamental errors in the constitution of society, which, for a long period, have given a false direction to all the great, and otherwise invaluable, powers of this mighty empire, and which, in consequence solely of this false direction, are now a curse to the whole population of these dominions, and of other nations, instead of being, as they are capable of being made, a blessing of the very highest order and most durable character.

Under this system, the birth of a child, to the many, is made to bring care and anxieties to its parents; under a wise system, it would be a cause of rejoicing to them. Under this system, an increase of population is made to be a grievous national evil; under a wise system, it would not fail to be a great national good.

Under this system, an excess of wealth is made to be a cause of poverty and destitution to many; under a wise system, it would create

ance and cheerfulness to all. Under this system, the vast and accumulating physical, intellectual, and moral powers, which the continually increasing population annually places at the disposal of the government of the country, are in most cases enormously wasted, and in every case are lamentably misdirected and misused; while, under a wise system, these powers would be so cultivated as to become an inexhaustible source of the most valuable materials, capable of being cultivated in such a manner as to produce riches unlimited; and wisdom, goodness, and happiness, beyond what men, trained as they have been, are competent to understand or imagine.

We, your petitioners and friends, ardently desire that these sources of evil should be made, as now they easily might be, sources of the greatest permanent good to our country, and to all nations and classes of men.

We are aware that your honourable house, guided by the erroneous notions arising from the ignorance engendered by the existing system of evil under which the world is misgoverned, has many subjects, which it deems of much importance, to discuss during the present session of parliament, such as corn, currency, tithes, church reform, law reform, freedom of trade, and innumerable others; all of which, however they may be decided by your honourable house, we, your petitioners and friends, believe would not, could not, effect the change we have in view, which is to make man to know himself, and to understand society, that he may thereby know how to become rich, and good, and wise, and happy; and not only fully to comprehend the principles by which this emancipation from error and evil is to be accomplished, but also to feel an irresistible necessity to put them into practice.

We are also conscious that the discussion of these petty and useless questions, to which we have referred, will call forth, to the injury of the nation, much sectarian and party spirit, and opposition of feelings between the members of your honourable house and among the public; all of whom have been trained to believe that they have separate and opposing interests; and that thus much valuable time will be lost in useless discussions, and the great evil of division, and of party, and sectarian contest will be increased; while we, your petitioners and friends, as we believe we are right in our conclusions respecting the character of the existing system, cannot attach any value whatever to the decision to which the majority of your honourable house may come upon any one of these questions, as they all belong solely to this old, rapidly-decaying system; and believing, as we do, that the rights of industry, of property, and of all the institutions affecting both must be adjusted by another and a very different standard of right and wrong from that which now exists.

We request, that all these questions and affairs, belonging solely to a most vicious and nearly worn-out system may be suspended, and that your honourable house will take into your calm and unprejudiced consideration, the difference between the system of society hitherto acted upon, and producing the innumerable grievous evils now existing in this country, and over the world, and another system, founded on other and very opposite principles, and which your petitioners and friends are prepared to develop at the bar of your honourable house, or before a committee of your honourable house especially appointed for that purpose, or in any other manner to the government of this country, that your honourable house may determine, being conscious that the government and people of this, as well as of all countries, have a deep stake in the decision to which your honourable house may come upon this, the greatest and most vital question upon which any public assembly has ever had to deliberate and decide.

We, your petitioners and friends, therefore pray most earnestly and affectionately your honourable house to grant this our reasonable and peace-

making request, and that you will believe our intentions are to prevent great impending evils, which threaten to throw all society into confusion such as the world has not yet known; and instead thereof, to produce a far greater and more permanent good than the world has ever yet enjoyed.

And your petitioners shall for ever pray, &c.

Mr. *Mee* proposed a slight amendment to a part of the fourth resolution. He was followed by Mr. *Duffy*, in a very eloquent speech; but he declined seconding the amendment, and it was not seconded. We have never seen a more attentive audience, or one that appeared to feel deeper the importance of the subjects presented for its decision.

The meeting separated after midnight, when all retired in the most orderly manner.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our friend Lowe has been rather overlooked; but we have as much as possible acted up to his social plan; but in a large place like London, sociality is not so practicable as in a provincial town.

Robert Ellis must excuse us; he was first excluded by necessity, and at last by oversight.

We beg our correspondents to write their articles as legibly as possible; many a good hour we spend reading manuscripts, and all the satisfaction we derive at last is, that of having got our task over. Bad handwriting often gives a good article a contemptible appearance; it prevents the mind from grasping the universal idea, and perceiving the connexion: by bad, we mean illegible handwriting. The working men are often the most legible.

The Report of the Committee of Management was put in hand as soon as received, but in looking over the proof we observe its omission. We are sorry for it, but shall make amends next week.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEB. 1.

This week we have given our readers a double sheet, on account of an accumulation of important matter connected with the proceedings and ultimate views of Mr. Owen; and as it is necessary that, in the present important crisis of affairs, the public should be well instructed in the fundamental principles of his new system of society, upon which he is now vigorously enforcing the attention of both government and people, we, shall give in the *Crisis* of next week the Synopsis, containing the elements of the science of social organization, deduced from the analysis of human nature, and the invariable universal laws to which it is subject.

We are now approaching another session of Parliament—the second session of Reform. There is much less curiosity and interest excited on the part of the people this year than there was twelve months ago; twelve months' experience has cooled the fermentation of popular expectation; and so far from the people exhibiting any concern as to the proceedings of the approaching session, the opinion seems to be universally gaining ground, that Parliament either can or will do nothing for us. We are inclined to think, with Lord Liverpool, that it can do nothing until the minds of the

people are prepared; and therefore we feel most anxious to see something like unanimity in the popular mind as to the ultimate measures which ought to be adopted. Within these few months past, a very great advance has been made in sound political views, amongst the working-classes; and if this progress should go forward at the same regularly accelerating ratio, the day of final redemption cannot be far distant.

There is, however, much to be done; there is an enormous host of prejudices to encounter amongst a thousand Babylonish sects and parties, both in politics and religion, who (for such is the foolish obstinacy of zealots,) in their inordinate zeal to establish the truth of some trifling and questionable principle, are willing to overlook the most sound, the most incontestable, and universally important axioms of social policy. Indeed, mankind have more frequently fought respecting trifles; and when once the spirit of combat is excited, there is a blinder immediately clapped upon the eyes, which intercepts altogether the rays of truth, or distorts every image that presents itself to the mind. No man is capable of reasoning who is not in good humour: talk not to us of talent, of penetration, memory, and judgment; if the proprietor of all these be a sectarian, a bigot, or actuated by prejudices or uncharitable feelings, his judgment, his memory, his imagination, are all distorted by these dense mediums, and he is brought down to the level of the common intellect. Hence it follows that a fine moral feeling makes a better reasoner than a strong judgment and splendid fancy, which are under the unhallowed influence of illiberal prepossessions.

But men are rapidly losing their bigotry; the public mind is being expanded, and we are for ever perceiving new symptoms of inquiry and investigation of a more reasonable nature than what we were lately accustomed to. Perfect unanimity on all subjects we do not seek; it is not desirable. We only want an unanimous acknowledgement of a few elementary principles, upon which to erect the fabric of political and social organization.

EXPLOSION OF THE BEGENERATION SYSTEM.

[From the Sheffield Iris.]

SIRs—By allowing the following Memorial to R. Owen, Esq., to appear in *The Iris*, you will greatly oblige the MEMORIALISTS.
Sheffield, Jan. 15, 1834.

A Memorial, addressed by Members of the Sheffield Regeneration Society to Robert Owen, Esq., its Founder.

KIND AND DEAR SIR,—You came among us—a rich man among the poor—and did not call us rabble. This was a phenomenon new to us. There was no sneer on your lips, no covert scorn in the tone of your voice. You met us as a fortunate brother ought to meet his affectionate but suffering brethren. We knew that you had been calumniated by our enemies; but we also knew that when men go to their great and last account, God will not ask them what men called them here. We saw benevolence beaming in your eyes, and from your voice we heard the words of peace and charity. The spirit in which you addressed us was most Christian. You told us that we ought not to blame those who differ from us in opinion; for men do not believe what they will, but what they must, according to the evidence which has

reached them. You told us that, even when men injure us by acting on erroneous opinions, we ought to restrain our angry feelings, because injustice itself is only a great mistake. We honour you for these sublime sentiments, for they do honour to our common nature. But when you went on to say, that if the trade in corn were to-morrow made free and unshackled as the winds, our wares would fall in exactly the same proportion as food would fall in price, and that no benefit would result to us from the change, we felt that you were in error; because we know that labour pays for all things; and that if a free trade in corn would double the quantity of corn in this market, our wages would not possibly fall in the same ratio as that in which the price of bread would fall, unless we at once doubled our numbers, or at once became four-handed, and employed our four hands as actively as we now do our two.

However, Sir, like yourself, we blame no man for his opinions. You are not the only good man who has given us bad advice. Doctor Chalmers, though he bids us die unmarried, does not really wish that the noble race of Watt and Burns, Locke and Milton, should become extinct, and their place be supplied by half-starved Irishmen. In common with other sages, he has discovered the error of Malthus; but the "mare's nest" is his own. William Cobbett (almost a great man, and once our only champion) seems to be mystifying himself, and trying to mystify others, on the all important subject of the Corn Laws; but we do not call him either rogue or fool. Michael Sadler himself found some friends among our suffering brethren at Huddersfield, although he had, while professing to wish us well, filled a very large book with arguments in favour of the worst measures of our worst foes. We do not say that Michael Sadler is a treacherous man; we think he is mistaken, and that he already thinks he is so. But believing, with you, that we are on the eve of great changes, and that they will come through the Trades' Unions, we feel it to be of vital importance that those Unions act on right principles, and that no man who is wrong in principle be allowed to wield their tremendous power. We cannot believe that a free trade in corn would not benefit us; provided we obtain it before we cease to be a manufacturing people, and while we have commodities to give in exchange for the agricultural produce of other countries. With a free trade in food, we deny the possibility of there ever being too large a quantity of manufactured goods. The root of our misery is an insufficient supply of food; and we deny that the quantity of food can be increased by restricting labour. We affirm that a directly contrary effect would result from such restriction; for if, while we labour sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, we can hardly keep the market against our unbread-taxed rivals, how shall we keep it if we labour only half that time? We are weary of the conflict of monopoly with monopoly, of mischiefs with mischiefs, still reproducing each other. Our motto is "Free Trade, with Free Labour."

We know, indeed, that while the landowners conspired, we must combine, or give up all our comforts, one by one; but we deny that such combinations are, in themselves, either necessary or desirable. On the contrary, we believe that in this country Trades' Unions spring out of the Corn Laws, and in other countries out of similar insanities. Remove the cause, and the effects will cease. But we also believe that there is but one power on earth which can put the Trades' Unions down. That power is justice. We, therefore, disapprove of your plan of Regeneration. A bad imitation of a bad model, it is equally unjust and unwise. Like the bread tax, it intends to feed the dishonest at the expense of the honest, while it pretends to advocate the general interests. Had you manfully called upon us to aid you in persuading masters and workmen that, instead of

worrying each other, they ought to unite heart and hand against the common enemy for the common good, we could have understood you, and it would not have been necessary for one of your Committee to say, as he did a few evenings ago, "That it would be easier for Mr. Owen to bore a hole with his nose through the stone floor, than to work his scheme." But since you have—doubtless with the best intentions, and, perhaps, guided by light which has not yet reached us—adopted from choice measures which, we think, no wise men will act upon, except from necessity, we trust you will not be offended, if we humbly request, you to refute what we conceive to be strong objections against your plan for the Regeneration of happiness, by restraining labour to eight hours per day—a plan which, in the mean time, we believe to be impracticable.

You tell us, first, that your object in forming a union of masters and workmen for the restriction of labour, is to compel idlers who consume wealth, and annuitants who no longer produce any, to pay a higher price than they now do for our productions. But you do not tell us how we can compel purchasers to buy our goods dear when they can buy other goods cheap. You go on, it is true, to tell us that it is not your intention to confine your Union to this country. You propose to invite the co-operation of other nations. Well, let us suppose your invitation to be accepted. Not in the minutest particular would that circumstance alter our unfortunate position. You forget that we are bread-taxed, that our rivals are not bread-taxed: that they would still be able to obtain as much food for four hours' labour as we obtain for eight; and that, in the end, they would drive us out of every market. What occasion then could there be to restrict labour, when it is as plain as figures could show it, that we should soon have no work to perform except that of eating each other, in the agonies of famine? It is impossible to get the same wages for eight hours' labour as for twelve, without robbery of some kind; and we deny that the public can gain by robbery of any kind, though individuals may, and do, as we know too well. Wealth is the result of labour; and you propose to labour eight hours' instead of twelve. Then, you propose to produce one-third less wealth than you now produce, mystifying yourself, at the same time, with the supposition, that by making fewer goods, but of better quality, the labour of eight hours will be worth that of twelve. You forget that you cannot work without materials; that you can only buy raw cotton by selling your wrought cottons; and, that however excellent your improved article might be, your cheap food rivals could always sell a better article cheaper. Consequently, you could not sell your wrought cottons; consequently you could not buy raw cotton; consequently you must cease to manufacture; and, consequently your plan is already a failure, even in theory.

Many of our enemies already spend their incomes in the midst of our unbread-taxed rivals. Would not your plan, if all other manufacturing countries did not join in it—and, remember, you could not compel any country to join in it—be another and a fatal tax on British labour? Would it not be, in fact, the last nail driven through the coffin-lid of our prosperity? You will not answer this question by telling us that your ultimate object is universal barter. We may think with you and with others, that a metallic currency is a dear tool; but all trade is barter, whether measured by money or not. Did it never strike your mercantile mind, that the tax of annuitants and absentees would be completely effected by returning to the infamous inconvertible paper money, which at last converted our prosperity into a bread tax? We by no means advocate the re-enactment of the villainous Bank Restriction Act; but we fearlessly assert, that a depreciated currency would effectually tax annuitants and absentees, and that your plan would not. We wonder that you never seem

to have thought of a tax on rent, as an entirely unobjectionable means of relieving the distresses of all honest and useful men. Is it not time that the greatest tax-eaters in the world should themselves begin to pay taxes? If the bread tax has already cost us more than all the lands are worth at the bread-tax price, surely the State (the aggregate of victims) must have a right to tax them, and carry the proceeds to the utterly unbalanced account of restitution. But perhaps you are yourself a great landowner.—Pardon us, excellent man! we do not suspect you of traitorously fighting the battle of the enemy under our colours. No. If it were possible for you intentionally to deceive a single human being, Nature has written a lie on your countenance.—But we believe you are entirely wrong, and we trust, not at all dangerous. You will have no followers among the thinkers of any class; and they—if time be vouchsafed them, that is to say, if the Corn Laws be not ordained by an inscrutable Providence to precipitate the national ruin—will lead the rest. But why should the co-operation of so good a man as you be worse than undesirable? Monopoly is in the agonies of death, but her convulsions are terrible; and it is quite possible that we may perish before her.—Would you prolong her struggles until they involve our destruction? Or do you come in at the last hour, not to adorn the corpse for interment, but encumber the doctor with help, and mock the bed of sickness with flowers from New Harmony? Do you not know that we live only by sufferance? That we have so far escaped utter impoverishment, solely in consequence of the faults of our rivals, and their imitation of our restrictive follies? Do you not know that if they take the lead in establishing a free trade system, our fall is certain and perhaps irretrievable? Why have we not a mighty ally in you, rather than a mistaken friend?—Oh aid us to strike a last blow at the expiring monster of monopoly—"or ever the silver cord of our prosperity be loosed, the golden bowl of our strength be broken, ere the grasshopper is a burden to our trade-left and uncommercial weakness!" Do this, and it shall be written on your grave by our children, "In the land of castes, Owen was a Man."—We remain, kind and dear Sir, your friends and brethren,

EBENEZER ELLIOTT,
JOSEPH ODDY HUSTLER,
JAMES SOMERSET,
THOMAS SHELDON,
T. J. CADWALLADER.

Sheffield, January 15, 1824.

EXPLOSION OF THE REGENERATION SOCIETY.

MR. OWEN'S REPLY TO

"A Memorial addressed by Members of the Sheffield Regeneration Society to Robert Owen, Esq., its Founder;" and also to the Writers of the Editorial Articles upon this subject, in the Morning Chronicle of the 23d, and Times of the 24th instant.

And first to the Memorialists.

DEAR AND KIND FRIENDS,

Would that all who are obliged to differ from me in opinion upon subjects most deeply interesting to themselves and their posterity, would write in the spirit and in the language in which you have addressed me! Do not suppose that one word of your Memorial could give me offence or the slightest unpleasant feeling; on the contrary, you know not how much I rejoice that you are so far advanced in the true spirit of charity, through the general adoption of which, alone, can the population of the world ever be regenerated, and truth in all simplicity become the only language of men. I rejoice also that you thus convince the public that there are men among the industrious and among the working men of this country, at least reason as speciously upon the

which the modern political economists have alone perplexed, as any of the leaders of that most ignorant, but yet most presumptuous class. Yes, my friends, I do indeed rejoice to know that there is now among the Trades' Union and Operatives of the British empire a rapidly-growing legitimate power, guided by the right spirit, that will, ere long, change the entire condition of the human race, and make sound knowledge and intelligent industry change places with eloquent ignorance and imbecile or vicious idleness; the die is cast—the fiat has gone forth—the sceptres of all nations are now changing hands—and the armies and the ignorance of the world must speedily fall prostrate before it. And when this great and glorious change shall be consummated, and consummated too, as it will be, without violence or injustice, then indeed will emperors and kings, as well as their subjects, have cause to rejoice in their elevation to true dignity, and in the permanent security of their happiness.

It seems I told you when I was in Sheffield, "That if the trade in corn were to-morrow made free and unshackled as the winds, wages would fall in exactly the same proportion as food would fall in price, and that no benefit would result to the operatives and labourers from the change, and that you felt this opinion was any thing but true, for the reasons which you afterwards assign." These reasons differ not from the common errors of the school of false political economy, except that they are given with less mystification than they are usually found in the writings of that school.

You appear, however, to have forgotten a short, but yet an essential, addition to the sentiments which I expressed, namely, "as long as the system of individual competition shall be permitted, by the producers of wealth and knowledge, to govern the production and exchange of both." Now, it is this addition which gives another character to the whole question. For while producers and exchangers are placed under circumstances to compete with each other in markets which, in consequence of the rapid progress made in discoveries, and improvements in machinery and chemistry, must be, except for very short intervals, continually overstocked, it will not be a consideration with them what are the number or cost of the various items which form the prime cost of any article, but what is the actual cost, valuing labour at the lowest rate at which the labourer can be subsisted, and the smallest amount above these aggregate sums will be, as long as individual competition shall continue, the average market-price of all general productions. Thus keeping the price of labour, and of all things produced by labour, at the lowest possible cost, permanently, most injurious to the producers of wealth, and beneficial to the non-producers of wealth and knowledge in appearance only. This, however, is but one of the endless errors of a system so false in principle and so injurious in practice, that almost all men appear to be of necessity actively engaged in undermining or pulling down some portion of it, and, in consequence, it must soon be demolished by the joint efforts of its injudicious friends and open enemies.

For myself, I have long thought it to be a sad waste of time to endeavor to accomplish an impossibility; that is, to repair and mend a system which is radically bad and incapable of improvement. I would, however, support it, wretchedly bad as it is, until a better can be introduced to supersede it.

But, my dear and kind friends, you utterly mistake me when you imagine that I am a friend to a corn or any monopoly whatever. I have always contended, not only against monopolies of every kind, but also against all restrictions upon the free exchange of commodities and knowledge all over the world. I have ever maintained that it is the interest of all that there should be no foreign country, or foreign trade, or foreign language to

be discovered on any part of our globe; for the earth should be, and will be, when man shall become somewhat rational, one country, with one language and one interest. Little do you imagine, my dear friends, within what a very limited circle your present views of society are confined. You have yet to learn what man is, and what he may be made to become; what society is, and what it may be made to become. Had any accurate knowledge of the best mode of creating and distributing wealth been taught to the public, you would not, at this period, have been uselessly occupied in writing or talking about "Free trade and free labour," for this specious maxim under individual competition is good in practice only for the few large capitalists of the world, and they can well afford to pay high premiums for any doctrines being forced upon the public, knowing, as they well do, that wealth and station can make current or fashionable, for a temporary period, any falsehood or absurdity.

You say that I am the Founder of the Regeneration Society. It is true that, in a letter published in every morning and evening London Newspaper, of Aug. 7, 1817, I advertized eight hours as the maximum of a day's labour; but John Fielden, Esq., M. P., has a better right to the title of Founder of the Regeneration Society: for in deliberating together upon what was best to be done towards obtaining the rights of industry for the producers of wealth, the idea of "eight hours labour for the present day's wages" first occurred to him; and he it was who, at the same time, proposed to carry the measure into practice by means of a Parent Society, which he, myself, and many others, afterwards formed in Manchester; and new Auxiliary Societies have been established in many of the chief manufacturing districts and in the metropolis; and I have no doubt these societies will rapidly spread over Great Britain and Ireland.

But you imagine that eight hours' labour for the present day's wages is an impracticable measure. Why is it impracticable? Are you yet unaware that our present population, aided by the extended machinery introduced into this country within the last hundred years, may with ease, be made to create at least one hundred times the amount of wealth in eight hours per day that the population before that period could produce, while unaided by this new power? Were you, my dear friends, practical men, and acquainted with our resources for the production of national wealth with very light and limited manual labour, you would readily perceive that we could not only saturate our islands with wealth in eight hours per day, but greatly overwhelm our whole population with all that the human heart can desire in much less than four hours per day. It is the ignorance alone of your public writers and speechifiers that has kept you in total darkness on this subject so deeply important to you and the world. The cost of production, provided the public knew how to direct the mighty energies of this empire, would be no more than the healthy and delightful exercise of our population, directed by sound knowledge. There is nothing known of any real value by any of our statesmen or public writers relative to the production and distribution of wealth; they merely bandy about words on the subject, without having yet acquired a knowledge of any correct or true data on which to build any rational theory. To devote any of your faculties to attempt to unravel their mystification of one of the most simple and beautiful sciences, would be a sad waste of your valuable time. Shortly certainly shall be given to you instead of the confusion of ideas which the public has been hitherto imbibing on the mode of producing national wealth, and forming a national character, that abundance may be insured to all; that a superior character may be formed for every individual, and national virtue be made to supersede the present national corruption, imbecility and confusion of ideas upon every important subject.

Be not alarmed, my friends, about your foreign trade. If the producers of wealth in Great Britain, both masters and men, had not been the greatest dolts upon earth, they would have formed arrangements during the last century to have produced wealth for themselves, and have enjoyed it surrounded by every beneficial comfort, and not have made themselves the most abject slaves that the world has yet known, that they might labour for foreign nations (to their injury also), and themselves retain only the worst of those things which they produced to be sent abroad in such profusion. No national proceeding less insane than that of your foreign trade could have reduced the working classes of these islands into the state of destitution and degradation under which they now suffer, to the utter disgrace of British legislators, governors, and the writers, who form public opinion.

Before I conclude, permit me to say that I hope you will not be again so deluded as to imagine that I am a friend to monopolies of any kind, religious, political, or commercial; for I desire a repeal of them all, by a change of the whole system: but a repeal of the corn laws, and of all public imposts, leaving you no national, parochial, or county taxes to pay, would not give any permanent relief to the working classes of Great Britain and Ireland, as long as you have the curse of individual competition to contend against, or, in other words, your "free trade and free labour" which will only make the rich more wealthy and despotic, and the smaller masters, operatives, and labourers poorer and more abject. Remember that it is the manufacturing and monied capitalist who is the most urgent for the repeal of the corn laws, because he expects to be the gainer; for this question is in reality a contest between the monied and landed interests; both of which, under the existing system of folly, are, from ignorance, your enemies, and yet you are the only support of both. The only objection to the immediate repeal of these laws is, that it would increase the general distress and confusion which already exists in the agricultural districts to an alarming extent, while by other measures, easily to be adopted in practice, the whole difficulties of the empire may be overcome, and all interests be promoted and placed upon a permanently prosperous foundation.

But there is one subject which I had nearly overlooked, and I suppose because it is a personal one.—You imagine that I am a rich man: this is the greatest libel that could be published against me: for with my knowledge of the existing errors and evils of the world, were I possessed of all the wealth of all the rich men of this wealthy empire, I should expend it in measures to destroy this wretched system, and build up another of a character the reverse of it in principle and in practice.—I remain, my kind and much-valued friends, your debtor for your memorial, ROBERT OWEN.
London, Jan. 25, 1834.

To Messrs. the Writers of the Editorial Article in the Times, Morning Chronicle, Globe, Examiner, and other Newspapers, on the Sheffield Memorial addressed to ROBERT OWEN.

GENTLEMEN,—The Memorialists say, "But, believing with you that we are on the eve of great changes, and that they will come through the Trades' Unions, we feel it to be of vital importance that those Unions act on right principles, and that no man who is wrong in principle be allowed to use their tremendous power." Now, this is by far the most important sentence in this well-written, and in many respects most important public document; for the greatest evil which could so befall our hitherto-benighted and deluded country would be, that the producing classes of this country, combined into Trades' Unions, should be led by any who are "wrong in principle," and who are ignorant of the great permanent interests of their class, and of all classes of which society is composed; for I maintain that any principle which in its practical operation is calculated to

benefit one class or one country only, and not the whole population of every country, is a false principle, and ought not to be supported by any parties who have the well-being of society at heart. No man, therefore, ought to be permitted to wield the mighty energies of the producing classes of the British empire, and more especially of the 'Trades' Unions, who shall attempt to direct that power for a party purpose, or individual gain, or for ambition, or for the advantage of any portion of the people, in opposition to the general and permanent benefit of the whole population; and I am, therefore, desirous that you, Gentlemen, should keep a strict watch over the principles and proceedings of all who give advice to the 'Trades' Unions, while the members composing them are acquiring a knowledge of *their* true interests and of *national* interests, that the one may never be directed to clash with the other. To do this is surely your duty.

But, Messrs. directors of public opinion, if these honest, but misled memorialists, imagine that it is in the least necessary for one productive class to labour, as many of them do, "sixteen hours out of the twenty-four," to support themselves in existence, surely you can put them right, and inform them that, in a country which has acquired more productive power (multiplied by two, if not by three) in one century, than the whole world a century ago possessed, that there must be some great error to lead them to such contradictory and melancholy conclusions. You, who profess such perfect knowledge upon this and upon every other subject, will, I have no doubt, open their eyes and set them right by a dash of your pen; and inform them how an immense increase of productive power for the creation of wealth is made the cause of poverty and destitution to those without whom the wealth could not be produced. Referring to myself, the editorial article in the *Times* has the following passage: "We believe his views to be as abundant in benevolence as they are signally destitute of common sense; and if, by some miracle, Mr. Owen should become capable of adapting discreet and sober views to ends which were specific, practically and substantially useful, he has shown, beyond all question, under a series of what to any other man would have been repulses, disappointments, miscarriages, and mortifications, unvaried by one glimmer of remote or contingent success," &c. Good,—your corruptions of truth, without investigation or inquiry, are wonderful; "unvaried by one glimmer of remote or contingent success:" and this, too, said of an individual whose practice has been more eminently successful than any other man's now living! Now for the proof:—

First. I improved, by years of intense application, the factory system to an extent not yet equalled.

Second. I brought the condition of the children and others employed in manufactures before the legislature and the country, by various publications; and, before the late Sir Robert Peel had ever heard of such a measure, I had, by my individual application to the members of both houses of parliament, obtained the promises of a majority in both to support the bill for the relief of children employed in factories, which bill was afterwards committed to his care in the House of Commons; but its efficiency, in three sessions of contest with the manufacturing interest, was in great part destroyed in the House of Commons, and completed in the House of Lords.

Third. I discovered the principles which enabled me to found a system to improve the condition of the human race, by a series of *practical* measures to supersede the *imaginary* system by which the world has been hitherto alone governed; and commenced the first step of the series by surrounding the children of the population at New Lanark, in Scotland, with superior circumstances for forming their character, under the appellation of Infant Schools, and thus gave them

a new and superior character. These schools have been blindly followed by the public in this country, on the continent of Europe, in America, Asia, and Africa; on which last continent two of the earliest pupils in the New Lanark school, of the name of Buchanan, sons of the first infant-school master, have been for some time most successfully employed in opening hundreds of such establishments; but it will be some time before the knowledge of thus forming the infant character can be understood and received by a population, trained from *their* infancy to be grossly ignorant and irrational. The time, however, is not far distant, when the advantage of training the human race within perfectly arranged superior circumstances over the present practice of permitting the great majority who are born to grow up within random or most vicious circumstances, will become too obvious even for irrational beings much longer to endure the gross errors and evils of such a practice.

Fourth. From these principles I also was led to adopt measures to govern the population of a large village without applying to magistrates or lawyers in a single instance; but which during twenty-nine years was effected with the greatest success by inducing them, through reason and kindness, to change their inferior character for superior habits and conduct. No experiment could have succeeded better than this in all respects. Natives, and foreigners from all countries, came in thousands annually to inspect it, and returned delighted to discover that a prospect was thus opened for the enjoyment of so much future happiness.

Fifth. I gave to the Dutch government, in 1817, through its Minister, Mr. Falk, the principles and the outline of a plan to overcome and prevent pauperism in any country; and it was applied to practice in what is called the Dutch Poor Colonies, in 1818; the late Duke of Bedford and myself being the only British honorary members of the society which carried the plan into execution. This plan was offered to the committee of the British House of Commons on the Poor Laws, sitting in full conclave, in 1817; and after debating the question for two days with closed doors, whether I should be examined on the report and plan to remove and prevent pauperism, it was decided by a small majority that I should not be heard; and thus, like the offer of Columbus, my services were refused by the legislators of my own country, and accepted and put in practice by a foreign court. If it had been adopted, the absurdity would have been prevented of men, competent and wishing to produce wealth, not being allowed to do so, when hundreds and thousands are starving for the want of that which these men thus forced to become paupers could so easily create, and at the same time save the expense of their own maintenance.

Sixth. I have given to the world, in a Report made to the County of Lanark, in 1820, and in a Report of my proceedings in Ireland, in 1822-3, detailed principles and plans, along with the most minute and accurate statements and calculations, by which the British government may, at any time, change the state of immorality and adversity of this country and of Ireland into a virtuous, prosperous, and happy one and effect this change without any real evil to any party or individual.

Seventh. I have adopted practical proceedings to change public opinion from the old and absurd notions relative to the creation of wealth and formation of character, and have succeeded to an extent that will ere long surprise all those who only view the surface of society.

Eighth. I have been one of those who assisted to form the Regeneration Society, which, in its ultimate results, will overturn the old immoral and most vicious practice of always endeavouring to buy cheap and sell dear, and give quite another view to the public of their real interests.

Ninth. I have devised the plan of National Equitable Labour Exchange, by means of the labour notes and equitable valuations, as an intermediate mode by which to pass, without inconvenience, from the present most defective commercial state to another, in which the production of wealth, created solely by the pleasure of the producers, shall be made always to exceed consumption, although each individual shall consume at his pleasure; and, ere long, all nations and people will adopt this equitable mode of exchange.

Tenth. I have advised all trades and occupations to unite in one grand moral union, to enable them to obtain the rights of industry, and to emancipate themselves from the long oppression which they have hitherto patiently suffered, and to give them that rank and importance in society which they are now destined to acquire and permanently maintain; they are rapidly carrying this recommendation into practice, and they must therefore become, if rightly used and directed, the most valuable aids and supporters of all governments, but, if unjustly treated, their most powerful opposers.

Eleventh. Above all, I have worked out, from a close investigation of facts, the important principles, by the application of which to practice every child of man may, in future, be compelled, without any apparent force from birth to death, to become, by comparison with the past and present generations of men, a being of a much higher and superior order; but of which you, gentlemen Editors, have no means at present to enable you to have much useful knowledge.

And, lastly, I have analyzed old society into its component parts, and developed to the public the whole science of forming a new society, in which there will be the due proportion of powers and means for the production and distribution of wealth, for new-modelling—almost re-creating—human nature, and for governing society without force or fraud, and solely by reason and kindness.

I fear, however, that you and many of your readers have much to unlearn, and much to learn, before you can understand a language so true as this is, and therefore so new to you. I must not, I fear, occupy more of your valuable columns, as you, no doubt, deem them; but when you feel inclined to receive real knowledge upon subjects of the deepest interest to you and your readers, instead of indulging in senseless epithets, evincing ignorance of men and manners in those who use them, I shall again willingly reply to any attack of the system which I advocate, that may appear in your papers.—I am, Gentlemen, your obedient Servant.

ROBERT OWEN.

P.S.—I should not forget that I visited Aix-la-Chapelle when the Congress of Sovereigns was held there, in 1818, and presented memorials to it, recommending the governments then to prepare measures to change their principles of governing; for that, if they delayed doing so too long, that would take place among the producing classes which has actually occurred to the letter of my predictions.

Also, that I gave to the continental governments the outline of a national system of education; for which I received the thanks of all, and in addition an autograph letter from the King of Prussia, and a gold medal from the late King of Saxony.

Shortly, however, you will discover that the whole arrangements and business of society will emanate from the measures which I have devised, and which by the general conviction of their superiority will force their way into universal practice.

In a conversation on the speeches delivered at the late public meeting held in the Institution, Charlotte-street, a gentleman observed that the speech of J. H. was a chaste lady present observed that it could not be wise, as it was his maiden speech.

REGENERATING FABLES.

PROLOGUE.

That many men have many minds,
And that there are as many kinds
Of minds, as moss,—in Pope we read;
And what Pope said is true indeed:
The Twickenham bard was seldom wrong,
For he join'd always sense and song.

Although this fact be one of those
Which every son of Adam knows,
Some love the lasses, some their guineas,
Some men are wise, and some are ninnies:
One rules the world at risk of life,
Another—cannot rule his wife;
But 'tis a matter more in doubt,
How all this difference comes about.
Helvetius says, by Education
And Mirabeau—Organization;
But Owen's theory, far more true,
By neither only, but the two.

Now, education comprehends
Our whole experience, and extends
To all that can an influence give
Towards good or evil, while we live;
And, if we could the bad exclude,
Only preserving all the good,
By acting long upon a race,
We should, in time, all vice efface;
And, even by Phrenologic laws,
Rob down the bumps which are its cause.
Malthusian maids, with ugly faces,
Would yield to Venus and the Graces;
For Education would control,
And mould the body to the soul.

Body and soul are words I use,
Take both, or either, as you choose;
For, scrutinize their meaning well,
What either is, we cannot tell.
But, if we theorists must refrain
From words we cannot well explain,
I fear those wiser far than I
Would find their logic soon run dry.
One truth we boldly may aver:
Of man the varied character,
If, through the world, we taste and try him,
Is always for him form'd, not by him.
This is the truth all truths above;
The source of charity and love;
The truth which, if all understood,
Would be the source of every good.
The law of love, by heaven reveal'd,
Was always in this truth conceal'd;
That law, we in the Gospel find,
This proves its reason to the mind.

Yet how perverse do mortals act!
Now own, and now deny, the fact.
What is our penal legislation,
But of this fact a flat negation?
Revenge, as Christians, we deplore,
But in revenge could we do more?
We hang the man who steals a purse;
To steal or murder,—which is worse?
Thus on revenge our laws are based,
And by it every act disgraced;
It circulates through every vein,
Flutters each heart,—maddens each brain.

In our domestic matters, too,
One thing we say, another do.
Thus Tom is dull, and Jack is smart;
Will's head is good, and bad, Dick's heart.
We own God made them not the same,
But all alike we praise or blame.
"Train up a child as he should go,"
You wisely teach; but do you so?
"Bad company corrupts," you say;
"Tom must not with the footman play."
In the next breath, I hear you shout,
"Tom, tell the footman I am out."
And in an hour poor Tom is crying,—
Papa has flogg'd the boy for—lying!
Thus, if our motives we stirvey,
We change them fifty times a day;

We plant the weeds, and vainly go
And beat the ground because they grow.

Why should we give a brother pain,
Because of his peculiar brain?
Or, just because that he was born
Where to be honest was a scorn?
If Christians—let us Christ obey,
And teach our neighbour not to stray;
Or if he should in act offend,
Treat him, not like a foe, but friend;
Be gentle, for we always can;
Condemn the vice—not hate the man.

The name of Christian was our boast,
When one another we could roast;
And though observers might allow
That we are something better now,
Yet Christians still, beyond all doubt,
Are people only talk'd about.
Of Christian love we largely speak,
And flourish on it once a week;
But more than half we say and do
Is with black hatred tinged all through.

That this is a progressive state
One might have thought beyond debate.
Had the reverse not been proclaim'd
By some for talent justly famed,
Who close the vista hope had left us,
Having of present good bereft us,
They say that vice, like yeast, was sent
To make the cup of life ferment,
And generate poverty and strife,
As acids,—just to shorten life;
For that Almighty legislation
Contrived such "checks to population."

Now, I hold quite a different creed;
I think that vice is as a weed,
Which has, no doubt, for objects wise,
Been, in our Eden, made to rise,
And all our choicest spots deface,
Till Truth shall occupy its place.
I do not say that all this vice,
Can be grubb'd up just in a trice;
But, with the hoe of Truth in hand,
We very soon might clear the land,
If it we boldly could employ,
Nor others sow what we destroy.

I always had a wish at heart
In this good work to bear a part;
And always have done all I could
To serve out wholesome mental food;
But for grave tasks I feel unable,
And now and then shall tell a Fable.

FABLE I.

The Cracked Milk-Pan.

Dame Hodges, at a neighbouring fair,
Where higgiers bring their crockery-ware.
Purchased a pan, in which to put her
New milk, when she was making butter,
Returning home upon her nag,
She placed before her, in a bag,
The pan—her pattens—two new platters,
A reaping hook, and sundry matters,
Which, though of use in rural labours,
Were rather ill-assorted neighbours,
Apt to annoy, and grow most rioty—
A type of civilized society.
And thus the pattens crack'd the pan
Before the homeward trot began.

Arrived at her own dwelling door,
The dame unpack'd her new-bought store;
To farmer Hodges in she brought them,
And told how very cheap she bought them;
Her bump of order being high,
The various things she then put by;
And fill'd the pan up to the brim
With milk she meant next day to skim;
Which in her dairy safe she placed,
First having got it pussy chased.

The dame got up by break of day,
And to the dairy took her way,
Where, great indeed; was her surprise,
And horrors struck her housewife eyes!

The pan was empty, and the floor
Was with the milk all flooded o'er.
"And are you crack'd, then, after all,"
She said, "you refuse of a stall?
To see such waste must give me pain,
But it shall not be so again."
On which he raised the pan in ire,
Her face with rage a perfect fire,
Intent upon the ground to dash it,
And in ten thousand pieces smash it;
But "Hold! good dame," the pan cried out;
For you must know it had—a spout;
And had it not been so well made,
Poets can call their gods to aid;
And I have one within my reach;
'Twas Pan who gave his cousin speech
For gods and goddesses of yore,
Have often done like things before
Their famous protégées by birth
Were all allied to mother Earth;
The nymphs so fair, and heroes blagg,
Were only made of pipkin-stuff.
Even you—well may your bright eyes stare!
Even you, dear Rose, are earthen-ware.
But, I am straggling from my road
And lose myself in episode.

Then to my tale:—the pan cried, "hold!
And do not so unjustly scold;
If you must blame where blame is due,
The blame should fall alone on you.
I made myself—your cannot say
That, for the potter chose my clay.
But as you knew that I was brittle,
You might have shielded me a little;
Nor thus contrived to mix and shake me
With monsters form'd to bruise or break me.
For had you pack'd me well in straw,
I might not now have had a flaw;
But as it is, I have been crack'd
Merely because I was ill-pack'd.
Still, thrifty dame, that I have got
No qualities of use think not.
If you my services would try
To keep from damage something dry,
And gently treat your kindred clay,
I'll serve you well for many a day."

The dame, like few, was ruled by reason,
And what the pan said was in season;
She grew quite calm, and from that hour,
The pan has served to hold her flour.

Reader, have you not seen a man
With some resemblance to this pan?
Whom you have driven from your door
Where he assistance would implore,
Because you saw, or thought you saw,
Or was inform'd, he had a flaw,
Which nature and his rugged fate
Had work'd together to create?
If you have done so, pray refrain
From ever acting so again;
For, from my tale you may deduce
That every man may have a use;
Which, if you kindly be inclined,
With some research you soon may find.
Should conscience dictate this is right,
And to be kind afford delight,
Blush for our boasted Social State,
Which cultivates, not love, but hate;
And join me to condemn the laws,
Which smash the pan because of flaws.
20th January, 1834. L. P. S.

The Clergy of the Church of England receive annually fifty-nine tons ten hundred-weight of gold, for enlightening the minds of the people. We understand that the clerical functionaries of St. Paul's have lately lighted up the galleries of the Cathedral with gas. Surely they do not mean to dispense with the living light of the parsons. Or is it merely an experiment? If so, we hope it may answer so well as to serve as a substitute for the more expensive burning and shining lights of the pulpit.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—As a well-wisher to the progress of truth and the advancement of human happiness, I shall feel obliged by your inserting in your valuable publication the following Address to the Industrious Non-Producers of England. And I state, through your pages, that should the *Pioneer*, or any of your stamped or unstamped contemporaries, think it worth reprinting, I shall be glad for them so to do.—I am, Sir, yours truly, in the good cause,

X. W., a Constant Reader.

To the Shopmen, Clerks, Porters, and other Industrious Non-producers of England.

MY FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—Many of us have watched the progress of 'Trades' Unions with intense anxiety, and our hearts have beat with joy, and our breasts have been warmed with delight, at seeing the great success which has crowned their labours. But have we nothing to complain of? Have we no grievances to redress? Have we no privileges which we wish to keep untouched, and are there none which we should wish to obtain? I think there are. But, not to bring before you too many things at once, I would ask, what do the 'Trades' Unions propose to accomplish first? Why, to work only eight hours for the same wages as their members now work ten, twelve, fourteen, and sixteen hours for. The members of these Unions think that eight hours' labour is sufficient for the wants of society, and is quite as much as their health and physical strength demand; leaving out of the question the cultivation of their moral feelings, and the advancement of their mental knowledge. Well, and if eight hours' labour be sufficient for our northern artisans and mechanics, do you not think that fourteen, sixteen, and, on a Saturday, eighteen hours' labour is too much for us? I think it is. Then, why have we been so slow to move, so dull to action? Why have not we united, and declared that we will not work more than eight hours a day? We have intelligence, moral power, great numbers; if only united, we could effect great things. Then, my friends, arouse! and shake off the incubus that has weighed us to the ground. Let us unite. Let us be moderate, firm in our resolutions, decided in our measures, charitable in our expressions towards others, and let us leave others to fight with the weapons of rancour, ill-will, and bad-feeling. Let us do these things, and we shall very soon, without the aid of Parliament, or the interference of Government, pass for ourselves an eight hours' bill, which shall emancipate us from the present morally debased state in which we are. The masters will help us to a great extent; and if they do not submit to reason, our union will soon compel them to bow before our moral force.

Of what use, my friends, is it for the writers in the *Penny Magazine*, and other works of that class, to tell us of the beauties of the setting and rising sun, of Nature's scenery, of her beautiful landscapes, and of "holiday walks," when we never see the sun, except it is shining on the top part of the houses at mid-day. The scenery we behold is a confused, irregular mass of bricks and mortar, and our walks are in the dirty streets of London. Of what use to tell us of the singing of birds, of the chirping of grasshoppers, of the humming of insects, and the murmuring stream of a silent brook; when we hear the rattling of coach-wheels, the oaths, curses, and imprecations of our fellow-men, and the wailings of extreme poverty in the one hand, and the revellings of extreme profusion on the other? Of what use are Mechanics' Institutes, Lectures for the Diffusion of Scientific Knowledge, National Galleries for the improvement of national taste, and the various other Institutions for disseminating knowledge among the people, when we have not the time to attend and hear these lectures, or to visit these galleries for improving our taste? Or of what use, rather distributors, is it to tell us of the plea-

tures of music, when the only music we hear is that of an indecent ballad, or the scraping of some street-organ? No, my friends, these things are of no use to us. But they will be of use, if we pass our eight hours' bill. And what, I would ask, is there to prevent this plan being adopted? Linendrapers, butchers, cheesemongers, and most other trades, could so contrive their business as to do every thing in eight hours. Grocers, however, would form an exception, and I think there would be required one-third more hands than there are at present. But this would be the way to reduce the supply of labour to the demand. Let us form then a grand National Union; let that Union be formed into classes, according to their localities; let the classes contain members of all trades; and let our first grand object be the establishing of eight hours for a day's labour. This will not be our final object; but this ought to be our first. By thus acting, we shall accomplish a greater work of National Regeneration than has been done for centuries past. I am, your brother shopman, and well-wisher,

X. W., a Grocer's Shopman.

We insert the following important quotation from a work just published by Dr. Epps, and leave the editorial remarks to the reader's imagination:—

"Holding the views that I do regarding the organ principally affected in epilepsy—viz. the *cerebellum*, and knowing that nothing tends to restore any organ in a debilitated state to health than proper activity, I recommend to epileptic patients *marriage*. This, affording by the privileges connected with it, relief to the inactivity or suppressed activity of the *cerebellum* in a *state of continence*, very often is attended with the highest benefit in cases of epilepsy. And it often leads me to observe and feel keenly how opposed is the present condition of the political and social system under which we live, to the will of the Creator, when, on recommending marriage to a patient, I find that pecuniary means and the heavy burdens of taxation and necessary expenditure connected with the married state, constitute an insuperable barrier.

"And when, in addition, I remember that relief to this inactivity is sought in improper channels, this feeling of enmity to the present social, or rather unsocial state, is augmented; more particularly as I know, from many cases, that *illicit gratification does not relieve epileptic patients*, but, in most instances, increases the disease. The reason of this will be apparent, because the excitement, the moral struggle, which take place when men act contrary to conscience, obviate the good effects that would otherwise be connected with the activity of a natural function.

"And when, further, I look to another consequence of this unsocial state—viz. that the youth is often led to improper practices in order to relieve himself of that peculiar state of irritability connected with a predisposition to epilepsy, my enmity is increased, and I see it to be my duty, as a *medical man*, to use every legitimate exertion to overturn those established abominations, which so oppress industry as to prevent the ability of hundreds being so extended as to marry.

"I have known pious young men have recourse to improper practices, because they could not get married; and because their religious principles would not allow them to obtain relief from illicit connexion. The consequence has often been that epilepsy has thus been developed; and, if developed previously, has been rendered ten times worse."

MARRIAGE.

The marriages of the Gutchola Indians, who live round Bolanos, are thus described in Lyon's Mexico:—

"In complexion, feature, hair, and eyes, I could trace a very great resemblance between these Indians and the Esquimaux, who are, however, somewhat shorter, and more corpulent. They are said to be a very peaceable, inoffensive race when sober, but quite outrageous in their drunken fits, when their quarrels are very bloody. Their marriages are curiously conducted, since it is the custom for a man to take his intended wife on trial, and if, after an indefinite time, he likes her, they are then married by a priest or friar, who once a year goes round to perform this ceremony, and to christen perhaps the offspring of half the newly married couples. Should the lady not give satisfaction, she may be returned to her parents, even if pregnant; and women who have been thus discarded are as frequently taken again on trial, and ultimately married, as any others."

[Woman may be redeemed there; but among Christians, who believe in the atonement, there is no sacrifice for sin.]

CAPITAL AGAINST LABOUR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—The enlightened and benevolent of all classes are hereby informed that a committee, consisting of three ladies and eighteen gentlemen, devoted to the cause of the industrious and well-disposed of the productive class, was appointed at a public meeting, held in the Salford Co-operative Institute, Whitecross Bank, Salford, 5th of Jan. instant, for the purpose of conducting a general subscription on behalf of the Operatives of Derby, who refuse to give away their labour for inadequate remuneration, and that such committee hold their meetings every Tuesday evening at eight o'clock, in the establishment before named. Those individuals in this locality, desirous of assisting the poor, but industrious and honest, people of Derby in their effort to raise themselves from the thralldom in which the capitalists are seeking to plunge them, are hereby invited to lend their co-operation to the committee, and to send the fruits of their labours to the treasurer, each Tuesday evening at the Institution.

J. F. RIGBY, Hon. Sec.

Mrs. HAMILTON.

(From the Glasgow TRADESMAN.)

In some of our former numbers we took occasion to notice the lectures delivered by Mrs. Hamilton on the "New Age of Harmony," to the inhabitants of Glasgow, and other parts of the West of Scotland; and if we make allowance for the want of that early instruction which is necessary to form the accomplished orator—and more particularly when a female—we must say that Mrs. H. has some claim to originality and respect. The principles which she advocates are of the most liberal kind, both in regard to politics and religion; but not, however, of such a nature as to call forth the opposition of any person who has any claim whatever to freedom of sentiment.

These remarks are drawn from us by the contents of a letter which has been sent us by the lady herself; and as we are enemies to every thing which would have any tendency to chain the human mind to any set of opinions which will not bear every investigation without fear, we give the following extract and copy of a letter from Mr. Burns, the parish minister of Kilsyth, for which he will no doubt receive the thanks of his brethren, but, we doubt, the disapprobation of many of his parishioners. Our advice to the Rev. gentleman would be, to fairly and publicly meet Mrs. Hamilton, and not only endeavour to convict her of error, but also save his own flock.

ing contaminated by what he is pleased to call "seditions, treasonable, and profane language."

Kilsyth, 15th January, 1834.

SIR—I hope, for the honour of the friends of truth, that you will notice the praise-worthy conduct of the Committee in this place in your publication, as it will serve to show the triumph of truth over error and ignorance, and their manly exertions may prove a check to the ambition of those who attempt to crush down free inquiry. In no place where I have been, have I been so much opposed by the priest, or so manfully supported by the people of both sexes—crowds every night, for five nights, having attended my lectures in this place. The second night of the lectures the crowd was so great that the house could not contain the half of those who were desirous of hearing. After the conclusion, it was suggested by some individuals that one of the churches might be obtained to accommodate the audience next night. I said I would call on the parish Minister next day, and hear what he said about it. I accordingly did so, told him that I had lectured for two evenings past, and that on account of the great concourse of people, inasmuch as the house could not contain them, if he would grant the church it would be a great obligation to his parishioners. "Indeed!—indeed!" was the answer. "What brought you here; you are an agent of Satan; what brought you here? The people are bad enough already, and you will make them worse."—"I am here, Sir, to communicate truth—the truth that will make mankind true, genuine Christians."—"Is not that truth taught amongst us here already?" said the priest. "O, yes," says I, "but it is not acted upon; it is not theoretical, but practical Christianity, we wish to introduce amongst the people; we are all brethren and sisters of one great parent, therefore we have all an equal right to his paternal care and bounty."—"We all know that; but who gave you authority to come and speak these things—a woman has no right to speak at all in public."—"Were you inclined to hear, Sir, I would soon prove my authority to declare the whole truth; but I will not intrude any vindication upon you at present," (by this time he was a little angry).—"Did you think you would get a place of worship to speak in?"—"I have spoken many times in a place of worship, and to many hundreds of an audience."—"The more the pity; it proves the sad state the country is in, when you, an emissary of the Devil, would be allowed to speak in the house of God, and that too against both Church and State."—"I declare, Sir, against the existing system, as it stands opposed to peace on earth, and good-will amongst the family of mankind; therefore it cannot be Christian, or it would produce harmony. You say I am an agent of Satan, I would be sorry for that, if it was true, for I wish him bound, and his parliament all dissolved, Christianity reformed, and the people made happy."—"The people are bad already, now you will make them worse by the volubility of your tongue. Leave this place, I say, leave this place."—"I will leave your door, Sir, but not the town, till I have accomplished my mission."—"Where from is your mission?"—"From Heaven; he that formed me, sent me forth to proclaim glad tidings of joy to the people."

Thus, Sir, you have the conversation that passed between the female reformer and the priest of the parish, word for word, and what follows is the letter sent to the proprietor of the hall, to lock up the door:—

"Kilsyth, 12th January, 1834.

"Dear Sir,—I write you hastily, to beseech you, as a friend, not to allow the use of the Lodge this evening to a stranger female, who proposes to address the youth of this place. From my own knowledge of what she is, and from the accounts of her seditious, treasonable, and profane language last night, I am convinced that to admit her to any, out of which we can keep her, or to give

her any countenance, would be sinful, and make us a partaker of her evil deeds. I dread the bad influence on the youth, "evil communications corrupt good manners." I hope, therefore, you will not allow the hall to be used for a bad purpose. I understand Mr. Yule is quite against her admission. I am, dear Sir, W. BURNS."

I must conclude by subscribing myself,
Yours truly, A. HAMILTON.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT, ENDING JAN. 11.

Deposits 3427b. 3s.—Exchanges, 4125b. 2s.							
RECEIPTS.				CASH & NOTES.			
				PAYMENTS.			
Meat	22	3	1	Meat	12	1	0½
Grocery, &c.	14	4	5	Grocery, &c.	11	17	0
Cheesemong.	12	19	6	Cheesemong.	13	10	4½
Coals	1	1	9	Festival	11	2	0
Festival	14	12	9½	Lectures	5	1	0
Lectures	15	2	9	Wages	15	6	6
Rent	1	3	4	Charges	3	10	0
Commission	7	14	2	Rent	20	0	0
Charges	1	8	0	Coals	6	3	6

90 9 9½ 88 11 4½

Stock, goods on hand 54,936b. 2s.

Notes now in circulation 32,345 5

Audited by Managing Committee,
W. HOARE, Superintendent.

FROM THE TIMES.

We publish a letter from Mr. OWEN. We are sorry to see that he is losing his temper because he cannot persuade us to adopt his opinions. He says that we abuse him; we deny it. We have never spoken of him except in terms of kindness. We think him a very benevolent, but a very wrong-headed man. What does he mean by his talk of resorting to some other means of vindicating himself less pleasant to us than his letters? Does he think his letters pleasant?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR,—As you have declined to insert my long letter, I trust you will publish this short one in *The Times* of to-morrow.

You publish a memorial addressed to me from the Mechanics of Sheffield, which you term one of the most important documents that have for many years been given to the public. You write a long editorial article on the subject, full of false statements, and of the most slanderous abuse of an individual who is daily devoting all his energies and means for the good, not of a party, not even of any section of society, but for the general benefit of the population of this and of all other countries; and after this gross abuse has been thus given to the world, you decline inserting a reply, on account of your "crowded columns;" and yet in this very paper you give a long leading article about Colonel Torrens's theory of political economy, when, if you had possessed any knowledge of this science, you would have known that the worthy Colonel never had the slightest knowledge whatever either of the practice or principles from which alone the science of political economy can be deduced. To any practical man acquainted with the right application of the scientific and manual power which we possess, and might possess, for the production and distribution of wealth, the worthy Colonel's farrago of words without ideas must be most amusing. He, I doubt not, as many other ignorant learned men are, is honest in his belief, and I give him full credit also for good intention. He has yet, however, to acquire the very first rudiments of the science about which he has so long puzzled his brains, before he will have

the least chance of being able to persuade the Trades' Unions to waste their time in reading his pamphlets, for on this subject they are already 100 years in advance of him. Now, if you can in your "crowded columns" find room for so much personal and unfounded abuse, and then fill those columns with such theories as the Colonel's, and cannot find space for the abused individual to vindicate himself, he must resort to some other means, perhaps less pleasant to you than the equitable one which you have declined.

Before I proceed further I shall wait your reply to-morrow.

ROBERT OWEN.

14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square,
Jan. 28.

NOTICES.

Rev. Mr. Smith will Lecture on Sunday Evening at the Westminster Association, Grosvenor-street, Millbank. On Wednesday evening following, Dr. Prati, same place, at 8 o'clock.

A preliminary meeting of the Journeymen Paper-hangers took place at the Wilmington Arms, Wilmington-square, on Monday evening last, to take into consideration the propriety of immediately forming a Union of their trade. The subject excited a profound interest among those present. It was unanimously resolved to adjourn until Wednesday evening, February 5th, at the above place. The Chair to be taken at 7 o'clock.

Mr. Ellis will deliver a Lecture on Astronomy, at Bowling-square Chapel, Lower Whitecross-street, on Sunday, Feb. 2, at half-past Six.

Mr. Detroisier will Lecture at the Institution, Charlotte-street, on Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock. After Lecture a Concert of vocal and instrumental music.

Now publishing, Price 1½d.

THE TRADESMAN, a Glasgow Weekly Journal.

May be had at the *Crisis* Office, London; and at 65, Gallowgate, Glasgow

The Rev. Mr. Redford's SERMON, and the Rev. J. E. Smith's REPLY, is now on Sale, price 1s. *Crisis* Office.

SOCIAL TEA PARTIES of the Association of the Industrious Classes, 14, Charlotte-street.

The Friends and Members are informed that their Social Meetings having given so much satisfaction, it is intended to continue them every Sunday afternoon, until further notice. The first Social Tea Party, under the immediate management of the *Festival Committee*, will take place on the 9th of February, 1834.—Tickets for Admission 6d. each. Tea will be served up precisely at 4 o'clock.

During Tea, a selection of Vocal and Instrumental Music by the Amateur Band and Choir of the Institution.

THE SPRING SOCIAL FESTIVALS of the Association of the Industrious Classes, will be held at their Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, every Monday Evening during the months of February and March. Tickets of Admission 1s. 6d. each, Tea and Coffee included.

Doors opened at 7, and the Concert to commence at a quarter to 8 precisely.

The Dancing will commence at a quarter to 10, and continue uninterrupted till One o'clock; Quadrille, Spanish, Medley, and Contré Dances alternating.

The general arrangements which were observed on the occasion of Messrs Collins and Stevens's Benefit, having given such universal satisfaction, they will be repeated.

Printed and published by B. D. COOMBS, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn fields; and at 378, Strand.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

SYNOPSIS.

[According to our last week's promise, we present our readers with the Synopsis or General Analysis of Human Nature and Society, which forms the basis of the New System of Social Organization, proposed by Robert Owen. Although many of our readers are already furnished with copies of this Synopsis; yet others are not, and all must admit the propriety of fixing, at the present moment, the public mind upon this important document.]

General Principles, Laws, and Conditions, relative to Human Nature and Society, with proposed Preliminary Arrangements for a change of System in the British Dominions, and reasons for their adoption at first; and reference to a more perfect plan.

Experience has proved that man has been the creature of the circumstances in which he has been placed, and that the character of these circumstances which inevitably makes him ignorant or intelligent, vicious or virtuous, wretched or happy. It is therefore necessary to acquire a knowledge of the influence which individual and general circumstances have over human nature; that is, to learn what particular circumstances produce among mankind ignorance, vice, and misery; and what, intelligence, virtue, and happiness; and to discover how to remove the former, and to secure the latter; and this will be acquired by the study of the following fundamental laws of human nature:

1. Human nature in the aggregate is a compound, consisting of animal propensities, intellectual faculties, and moral qualities.

2. These propensities, faculties, and qualities are united in different proportions in each individual.

3. The different proportions of the same general propensities, faculties, and qualities, constitute the sole difference by which one individual is distinguished from another.

4. This difference in each is made by a power unknown to the individual, without his knowledge or consent.

5. Each individual comes into existence within certain external circumstances, which, acting upon his peculiar organization, during the early period of his life, impress their eternal character upon him; and thus the local and national character is formed unknown to the individual.

6. The influence of external circumstances is modified, in a particular manner, by the particular organization of each individual, and the distinguishing character of each individual is formed, continued, and maintained through life.

7. No infant has the power of deciding at what period of time, or in what part of the world, he shall come into existence, of what parents he shall be born, in what particular religion he shall be trained to believe, or by what other external circumstances he shall be surrounded from birth to death.

8. Each individual is so organized, that, when young, he may be made to receive either true ideas, derived from a knowledge of facts, or false notions, derived from the imagination, and in opposition to facts.

9. Each individual is so organized, that he must necessarily become irrational, when he is made from infancy to receive as truths false notions; and can only become rational, when he shall be made from infancy to receive true ideas, without any admixture of error.

10. Each individual is so organized, that, when young, he may be trained to acquire injurious habits only, or beneficial habits only; or a mixture of both.

11. Each individual is so organized, that, when young, he may be made upon his mind; which conviction cannot be given to him by his will, nor be withheld by it.

12. Each individual is so organized, that he must like that which is pleasant to him, or which, in other words, produces agreeable sensations in him; and dislike that which is unpleasant to him, or which, in other words, produces in him disagreeable sensations; and he cannot know, previous to experience, what particular sensations new objects will produce on any one of his senses.

13. Each individual is so organized, that his feelings and his convictions are formed for him by the impressions which circumstances produce upon his individual organization.

14. Each individual is so organized, that his will is formed for him by his feelings or convictions, or both; and that his whole character, physical, mental, and moral, is formed independently of himself.

15. Each individual is so organized, that impressions, which at their commencement, and for a limited time, produce agreeable sensations, will, if continued without intermission beyond a certain period, become indifferent, disagreeable, and ultimately painful.

16. Each individual is so organized, that when, beyond a certain degree of rapidity, impressions succeed each other, they dissipate, weaken, and otherwise injure his physical, mental, or moral powers, and diminish his enjoyment.

17. Each individual is so organized, that his highest health, his greatest progressive im-

provement, and his permanent happiness, depend upon the due cultivation of all his physical, intellectual, and moral faculties, or elements of his nature; upon their being called into action at a proper period of life; and being afterwards temperately exercised, according to his strength and capacity.

18. Each individual is so organized, that he is made to receive what is commonly called a bad character, when he has been created with an unfavourable proportion of the elements of his nature; and has been placed from birth amidst the most unfavourable circumstances.

19. Each individual is so organized, that he is made to receive a medium character, when he has been created with a favourable proportion of the elements of his nature, and has been placed from birth amidst unfavourable circumstances.

Or, when he has been created with an unfavourable proportion of these elements, and when the external circumstances in which he is placed are of a character to impress him with favourable sensations only.

Or, when he has been created with a favourable proportion of some of these elements, and an unfavourable proportion of others; and has been placed through life in varied external circumstances, producing some good and some evil sensations. This compound has hitherto been the general lot of mankind.

20. Each individual is so organized, that he is made to receive a superior character, when his original constitution contains the best proportion of the elements of human nature, and when the circumstances which surround him from birth, and through life, are of a character to produce superior sensations only; or, in other words, when the laws, institutions, and customs, under which he lives, are all in unison with the laws of his nature.

THE CONDITIONS REQUISITE FOR HUMAN HAPPINESS.

1. The possession of a good organization, physical, mental, and moral.

2. The power of procuring, at pleasure, whatever is necessary to preserve the organization in the best state of health.

3. The best education from infancy to maturity, of the physical, intellectual, and moral power of all the population.

4. The inclination and means of promoting, continually, the happiness of our fellow-beings.

5. The inclination and means of increasing continually, our stock of knowledge.

6. The power of enjoying the best and more particularly of associating, as

sure, with those for whom we feel the most regard and greatest affection.

7. The means of travelling at pleasure.

8. The absence of superstition, supernatural fears, and the fear of death.

9. The full liberty of expressing our thoughts upon all subjects.

10. The utmost individual freedom of action compatible with the permanent good of society.

11. To have the character formed for us to express the truth only upon all occasions, and to have pure charity for the feelings, thoughts, and conduct of all mankind, and to have a sincere goodwill to every individual of the human race.

12. To reside in a society whose laws, institutions, and arrangements, well organized and well governed, shall all be in unison with the laws of human nature.

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY, OR SOCIAL STATE OF MAN.

1. A knowledge of the laws of human nature derived from demonstrable facts, and which prove man to be a social being.

2. A practical knowledge of the best mode of producing in abundance the most beneficial necessities and comforts, for the support and enjoyment of human life.

3. A practical knowledge of the best mode of distributing these productions most advantageously for all.

4. A knowledge of the principles and practice by which to form the new combination of circumstances for training the infant to become the best natured human being.

5. A knowledge of the principles and practice by which to govern man under these new arrangements, in the best manner, as a member of the great family of mankind.

4. A knowledge of the principles and practice for uniting in one general system, in their due proportions, the five preceding branches of the SCIENCE OF SOCIETY; to effect and secure, in the best manner for all, the greatest amount of permanent benefits and enjoyments with the fewest disadvantages.

DUTIES OF THE SYSTEM.

Art. 1. That it is man's highest duty to himself and his fellow-men, to acquire an accurate knowledge of those circumstances which produce evil to the human race, and of those which produce good; to exert all his powers to remove the former from society, and create around it the latter only.

2. That this invaluable practical knowledge can be acquired solely through an extensive search after truth, by an accurate, patient, and unprejudiced inquiry into facts, as developed by nature.

3. That man can never attain to a state of superior and permanent happiness, until he shall be surrounded by those external circumstances which will train him, from birth, to feel pure charity and sincere affection towards the whole of his species; to speak the truth only on all occasions, and to regard with a merciful disposition all that has life.

4. That such superior principles and feelings can never be given to man under those institutions of society which have been founded on the mistaken supposition that man forms his feelings and convictions by his will, and is, therefore, responsible for them.

5. That under institutions formed in accordance with the Rational System of Society, these superior principles and dispositions may be

given to the whole of the human race, without chance of failure, except in case of organic disease, and influenced only by the natural consequences of our actions.

A GENERAL CONSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT, AND UNIVERSAL CODE OF LAWS, DERIVED FROM THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF HUMAN NATURE.

On the Liberty of Mind or Conscience.

1. All shall have equal and full liberty to express the dictates of their conscience.

2. No one shall have any other power than fair argument to control the opinions or belief of another.

3. No praise or blame, no merit or demerit, no reward or punishment, shall be awarded for any faith whatever.

4. All shall have equal right to express their opinion respecting a first cause; and to worship it under any form or in any manner agreeable to their consciences, not interfering with equal rights in others.

On the Irresponsibility of Man.

5. No one shall be responsible for his physical, intellectual, or moral organization.

6. No one shall be responsible for the sensations made on his organization by external circumstances.

7. No one shall be responsible for the feelings and convictions within him, and which are to him the truth while they continue.

On the Providing for, and Educating the Population.

8. Every one shall be equally provided, through life, with the best of every thing for human nature, by public arrangements; which arrangements shall give the best known direction to the industry and talents of every individual.

9. All shall be educated from infancy to maturity in the best manner known at the time.

10. All shall pass through the same general routine of education, domestic teaching, and employment.

11. All children, from their birth, shall be under the especial care of the community in which they are born; but their parents shall have free access to them at all times.

12. All the children shall be trained and educated together as children of the same family; and shall be early taught a knowledge of the laws of their nature.

13. Every individual shall be encouraged to express his feeling and convictions only,—or, in other words, to speak the truth solely upon all occasions.

14. Both sexes shall have equal education, rights, privileges, and personal liberty; their associations will arise from the general sympathies of their nature, uninfluenced by artificial distinctions.

On the General Arrangements for the Population.

15. Under the Rational System of Society, after the children shall have been trained to acquire new habits and new feelings, derived from the laws of human nature, there shall be no useless private property.

16. As soon as the members of these communities shall have been educated from infancy in a knowledge of the laws of their nature; trained to act in obedience to them; and surrounded by circumstances all in unison with them; there shall be no individual punishment or reward.

17. Society shall not be composed, at present, of single families, but of communities or associations of men, women, and children, in the usual proportions, from three hundred to two thousand, as local circumstances determine.

18. As these new communities increase in number, a union of them shall be formed for local and general purposes, in tens, hundreds, thousands, &c., according to the less or more extended objects and interests which shall require their consideration and direction.

19. Each of these communities shall possess around it land sufficient for the support, for ever, of all its members, even when it shall contain the maximum in number.

20. These communities shall be so arranged, as to give to all the members in each of them, as nearly as possible, the same advantages, and to afford the most easy communication with each other.

On the Government of the Population; and Duties of the Council.

21. Each community shall be governed by a general council, composed of all its members between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five; and each department shall be under the immediate direction of a committee, formed of members of the general council; chosen by the latter, in the order to be determined upon.

22. After all the members of the community shall be rendered capable of taking their full share of the duties in the general council of government, there shall be no selection or election of any individuals to office.

23. All the members at thirty-five years of age, who shall have been trained from infancy in the communities, shall be officially called upon to undertake their full share of the duties of management; and at forty-five, they shall be excused from officially performing them.

24. The duties of the general council shall be, to govern all the circumstances within the boundaries of its community; to organize the various departments of production, distribution, and formation of character; to remove all those circumstances which are least favourable to happiness, and to replace them with the best that can be devised among themselves, or of which they can obtain a knowledge from other communities; to regulate and assist in the establishment of new associations, composed of the surplus population of the community; and to send delegates to the circles of communities to which they shall be attached.

25. The general council shall have full power of government in all things appertaining to the community under its direction, as long as it shall act in unison with the laws of human nature, which shall be its sole guidance upon all occasions.

26. All individuals trained, educated, and placed in conformity to the laws of their nature, must, of necessity, at all times, think and act rationally, except they shall become physically, intellectually, or morally diseased; in which case, the council shall remove them into the hospital for bodily, mental, or moral invalids, where they shall remain until they shall be recovered by the mildest treatment that can effect their cure.

27. The council, whenever it shall be necessary, shall call to its aid the practical abilities and advice of any of the members not in the council.

On the Adjustment of Differences.

28. If the general council shall ever attempt

to contravene the laws of human nature, which is scarcely possible, the elders of the community who have passed the council shall call a general meeting of the members of the association above sixteen years of age, who have been trained from infancy within it. This meeting shall calmly and patiently investigate the conduct of the general council; and if a majority shall determine that it has acted, or attempted to act, in opposition to these laws, the general government shall devolve upon the members of the community who have passed the council, and who are under fifty years of age; united with those who have not entered the council, and are above thirty years of age.

29. All other differences, of every description, if indeed it be possible for any to exist in these communities, shall be immediately determined and amicably adjusted between the parties, by the decision of a majority of the three senior members of the council; except when the difference shall exist between members of the council—when it shall be, in like manner, decided by the three members who have passed the council.

CONCLUSIONS DEDUCED FROM THE FACTS, CREEDS, DUTIES, AND PRINCIPLES; CONSIDERED IN REFERENCE TO THE PRESENT EXCITED AND UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

1. That the period for introducing the Rational System for remodelling the character of man, and for governing the population of the earth in unity, peace, and progressive improvement and happiness, is near at hand; and that no human power can resist the change.

2. That the governments of the world will soon be compelled, in their own defence, to adopt this superior system, to prevent their being involved in factions, anarchy, war, and ruin.

3. That this change will root up and utterly destroy the old vicious and miserable system of ignorance and poverty; individual competition and contest; and of national wars throughout the world; and introduce, in place thereof, the Rational System of Society; in which competition, strife, and wars will cease for ever, and all will be trained, from infancy, solely to promote each other's happiness.

4. That this system can be best commenced, by convincing governments of the truth of the principles on which it is founded. There must be also a sufficient number of individuals imbued with its spirit of genuine charity, affection, and philanthropy, and instructed in the best mode of applying it to practice; they must likewise possess patience and perseverance to overcome all the obstacles which prejudice will oppose to their progress; and, above all, they must be united, have full confidence in each other, and be directed by one heart and one mind.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Under the past and present irrational system of the world, devised in opposition to Nature, 19 out of 20, or perhaps more truly 99 out of 100, of the external circumstances formed by man around society, are of an inferior and vicious character; but under the Rational System of Society now proposed to be formed in accordance with Nature, all the circumstances under human control will be of a superior and virtuous character.

Under the existing religious, political, com-

mercial, and domestic arrangements of Great Britain, 250 individuals cannot be supported in comfort on a square mile of land; while under the proposed system, with much less labour and capital than are now employed, 500 may be immediately supported in abundance, and in a few years after the new arrangements shall have been matured, 1000, 1500, and probably, without any additional new discoveries, 2000 individuals may be so supported upon every square mile of an average quality of soil.

Such is the difference between a Rational System formed in accordance with Nature, and one founded in opposition to it.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council, appointed at the General Meeting on the 10th January, 1834, has entered fairly into the important task of considering the causes why labour exchange does not flourish, and the remedies requisite to place it in a sound condition. The Council, in its investigations, has applied itself to principles, and not to the minor regulations which may have had the effect of retarding the progress of the Exchange; conceiving that all minor regulations, when bad, are the effect of an error in principle, and will always be removed or continued in exact proportion as each good or bad principle of action is allowed to operate. The Council, therefore, considers it of primary importance, 1st. To settle the objects of the Association as to exchanges; 2nd. The organization of its members; 3rd. The best mode of selecting the most intelligent executive and managing power; and lastly, The sure, though slow means of attaining our ultimate objects: and in the opinion of the Council, not one of these leading principles should be lost sight of. Then, and then only, shall we have made some progress in the science of society. Respecting the causes why labour exchange does not flourish, the Council has arrived at the following conclusions:—1st. That the present constitution cannot be acted upon without creating division: and hence all the strife and disunion that has occurred; 2nd. That there has been a want of intelligence in the managing power; 3rd. The being obliged to enact laws that operate badly, to appease the prejudices of the many; 4th. Giving too much power to the uninformed and inexperienced to legislate; 5th. The want of sufficient prudence in the administration of the affairs of the Association. These five positions may be illustrated in this way: all experience goes to prove, that no large body of men ever yet existed with intelligence enough to manage their affairs wisely, when they have allowed every opinion to bear away that obtained the popular voice; the many, being uninformed, cannot judge correctly: power ought to emanate from the people; but the direction of that power, from the greatest amount of intelligence; and as all good ideas and inventions have come from a few individuals, so ought individuals to be allowed to direct them, until all shall become intelligent; then, will there be no more need of laws, every man being a law unto himself. The fact of laws being necessary, proves the existence of ignorance; from which we may argue that our constitution is incomplete, inasmuch as the power to make laws, and the power to administer them, is not sufficiently select to bring about good results, the only test of wisdom. Thus, then, until the objects of the Association are strictly defined; until there is a more complete organization of the whole body; until there is a better selected managing power; and unless there is a strict adherence to the great principle, "that the interest of one is the interest of all" ever keeping in mind the necessity of acting rationally; nothing sound and effective can be produced by labour exchange; the fundamental causes having been shown, upon

the adoption or rejection of which the success or failure of labour exchange depends.

The Council now proceeds to the remedies: the first is, to define the objects of labour exchange, which are, to assist those who are disposed to exchange their surplus labour or productions with others similarly situated, as a means to assist each other to better our present condition, and to raise a fund for the purpose of obtaining land; but more immediately to establish social meetings, or schools of instruction, to fit us for a more rational state of society. 2nd, to define a constitution. Thus, all members of this Association shall belong to organized bodies, and shall subscribe threepence per week for a fund for general purposes, or shall exchange cash for one hour note per week, or deposit to the amount of five hours weekly for at least three months previous to being qualified to act as an officer of any description whatsoever, or in any way have a voice in the management of the institution.

The Association shall be governed by a committee, council, and superintendent.

The committee shall be chosen as prescribed by the present constitution. On its first meeting for business, the committee shall choose three of the most intelligent of its body to act as a council. The council shall be chosen by each committee-man writing the names of the individuals of the council desired upon paper, and his own name underneath; which shall be given to the chairman of the committee, to be read aloud by him when all the names are collected, so that every thing may be done openly; and every committee-man held morally accountable for the actions of parties he proposes on the council.

The council on its first meeting shall choose as above the most intelligent from its own body for a superintendent; and shall choose a superintendent as circumstances may determine.

The committee shall meet twice every week: its business is to examine and audit all the accounts of the Association; to hear all complaints from depositors, officers, or others; to arbitrate all differences, and refer all their recorded transactions to the council; discuss any new law or regulation; also to canvass the merit of any new officer or assistant that may be required. The decision of the committee not to be considered final until sanctioned by the council, and the decision of the council not to be considered final until sanctioned by the Association, nor can the committee enforce any minor regulations without the consent of the council. The privileges of the committee are, a free access to the books of the Association at all reasonable hours, and to call before them any officer for information; to attend all festivals, social meetings, lectures, or other meetings (except those of the council), free from any charge for admission during their holding office. The committee may be considered guardians of the Association, reporting all their proceedings to the council and Association. It is presumed that, in the administration of the affairs of the producing classes, all that is requisite is, intelligence with integrity; and the best mode to obtain this end the only wish of every friend of the producing classes. The laws being first settled that shall govern in all the important affairs of the Association, all the minor matters should be left to the council, whose business it shall be to govern according to the laws prescribed; but in all difficult or doubtful cases to the best of its judgment, and as shall seem to the council best for the permanent interests of the Association. Results more to be considered than any seeming contradiction to established rule; all the actions of the council, however, subject to the scrutiny of the committee, and regularly reported to the Association. The council shall appoint one of its body as superintendent, or shall appoint a superintendent, who shall see all laws, regulations, or orders of council carried into effect. Any officer neglecting his duty, or guilty of ir-

per conduct, may be suspended or discharged by the superintendent himself, only amenable to the general body, either at the meeting of the Association for re-election of superintendent once in six months, or at a meeting specially convened for that purpose, signed by the committee and ten members of the Association. The superintendent shall also have the power to make any contract, or purchase any material, food, or other thing conducive to further the objects of the Association, no one being able to control him for the time being; inasmuch as in him is centered the executive power, and greatest amount of intelligence, acting for the best as circumstances may arise. He shall, however, on all important occasions, receive the suggestions of the council, acting upon all these occasions and suggestions as his judgment may incline. All the actions of the superintendent amenable to the general body.

The Council having now performed the important duty assigned to it, leave the principles, or causes and remedies, discovered, to the calm reasoning of the members and the meeting; trusting that what the Council has patiently investigated and submitted, the members and meeting will as patiently reflect upon, and that the decision of the members and meeting will be in unison with correct judgment upon the facts producing a want of success in labour exchange, and the remedies requisite to place it in a sound condition. In this hope, which must ever be the hope of all human beings desirous of ameliorating the condition of the producing classes, the Council leave the report to the intelligent consideration of the meeting.

The members and friends are requested to attend the Institution on Thursday evening, 13th February, at eight o'clock, when the Council will lay before the meeting the details of the laws of the new constitution that will necessarily result from these principles, agreeably to the sanction of the meeting of the 30th of January.

J. HORNE, Sec. of the Council.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE ASSOCIATION.

Adjourned Meeting of the Members, Thursday, Jan. 23, 1834;

Mr. Owen in the Chair.

Mr. Norman moved the adoption of the Report, and said the assertion, that the Committee had been idle, was disproved by the Report, and therefore the observations of some gentlemen on a former occasion, complaining of deficiency on the part of the Committee, were uncalled for, and unnecessary. Mr. Norman then brought forward the resolutions agreed to by the Committee.

Mr. Bankhead seconded the adoption of the Report.

Mr. Mote supported the Report, but complained of the partiality of the reports given in the *Crisis*. He also alluded to a weak and pitiful attempt that had been made at some public meetings to misrepresent the character of the festivals. Mr. Mote also wished to ask how many officers had been reduced, independently of the last reductions, and when, as regarded the provision store, the public were to be admitted as well as depositors? He complained of the inefficient arrangements in the provision store, which had had the effect of keeping him, Mr. Mote, from being a customer.

Mr. Henderson objected to the reception of the Report, and contended that it contained several important alterations, which should be well digested before they were adopted. He particularly objected to the proposed alteration in the provision store, which, he contended, was based on false principles. He had every confidence in the future prospects of the Exchange, which would only be weakened by a sudden and too frequent adoption of new measures.

Mr. Simkins supported the views of Mr. Henderson. He was also opposed to the system of the provision store from the first; and would rather

recommend the shutting up of the provision store altogether, and trust to the exchanges.

Mr. Henderson denied the assumptions in relation to the grocery store.

Mr. Simkins objected to the inequality of the salaries of the officers, which, he contended, were not equal; he contended that no one, whatever might be his abilities, had a right to any higher salary than the least talented among them. They were, it is to be remembered, the creatures of circumstances. Mr. Simkins moved an amendment, that this Exchange be opened from eight in the morning until six in the evening; and that the officers receive 25s. per week for such service, and that 4d. per hour be paid for additional service after that time.

Mr. Poutler objected to the employment of two secretaries; he alluded to the appointment of the Secretary to the Committee.

Mr. Bankhead supported the appointment of the Secretary to the Committee.

The amendment not being seconded, the Chairman put the question on the Report, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Henderson explained that the Council were not quite prepared with their report, but would be prepared with it on next Thursday.

Mr. Horne read an extract from the imperfect report of the Council, with the view of disabusing the public mind with regard to a misunderstanding between them and the Committee.

Mr. Henderson urged the members to come forward in greater numbers on the following Thursday, when the report of the Council would be brought forward; and, as it was likely to contain the most important matter, it was most desirable that there should be a full attendance.

Mr. Simkins gave notice of his intention to move the resolution he proposed this evening as an amendment, as a substitutive resolution on the next meeting of the association.

The meeting adjourned until the next Thursday.

FIRST REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

The Committee of Management, in laying before the Association certain measures, which, after mature deliberation, they believe will be found sufficient to remove the causes from which has emanated the late retrograde action of the Exchange, wish it to be understood that these several measures have passed through the Committee unanimously; that throughout the Committee, and also among the officers, the most perfect agreement on the necessity and beneficial tendency of these alterations exists. They particularly urge this point, because any measure, if agreed on and vigorously supported by the unity of feeling and action of a large association, cannot fail of creating a lively interest and of restoring public confidence. It is to be presumed that the Association have confidence in their committee and officers; and therefore, should there be found any difference of opinion on any or all of these measures, (unless such difference affects the principle,) they hope it will not be urged with a view to delay the immediate carrying into operation of measures which have received the most careful and patient consideration. All ill-digested and sudden changes are much to be deprecated; but if any practice is found by its working to be detrimental, surely the sooner it is altered for a better, the less likely are we to suffer seriously from its effects.

The first, and by far the most important, change contemplated and recommended by the Committee, is a return to the half-and-half system in the provision store. The Committee have the greatest confidence in the results to be expected from this alteration; they do not think that the absorption of cash would arise, as heretofore, inasmuch as the increasing operation of the new system of depositing cash for materials, and notes for labour, will reduce the relative amount of notes on one hand, and obtain an increased amount of

commission on the other. Your Committee think that scarce two opinions can be entertained on this subject; but, however, your Committee are of opinion that means may be found, in a short time, to exchange a portion of our surplus stock, either directly or indirectly, for provisions, without injuring in the slightest degree any other important feature in our arrangements, or in the least point departing from the principles on which the Exchange is based, and which, as far as our experience has gone, we may safely pronounce sound and correct. But, however, this latter part has not yet received that strict consideration which is necessary before its final determination. The first step is to restore public confidence, and indeed already are visible the symptoms of a reaction, to which this alteration cannot fail to give an increased momentum.

The first and most indispensable requisite for this end, is a fund to commence with. The Committee are well aware how difficult it is, however desirous they may be, for the working classes to furnish with that promptness, and to the extent requisite, the necessary amount; and as the appeals to our more fortunate and opulent brothers have hitherto been but little attended to, they have endeavoured to discover means the least burdensome to our friends; and which, if supported and encouraged, will, no doubt, be found fully sufficient to meet the exigencies of the case. There appear to the Committee to be three ways by which this fund may be raised, without inconvenience, or taxing the Association: first, by loans of small sums of 2s. 6d. and upwards, to be returned within a certain time. This, it will be perceived, is the same plan which was adopted on the opening of the Exchange, and which was at that time found beneficial and successful. The whole (or nearly so) of the sums at that time subscribed, have been since returned to the subscribers; the statement of this fact, it is hoped, will give an increased confidence in our present views. Second, To obtain weekly advances of cash from individual members, to be returned the following week, in provision of such description and in such quantities as the party subscribing may require. The provisions to be charged to the consumer, at a price in no case exceeding the fair market-price, but in every possible case beneath it. Third, The proceeds arising from a series of festivals, to be given on the alternate weeks with our regular festivals, to be exclusively applied in aid of the provision store. The first of these festivals to take place on Monday, the 3rd of February.

From the uninterrupted success with which all our late festivals have been attended, and the still increasing curiosity and excitement which they are eliciting in every quarter of the town; and from the favourable impressions which are made upon all who attend them, by the propriety with which they are conducted, and by the true spirit of sociality for which they are so pre-eminently distinguished; and above all, for the very visible and beneficial effects produced upon our own friends, by improving their habits and manners, and, as it were, at once lifting them up many degrees in the scale of society; it is the opinion of your Committee that it is of the utmost importance that these festivals should be encouraged, and held as frequently as possible; and that the consequent weekly continuance of them during the next two months is both safe and expedient. We therefore call on our friends to aid us in giving publicity to them, in every conceivable way, by distributing bills, &c., and by recommending them among their friends and acquaintances.

The Committee have received communications from various sections, recommending a reduction in the expenditure, in order to meet the increased income. Your Committee have accordingly proceeded to the consideration of this subject: they have suggested some alterations, which they think may be effected, without weakening the efficiency of the

arrangements. Your Committee have also considered how far it was practicable to reduce the salaries of the officers. They were prepared to have suggested some reduction, not as a permanent measure, but until such time as an increase of the business would admit of their being paid in full, without prejudice to other claimants. Your Committee were agreeably pleased to find *this*, the most unpleasant part of their duties, rendered unnecessary, by a communication received from the officers, in which they offer spontaneously, to make any reduction which the interests of the Exchange may require, provided that reduction be made on a system of equality, and for a stated period—say one month, or longer, if necessary. This communication was received with great satisfaction by the Committee, and will, it is hoped, be equally agreeable to the Association generally. The Committee, indeed, feel themselves called on to state, that, from the present good feeling existing between the Committee and the officers, consequences the most beneficial to the Institution, and the great cause we advocate, may be anticipated; and they trust that no cause will in future arise to separate or disunite those whose interests, feelings, and exertions, are, and must be, one and indivisible.

The whole extent of reduction in the shape of salaries for the next month, it is proposed, shall be from 18*l.* 19*s.* to 10*l.* 4*s.*, being a reduction of 8*l.* 15*s.* per week. The various alterations and modifications which it is intended to make absolutely, will be submitted for your approval in the form of resolutions; they have already received the unanimous approval of the Committee.

Your Committee beg to conclude their report, by reiterating their conviction that our future prospects are the most cheering that can be imagined, inasmuch as our experience has proved, beyond doubt, the great good effects which the labour exchange is calculated to produce, when once it is *determinately* acted on. For when it is considered that during our brief progress we have paid off debts and incumbrances to the amount of 1100*l.*, and that our present liabilities does not amount to more than 100*l.*, to meet which we have more than a surplusage of stock, we are compelled, unhesitatingly, to pronounce our conviction, that equitable labour exchange is practicable—it is no longer a theory—it has the test of an experience that has overcome difficulties of such a nature, and of such magnitude, as would have proved more than sufficient to have overwhelmed any theory or speculation that had not its principles based on the firm and solid rock of truth and justice.

THE SHEFFIELD MEMORIAL.

The reading of this memorial has given me much pleasure; the kind feeling that, with a very little exception, runs through the whole of it, is truly delightful, and will, I trust, awake, a responsive emotion in the bosom of every rationalist. The writer, it is supposed, is the celebrated author of the "Corn Law Rhymes," who is understood to be attached to the school of modern political economy; and this may, perhaps, account for his having taken up the pen against our worthy champion when he thought he had discovered a vulnerable point for attack, and may, probably, also have dictated the particular views that are advocated in this memorial. I have been amused also by the simultaneous movement of the press on this occasion, who have probably, been roused from their long slumber by the unusual daring of the author of the memorial, and have joined in the attack in the hope, no doubt, that, by their united efforts, they would bear down all before them, and crush the rising cause of the productive classes, by separating them from their best friend.

The point in the memorial, which seems to be considered of the most importance, is the statement ascribed to Mr. Owen, that no benefit would result

from the repeal of the corn laws. "If," say the memorialists, "a free trade in corn would double the quantity of corn in this market, our wages could not possibly fall in the same ratio as that in which the price of bread would fall, unless we at once doubled our numbers, &c." Now, what would be the effect if the trade in corn was left as free as possible? It would, most probably, reduce the price, at least for some time, and most likely it would keep more steady the average price of corn. But it by no means necessarily follows, as the memorialists appear to think, that the remuneration of the labour of the industrious would be proportionally increased. "The natural price of labour," says Mr. Ricardo, and he is a great authority with political economists, "the natural price of labour is that price which is necessary for the labourers, one with another, to subsist, and to perpetuate their race without either increase or diminution; and, however much the market price of labour may deviate from its natural price, it has, like all other commodities, a tendency to conform to it." Now, though I view with little less than horror this statement of Mr. Ricardo, that such is the natural price of labour; yet if for natural, be substituted *competitive*, I believe the whole sentence will be found tolerably correct; for as long as the system of individual competition continues, labour will, with very little variation, be pressed down to this *subsisting* price.

"The root of our misery," say the memorialists, "is an insufficient supply of food." Now, by an insufficient supply, it cannot be meant that there is not plenty of food, but that the labourer has not sufficient means to obtain it. We can all recollect the time when the price of bread was double what it now is; but are the labourers any better fed than they were when it was so much dearer? Clothing also, we can well remember, was much higher in price than it now is; but do the producers of it obtain a better supply at this, than they did at the former period? I fear not. Does it not appear, then, that the supply of food or clothing to the labourer depends on some other cause than the market price of it, and that there is no necessary connexion between the cheapness of food or clothing, and its ample supply to the labourer? The memorialists do not seem to have at all considered what effect the repeal of the corn laws would have on the agricultural part of the population; and then it is that the system of competition hardens the heart, and renders us careless of the consequences to other people which may arise from any measure that appears likely to benefit ourselves! "But," say the memorialists, "our motto is, *free trade and free labour*." On reading this, it occurred to me that people talk about *free trade*, and *free labour*, in the same loose way that they talk about *free will*; and the two former, under the competitive system, appear to be just as *free* as the latter, and no more!

If two men, with a pretty equal degree of intelligence and ability, were to enter upon a similar speculation, for instance if they were to open shops in the same line of business in some public street, and the only discernable difference between the two was, that one possessed 10,000*l.* of capital, while the other had only 1000*l.* In the present state of things, there would be scarcely any difference of opinion as to which of them was likely to succeed to the greatest extent; and the probability is, that the 10,000*l.* man would soon ruin the other. Yet this is *free trade*; only one of these individuals is ten times as free as the other, that is all the difference; and if another capitalist, with 100,000*l.*, were to step in, he would soon annihilate the 10,000*l.* one, because he was ten times more free than him!

And what is *free labour*? Why, that the labourer may work or not work, *just as he pleases*; but then of course he may starve, or not starve, just as he pleases, also! Is the slave in the West Indies forced to labour? Certainly not. It is impossible that any one can be forced to labour. No!

He also can work or not work, *just as he pleases*; but then of course he may endure the lash, or not endure it, just as he pleases also! Is it not evident then, that all labour is free, or that no labour is free; and that the difference between the *hiring* and the *slave* is, only the difference between pleasing or not to starve, and pleasing or not to endure the lash!

But the capitalist and the labourer are also said to be *equally free*! Yes; free to do what? Why, the capitalist can employ his capital, or not, as he thinks best; and the labourer also can work for him, or not, as he thinks best. Very true, and if both remain idle, the only difference is, that the capitalist will cease to accumulate, and the labourer will cease to exist!

All that is *free* in these things, then, seems to be this, that free trade is that trade which, to the speculator or capitalist, appears likely to be profitable or agreeable; and free labour is that labour which, to the operative, appears likely to be profitable or agreeable; and so free will is that will which, to the willer, appears likely to be profitable or agreeable; for in all cases the *freedom*, as it is called, depends on the appearance or expectation of profit or agreeableness; and the only way to have free trade and free labour, or, in other words, to make trade and labour profitable and agreeable to all, is, to unite the interests of the capitalist and the labourer, by which an end will be put to competition, and peace and harmony will thenceforward prevail.

But then there is our foreign trade! What will become of our foreign trade, of all our merchants, of the shipping interest, of our large manufacturers, of the brokers, factors, &c. &c., whose property is all embarked in this trade? Answer this question satisfactorily, and then you will be entitled to be listened to! Answer this question satisfactorily? say you; satisfactorily to whom; to the parties interested, or who suppose they are interested, in continuing things in the state they now are? No, I will not undertake to do this, because my conviction is that all are interested in abolishing the present system, and in establishing one much better; and if I can substantiate that point, then, I think, I shall have accomplished all that can reasonably be expected of me; and if I should fail to satisfy those who may be blinded by their present individual immediate interests, I may perhaps succeed with those who, being disposed to promote "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," will prefer a lasting and general, though remote benefit, to a temporary and partial, though present one.

What then, I would ask, is the genuine object of a foreign trade? Simply to obtain such desirable productions as cannot be produced at home, or that cannot be produced with as little expense of labour at home, as they can be abroad; and to exchange for these such productions as are not wanted for home consumption, and which can be produced at home at a less expense than they can be abroad; and if our foreign trade was established on this principle, and I maintain that this is the only legitimate principle, then, the more free the interchange, the better for all. But it is said "That every thing connected with commerce should be left to find its own level;" in other words, that the strong should be permitted to oppress the weak, or that the merchants, the brokers, the shipping interest, and all the other interested parties, having for so long a period continued to amass wealth by exporting all the most valuable productions of the country, while the producers of them are perishing for the want of these very productions, should still be permitted to do so to any extent they please. The question at issue truly is, whether the production and distribution of wealth shall henceforward be regulated by "the greatest happiness principle," or shall continue, as hitherto, to be directed by the will and caprice of capitalists and speculators whose sole desire is to accumulate indolently.

wealth, regardless of the consequences to the producers of it. Will the producers still continue to be the slaves of hirelings of these capitalists? or will they now make a stand, and say 'from this time we are resolved that we will have such a share of our own productions as will secure to us the necessities and comforts of life, education for our families, and provide against the fear of want in the advanced period of old age?' All this, and much more, together with full remuneration to the capitalist, may now be obtained, and best and soonest attained, by a union of interests of the employers and the employed; but if the employers cannot be persuaded to open their eyes, and read the signs of the times, the employed must do the work for themselves. Again and again, therefore, would we urge the united interest and united interest,—instead of setting themselves in opposition to each other, and trying to obtain laws, and the repeal of laws, which, in their present state, will only benefit one interest by the ruin of the other,—to unite their interests, and to make common cause with the producing interest; that interest which both have hitherto thought not worth considering; and by thus uniting interests they will be able, without restriction, to bring into full operation an immense productive power; in agriculture, by means of *spade husbandry*; and in manufactures, by the aid of mechanical and chemical discoveries and improvements; and the population may be at once fully employed, and such a mass of wealth be produced, as would fully satisfy the desires of all at home; and leave such an immense surplus, that they could supply the world with all that it would require from us, at any price that they choose to take for it. Such, I hesitate not to affirm, without fear of contradiction by any one who will descend to first principles in arguing the question, would be the immediate result that would arise from a union of all the interests of the state. But, as I have before said, if the two great powers, the mounted and the landed interests, cannot be induced to unite with the producing interests, then will the latter "take their affairs into their own hands," and commence the work themselves. And how easily they can do this may be perceived at once by a very simple consideration.

The "Trades' Unions" are said to subscribe at least a million of operatives; and if they were each to subscribe only sixpence a week, they would thus raise 36,000*l.* a week; and with this amount of capital raised weekly, what could they not do? It is quite certain that, with intelligent direction, they could in one year change the whole system. What then prevents them from so doing? Nothing, but the want of knowing the power which they possess, and intelligence to direct that power. How much to be lamented it is, then, that any portion of them; and particularly that the most intelligent of them, should be wasting their time and talents about petty questions, which, in whatever way they may be decided, will obtain for them no permanent benefit; while if their energies were devoted to the great object of well organizing, instructing, and properly directing the productive classes of the country, there is no conceivable advantage that would not very shortly be within their reach.

To the reputed writer of the memorial, I would particularly say, that, having made the great advances in knowledge which he evidently has, he will, I trust, not be system-hardened, but will pursue his course regardless of all existing systems; and follow truth whithersoever it may lead him. A very little reflection would, I think, enable him to perceive that much of what he has stated in his paper on the Corn Laws,* respecting the land-owners, is equally applicable to the manufacturers, monopolists, capitalists, and non-producers of every description! In reference to the land-owners, he says, "I think I can show that our

unfortunate and lazy landed worthies pay no taxes but as consumers of taxed commodities." I agree with him that they do not, without admitting even the exception which he makes; though I cannot help thinking that the reasoning which he uses to support the position is exceedingly fallacious; but, without going into that, I would have him consider that, inasmuch as *labour* is the source of all wealth, and as taxes must all be paid in wealth of some kind, therefore all taxes must be paid by the producers of wealth; and therefore that the landowners pay really as much of the taxes as any other non-producers, and that is not any portion whatever. Unfortunately, almost all persons who discuss these subjects are anxious to support some part or other of the old corrupt system, and therefore so little progress is made; whereas nothing less than a total change of the whole system will now avail any thing. "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint; from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, it is full of wounds, and bruises, and purifying sores." Let us, then, join heart and hand to form a system of united interests, that shall insure permanent happiness to all mankind.

S. AUSTIN.

IDOLATRY.

THERE is more idolatry amongst ourselves than we are aware of. Why does an Englishman reverentially take off his hat when he walks into Westminster or any other Abbey, where none but the church beadle accompanies him, with his keys in one hand, and his clean-shaven hat in the other? Because he is an idolator. He does not worship the beadle, it is true; that is too refined a species of worship for civilization; but he worships the hewn stones, and the well-planed pews, and the velvet-cushioned pulpit, and, in fine, the whole inner structure of the temple.

I recollect once helping a pious and gentle dame to arrange a lot of literary rubbish, much of which we committed to the flames. At last I alighted on an old Bible, which had been so much squeezed that it would not shut, and so moth or mice eaten that it was quite illegible. I knew well enough that it would escape martyrdom, although it had more of a heretic and vagabond look than those which had already been doomed. However I proposed, for an experiment, that we should commit it to the stake.—Her ladyship started, as if a wasp had stung her. "Oh, Lord preserve us! you are not going to burn the Bible? give it to me." I replied, "It is much better to burn it than to bury it alive amid such a parcel of rubbish; amid old and old volumes of Shakspeare, Rousseau, Voltaire, and 'Leviathan.' But if you won't allow me to burn it, allow me at least to translate it; there can be no harm in translating the Bible, surely. Now, there are different kinds of translation; but the most divine of all, and consequently the most worthy of imitation, is that by which Elijah was translated from earth to heaven—viz. in a fiery chariot." "Oh, I beseech you, do not burn the

Bible!" This is also idolatry. But all evil brings forth good at last. Idolatry evidently brought forth and encouraged the fine arts; the greatest sculptors and painters of ancient and modern times were employed by the priests and the temples.

Varro, the most learned of the Romans, makes some very judicious remarks upon idolatry, and says that the abuses of religion were entirely owing to it. But he took a very confined view of the subject; for the abuses are not so much occasioned by idolatry in the abstract as by partial idolatry, worshipping merely isolated parts of matter, instead of matter universal. He commends the Jews for abstaining from this all-prevalent and irrational practice. Strabo says much the same thing. But even the Jews were gross idolators, and had an unconquerable propensity to the elevation of idols. Their ark also was the same as a god to them. Their temple and its implements were a species of idols, and held in the same estimation as the national and household gods of the Pagans. And the Christians, who profess to spiritualize the Jewish religion, are much more idolatrous than the sons of Abraham. They have not only carried idolatry to excess, in respect to saints, images, temples, unpolished rude stones, wood of the cross, old bones, old clothes, blood, tears, and nail-parings of the "canonized," but they have got their god compressed into the size and shape of a living man, like the world into a nut-shell. And they have even subjected the man himself to a similar process of squeezing, and reduced him to the dimensions, both in breadth and thickness, of a wafer. Yet none of these doctrines is more wise or more foolish than another. It is quite as reasonable to worship an unpolished, shapeless stone, as one that has been chiseled and invested with a human shape; and a living god of human dimensions is not less absurd than a deified wafer or a holy thorn. They are all God, for God is in them all. The error does not consist in ascribing divinity to the one, but in refusing it to the other. It is the system of competition throughout. If all these Gods were united according to the principles of the Social System, we should have one of the most glorious, all-comprehensive religions ever the world beheld.

The old world is, throughout, a world of idolatry, that is, competitive idolatry. No party can approach another without reproaching itself. Even the Mahometans, who profess to abhor idolatry, are supremely idolatrous to themselves. They worship the Kaaba, or temple, and the black stone from which Abraham mounted on his camel: and they worship the prints of Abraham's feet, which are shown on the rock Mecca; and no Protestant dame can idolize the Bible more than a devout Mahometan the Koran. And when all these idolatries are banished, others will arise to supplant them. But the lover will

* See *Edin's Magazine* for January.

always idolize his mistress, and the mistress her lover.

Man is an idolator by nature, because he is a materialist; he himself is composed of matter, and matter attaches itself to matter by the laws of nature for ever; only in the old world of competition we divide matter, and set up one god in opposition to another; in the new world we join them all together in the Social System. Idolatry is good, were it not exclusive; it is the unequal distribution of worship that we complain of. Why should two or three old bones monopolize the reverence and the homage to which all the other bones that mother earth incloses are alike entitled? Why should one stone be worshipped in preference to another? Why should one thorn be kept in a golden casket, and other thorns, equally good, be burned, like heretics, under a tea-kettle? It is a most infamous system of monopoly. We do not want to destroy worship, we want to equalize it; to worship every stone alike, and every old rotten bone, and every thorn alike, excepting thorns which run into one's flesh, which deserve a little more respect and consideration.

And as for the worship of man, it is essentially necessary that it should be universal. Jesus Christ has led the van, in taking divinity to himself. But St. Paul has taught us that we are all members of God's body, of his flesh, and of his bones; and Christ himself said that the time would come when men would be one with God, and God with them; that is, in the Social System, when the reign of division closes. Let us then follow Christ's example, and become gods also, for he is our elder brother. I do not exclude the sisterhood, by any means; but methinks it very strange that angels should never be represented as female. But females are often called angels. All angels on earth are women: all angels in heaven are men. The order of nature seems to be inverted "above." Mahomet says that the women in heaven are very lean; perhaps this is the reason why so little is said of them. Probably Gabriel did not show the prophet the finest assortment, but merely introduced him among the shrews, to keep his blood cool.

BOREAS.

THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY, OR CAIN, "A MYSTERY," EXPLAINED.

"Nec signare quidem aut parire limite campum
Fas erat."—Virg. Georg. lib. 1.

"No fences parted fields, no marks nor bounds
Distinguished acres of litigious grounds."

"The first man," says Rousseau, "who, having enclosed a piece of ground, took it into his head to say, *this is mine*, and who found people simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society. How many crimes, how many wars, murders, miseries and horrors of every kind, would he not have averted from the human race, who, pulling down the dailings, or filling up the ditch, had cried out

to his fellow-creatures, 'Beware of listening to that impostor! you are lost if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to all alike, but that the earth itself belongs to no one!'"

This admiration of the golden age, and regret for its departure, so prevalent in the writings of the old philosophers, and participated by some of the moderns, clearly evinces that, in all ages, with the thinking portion of mankind, a state of society has been anticipated in which the productions of the earth, and the ownership of the soil, should be held in common, and for the benefit of the many; and that the hateful, misery-producing "mine" and "thine" be abolished from the human vocabulary. There can be little doubt of the history of Cain, the first murderer, being altogether allegorical; and of its having relation to the introduction into the world of the mis-called rights of individual possession, with their horrid train of strife and bloodshed, distress, and varied forms of misery, of which they can indubitably be traced as the true groundwork and origin; property, being an institution by the few and strong, against the many and the weak (weak from ignorance, and the absence of well-directed organization), and not, as the specious advocates of property would fain have their dupes believe, an institution by the majority of society against the violence and rapacity of the armed and desperate few.

The word Cain, in Hebrew, signifies possession, as we learn from Josephus, in the second chapter of his Antiquities of the Jews, section 1, page 11 (vide Whiston's translation), where he states "Adam and Eve had two sons; the elder was named Cain, which name, when it is interpreted, signifies a possession; the younger was Abel, which signifies a servant," and he proceeds to inform us that "Cain was (amongst other vices) wholly engaged upon getting; and he first contrived to plough the ground."

However, he did not accept of his punishment, in order to amendment, but to increase his wickedness; for he only aimed to procure every thing that was for his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbours. He augmented his household substance with much wealth, by rapine and violence; he excited his acquaintance to procure pleasure and spoil by robbery, and became a great leader of men into wicked courses. He also introduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived before, and was the author of *weights and measures*; and whereas they lived *innocently and generously* while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into *cunning and craftiness*, for he first of all set boundaries about lands; he built a city, and fortified it with walls; and he compelled his family to come together to it. From all this it clearly appears that the introduction of the ideas of "private property" is meant, and that the previous way of living amongst mankind "innocently and generously" has reference to a state of equal rights, or community. Again, the compelling his family to "come together," as clearly indicates the institution of the "patriarchal power," the fruitful source of despotism amongst nations, as being the origin and sure forerunner of the "regal power" which ever affects the style paternal, *par excellence*, it being no less remarkable that, to the present day, in those kingdoms where the paternal power is most encouraged and enforced in the private families of the subjects, as in China, and, indeed, throughout the East, the gross

ignorance and servility of the governed, and the ferocious despotism of the form of government, are in exact ratio. T. F.

† A strange incrimination this; but perfectly in keeping with the part of the Jewish philosophy. Throughout the books of Moses, scarcely any directions are given as to agriculture and the useful arts; but abundance of pains is bestowed on the cut and ornament of the priests' gowns, and the disposal of the prey. Ever intent upon rapine and pillage, they abandoned the cultivation of the earth to the "slaves" made by them in their holy warfare; or relied entirely for subsistence on the "prey" they could catch from their neighbours. The character of the Hebrews, with all ancient writers, is that of laziness, cupidity, stith, and worthlessness. Their modern writers, such as they are, abound with ideas of the following class: "Strangers," they say "are to stand up and feed their flocks: the sons of the alien are to be their vine-dressers;" while they are to be called the priests of the Lord—"that they are not to be engaged in such servile offices; but in the meditation of the law of God, and in his service as priests; and *bring them to leisure*, they (the Jews) are to eat the riches of the Gentiles." [Vide Levit, and the Rabbi's commentaries on the prophecies, quoted in Bellamy's Hist. of all Religions, p. 356.] The last-named writer, Bellamy, here well remarks "If these infatuated writers had recollected that in Great Britain, which is twice as large as the land of Canaan, there are but a few thousand priests, and it is found they are too numerous, though their flock is five times as large as the whole population of the Jews in all the world; what is then to become of a whole nation of millions of priests, who are to have nothing to do, but to play at religion, and priest preach to priest?" [History of all Religions, p. 357.] And who or what is to blame for all this? Is it the Jews, or their religion? the "infinite depravity of the human heart," or the winking and love-despoiling dogmas of a religion, which, like some others which could be named, would represent the Almighty as choosing and electing one particular race from amongst all his creatures, in somewhat the same manner as the Eastern despot throws the handkerchief in his scull, and dispenses the bow-string in his court, and with about the same justice and discretion.

[This is an excellent article; but the author might have made some allowance for the ignorance, and, consequently, the illiberality, of former times. Man only becomes liberal by experience and the acquisition of general knowledge. The Jews were bound to illiberality by necessity. They could not, consistently with their own doctrines of the unity of the Godhead, associate with others; and even now they are still obliged to live apart from the society of the Gentiles, by the ignominious and cruel treatment which they receive from the latter. Bad as the Jews are, they have proved the most faithful and consistent people, on the face of the earth, and have never yet enjoyed an opportunity of cultivating the native goodness of their hearts. We hope their thorough emancipation is at hand, and we have no doubt but that they will very speedily redeem their character as soon as we give them a fair opportunity.—Ed.]

A tortoise will live six months, executing its ordinary functions, after the extraction of the brain, and twelve days after the head has been cut completely off. Boerhaave cut off the head of a cock which was running towards a trough, at the distance of twenty feet, and the body fulfilled its intention. From the symptoms of pain exhibited in the countenance of disembodied heads, it appears that the guillotine is the most cruel mode of destruction ever invented.—American Paper.

* J. J. Rousseau, Discours sur l'Origine et les fondemens de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes. seconde partie.

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

NATIONAL OBJECTS OF THE PRODUCTIVE CLASSES.

The following are the leading objects which the real producers of all wealth and knowledge recommend to the calm consideration of all governments, and of all classes, and especially to the British legislature, in the approaching Session of Parliament.

1. A graduated Property Tax, equal in amount to the full exigencies of government when wisely administered.

2. An abolition of all other customs, duties, and taxes, national, county, and parochial.

3. Free and protected ingress and egress for all persons into and out of all countries; and the free interchange of all improvements and commodities between all nations.

4. Wars to cease; and all differences between nations to be adjusted by an annual congress, to be held in rotation in each of the different states.

5. Liberty of expression of conscientious opinions, upon all subjects, without limitation.

6. No dominant religion to exist, nor any one to be encouraged by any worldly temptations whatever; but all to be equally protected in the rights of conscience.

7. National, scientific, physical, intellectual, and moral education for all, who, from any cause, cannot be otherwise well trained and cultured in all these respects.

8. National employment, for all who cannot otherwise find production or beneficial occupation, that thereby the greatest amount of wealth may be produced for each individual in the world.

9. The children of all classes, without any exception, to be trained and employed, physically or mentally, to produce for society, as much as they require from society.

10. National measures to set the poor and unemployed immediately to beneficial employments, under arrangements which shall reform their feelings and habits, and secure their comfort and happiness.

11. National arrangements to distribute the new wealth created by the national employment of the poor and unemployed, beneficially for them and the nation.

12. Unlimited freedom for the production and interchange of all commodities and riches, until more wealth shall be produced than is necessary for the happiness of the population of every country.

13. A change of the vicious and degrading circumstances by which the productive classes are now surrounded, for others, possessing a virtuous and superior character.

14. The present property of all individuals, acquired and possessed by the usages and practices of old society, to be held sacred, until the possessors shall discover that it can be no longer of any use or exchangeable value, from the facility with which a surplus of wealth will be produced for all, thus destroying the motive to accumulate individual wealth, as the motive to accumulate *water*, where it is in abundance, has been destroyed; although it is the most intrinsically valuable of all our wealth.

15. The rights of humanity to be universally established.

16. The congress of the nations to determine on some one language, which shall be taught to all the children, of each state, in addition to their mother tongue.

17. Arrangements to be adopted, as soon as practicable, to put an end to individual and national competition and contest, now unnecessary, and producing innumerable grievous evils to all classes.

This intelligent and peaceful, and therefore glorious revolution in human affairs is now rendered unavoidable, by the general progress lately made in scientific inventions and improvements, and in an accurate knowledge of human

nature; from the united direction, and proper application to practice of which, more wealth can be easily created than the world will desire, and a superior character may be formed for all the human race.

It will be the interest of all governments, whether democratical, limitedly monarchical, or despotic, openly and at once to lead and direct this change; and thus prevent a collision between the producers and the non-producers of wealth and knowledge, and also put an end for ever to all political factions, and to all sectarian and party spirit, which, together, now keep the world in ignorance, poverty, contention, and warfare, and prevent the existence of that charity and kindness, among the great family of mankind, which otherwise might be easily developed from infancy in every child of man.

If the existing governments will not now lend and assist to effect this *great change*, to insure the permanent prosperity and happiness of the populations which they govern, it must be obvious that, very shortly, no power upon earth can prevent the producers of wealth and knowledge from carrying it into execution, in their own way, and at their own time, by merely deciding that it shall be done.

And this revolution of principle and practice may be now effected more easily than any partial fiscal changes can be made, under the present irrational system.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEB. 8.

Our reformed legislators have once more convened, to subject themselves to the popular "test of corruption." The people have already discovered the black spot upon them; but as the Whigs stoutly deny that the spot is a black one, we shall try them again. If we may judge from the signs of the times, this second reform sitting will partake more of a spiritual character than the preceding. Mother Church is likely to be called to the bar, to answer for her proceedings, and to justify herself to the public for the enormous exactions which she makes from the pockets of the poor to support her lewdness and extravagance. The cup of her abominations is now as full as it is likely ever to be; there will be a little spilling of the contents this year. The contributors are resolved to be free agents practically, at least, if not theoretically, and not suffer themselves to be drilled into the payment of *spiritual* taxes, to support *carol* institutions and *sensual* parsons. It is a natural absurdity.

We wonder how a pious bishop would answer the following questions: "Ought the church to be supported by love or by fear?" "Whether is God or the Devil the better ruler of the universe?" There can be no doubt that the bishops and all the Established Church prefer the Devil and fear; for they make use of swords, prisons, brokers, &c., to support old "Mammy." It is certainly very unkind in them to speak so disrespectfully of the old gentleman, when it is perfectly evident that the church could not stand a day without him. He is the real tithe-proctor and tithe-collector. But why pollute their hands with the goods and chattels of infidels? Cannot the holy mother of England find sufficient support from her own children? Why pollute her hands by distraining the property of her greatest enemy, and her most distant and hopeless disinterested? Is this the way to cure souls and win them to Christ? Where does she find her authority for such proceedings in her

master's doctrine? He said, "When ye enter into a house, salute it; and if they receive you, let your peace be upon it; and if they receive you not, depart, and shake off the dust of your feet against it." But he did not tell them to take away the furniture. No, this is an interpolation of the bishops, an unauthenticated tradition, which the infidels, in their zeal for the purity of the Scriptures, seem determined to resist.

GREAT PUBLIC MEETING.

At Mr. Owen's evening lecture on Sunday last, when there was an audience of not less than 1500, it was unanimously decided, by show of hands, that a great meeting of the producers of wealth and knowledge, and especially of members of all the Trades' Unions, should be called, to be held upon Wednesday next, the 12th instant, to take into consideration the objects which the advanced condition of society now requires to be obtained, for the benefit of all classes, from all the governments of the civilized nations connected by unity and commerce. This meeting will, therefore, be held at the Institution of the National Equitable Labour Exchange, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, on the day appointed, at eight o'clock in the evening.

GENERAL MEETING.

On Thursday week, the 20th instant, the quarterly general meeting of the Association will be held at the Institution.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

ABSTRACT OF WEEKLY REPORT, ENDING JAN. 25

DEPOSITS 5284h. 3s.—Exchanges, 4468h. 2s.				RECEIPTS. Cash & Notes. PAYMENTS.			
Meat	£23	10	6	Meat	£27	0	7
Grocery, &c.	27	4	1	Grocery, &c.	35	19	4
Festivals	17	17	3	Festivals	11	4	0
Lectures	18	14	1	Lectures	0	12	6
Commission	8	13	0	Wages	15	12	0
Charges	5	19	2	Charges	10	15	1
160 18 2½				161 3 6½			

Stock, goods on hand . 54,852h. 3s.

Notes now in circulation 32,026 4.

Audited by Managing Committee.

N.B. The second quarterly account next week.

Mr. Detrosier will Lecture at the Institution, Charlotte-street, on Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock.

The Rev. Mr. Redford's SERMON, and the Rev. J. E. Smith's REPLY, is now on Sale, price 1s. Crisis Office.

THE SPRING SOCIAL FESTIVALS of the Association of the Industrious Classes, will be held at their Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, every Monday Evening during the months of February and March. Tickets of Admission 1s. 6d. each, Tea and Coffee included. Doors opened at 7, and the Concert to commence at a quarter to 8 precisely.

SOCIAL TEA PARTIES of the Association of the Industrious Classes, 14, Charlotte-street. The Friends and Members are informed that, their Social Meetings having given so much satisfaction, it is intended to continue them every Sunday afternoon, until further notice. The First Social Tea Party will take place on the 9th February. Tickets, 6d. each. Tea served at 4 o'clock.

WANTED, as an OUT-DOOR APPRENTICE to a TAILOR, a BOY of respectable Parents. For particulars, apply to Mr. Ashby, No. 24, Leigh-street, Burton-crescent.

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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL"—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 9.

Mr. Smith lectured on "LIBERTY and EQUALITY."

After speaking of the moral and intellectual inequalities of human nature, and the inequalities of universal nature, Mr. S. proceeded:—As there neither is, nor can be, moral or intellectual liberty and equality in nature, in the sense we have hitherto taken it, so neither can there be physical equality; there must always be a difference of strength, beauty, and other personal qualities; and these personal qualities must create different impressions upon the minds of different individuals. In regard to the love that subsists between the sexes, there must be as great a variety of taste as there is a variety of external countenance; the minds of men are as diversified as their bodies; so that one admires the form and the features which are rather repulsive to others. Some admire a slender, a tall, and a delicate figure; others a stout and robust figure. It has been often remarked that tall, stout men frequently make choice of very little wives; slender figures have a prepossession for stout partners, and stout for slender; and all the infinite gradations between have their favourite peculiarities and antipathies. But it may be replied that, in a perfect state of society, there could be no antipathies. I am of a very different opinion; antipathies belong to nature; they can never be destroyed; they are like musical discords: they may be usefully and advantageously employed, but not annihilated, without destroying the equilibrium of society. Antipathies or aversions are not in themselves an evil. They only become evil when we are forcibly compelled to receive them with different feelings from those which nature has given us. When a moralist or religious instructor tells us that we ought to love an individual whom nature has not enabled us to love; when he attempts to force us to love, by threats, by promises, or by any other artificial means which our feelings instinctively resist; then antipathies become a real curse to mankind, because the attempt to destroy them in this tyrannical way has the very contrary effect; namely, that of increasing their virulence and our unhappiness. But were nature left free to act, without any

threats or promises to force us to move against the grain, these antipathies would never annoy us; indeed, they are essential to our happiness, for they would teach us to select our friends and associates with more correctness than if we had merely an indiscriminate love for all the human race. What is it that enables us to determine the most proper kind of food for the support of our bodies and the satisfaction of our palates? our antipathies, certainly, as well as our pleasant sensations. If we had no detestation of some peculiar kinds of food, we could have no preference to one food over another; the very existence of desire implies the existence of aversion. It is by the combination of our desires and aversions that we are enabled to select the food which gives us pleasure and nourishment: destroy the aversions of the palate, and you destroy all the pleasures of the palate at the same time. In like manner, if you destroy aversions for individual qualities, you destroy love; for love is subject to the very same laws as the palate; and it is by the combination of love and aversion that we select our companions, and enjoy the society of human beings; destroy aversions, and you destroy love at the same time.

Then, it may be asked, what is the difference between the present state of things and the new System of Society. The difference is this—that now we are forcibly placed in the midst of aversion, and we are unable to extricate ourselves; we cannot follow the propensities of our nature; we cannot select our own friends, our own employments, our own places of abode, our own associations; we are under a physical restraint, bound down amidst objects of aversion—which aversion is nourished and infinitely augmented by our everlasting struggles against it. In the Social System of Society we could select our own associations, our own friends, our own employments, our own places of abode, and, being thus free to follow nature, we would avoid every thing that is disagreeable, and select that which is pleasing; and thus, by the mutual action and reaction of desires and aversions, we should all arrange ourselves into a beautiful and harmonious whole; where hatred would become invisible by its repulsive action upon all that gave offence, and love would become more and more apparent by its free and powerful attraction of all that it desired.

Mr. Smith, after maintaining the necessity of equality of birth, expressed himself as follows, on "PROPERTY":—

But this equality is not sufficient; there is, also, an equality of distribution essentially necessary. There must be some property common to all, and that property is the original boon of nature—the soil. This, at least, ought to belong to the public; whilst the productions of the fine arts might be safely regarded as the property of the producer. Thus, an artist or artisan, whose ingenuity is employed in making any elaborate work of art, could certainly feel little consolation in the idea that it could with impunity, or without any moral offence, be taken out of his hands by any fellow-citizen. Such a state would be a state of dire confusion and anarchy. The productions of human ingenuity, in the exercise of the fine arts, are private property by the unalterable laws of nature. If I am a painter or a sculptor, and have finished many beautiful productions of art, it would certainly be contrary to all the laws of natural justice to say that these productions did not in an especial manner belong to myself, and that the constitution of society should be such as to permit the abstraction of these productions from my possession without my consent and authority. Suppose, in my leisure hours, after devoting a certain portion of my time to the service of the public, I amused myself with my pencil, and, in the course of a few years, had hung around my apartment a number of my own productions; would it not or should it not be entirely optional with me, whether to keep these productions around me, or give them away to those who admired them? and should any one, who took a fancy to one of these articles, have a political or social right to put it in his pocket, or under his arm, and take it to his own apartment? Certainly not. These are private property; and such species of private property will always have an existence, and will be preserved entirely by the law of honour, which, even amongst the modern aristocracy of Europe, is already quite sufficient to give perfect security to all such moveables as these. But all productions of public utility or of general demand ought to be public property, and distributed in a just and equal manner amongst all the members of society. It is easy to admit of the right of a man to a picture or a statue which his own

hands and his own ingenuity have executed; but the same arguments will not apply to a piece of land, which is common to all, and produced by none. But, then, it may be replied that the land of itself is useless without labour, and the produce of the earth is as much the property of the agriculturist, whose labour extracted it from the soil, as the statue is of the sculptor, whose chisel produced it from the rude and shapeless stone. This is also true. But there are two things requisite for the comfort of society: there are the direct productions of the earth, and the productions of manufacture; and if a man bestows his labour on the earth, he is entitled to a share of the manufactures; but if his labour be bestowed on the manufactures, he is entitled to his share of the earth. There must, therefore, be a certain proportion of manufactures which are entirely the property of the public; and to the production of these every man must contribute his share of direct or indirect labour for the public benefit; in return for which he shall receive clothing, shelter, and food in sufficient abundance. All the rest of his productions he shall merely barter with his fellow-creatures for exchangeable articles in their possession; a sculptor may give a statue to a palmer in exchange for a picture; the painter may exchange with the mechanic for a piece of ingenious mechanism: and thus, even in a state of social equality, in which every member is well provided with all the necessities and comforts of life, there may be such commercial activity and spirit displayed amongst individuals, as would variegate the scene to infinity, and afford gratification and novelty to every mind. Such a species of exchange or commerce could never be productive of evil, for it would only be an exchange of luxuries, and not of the necessities of life: the necessities of life would be freely distributed. It would be accounted as impious to traffic in these as formerly it was to pilfer a church, or pick the pockets of a priest; and thus it would be impossible for the most industrious, the most narrow-minded individual, ever to do mischief to his fellow-creatures, by any species of accumulation. Suppose he collected pictures, and statues, and books, and ingenious machinery, to an enormous amount; suppose he filled store-houses and galleries with them; and they were all regarded as his private property, and remained in his undisputed possession; how could that injure the public? Would the poor man lose a morsel of bread on account of this individual private accumulation of luxuries? Would he be worse clothed, or worse sheltered? No! for with all his private wealth, the other could not purchase one inch of land or one mouthful of bread; for land and bread are sacred, and not to be polluted by being made articles of exchange.

The principal evil of the present system consists in making bread, clothing, and lodging articles of trade. This is quite the same thing as making a trade in human blood. The African slave trade is more horrible in name and appearance; but it is not more horrible in its effects; it has not sacrificed one-hundredth part of the victims, nor created one-hundredth part of the misery. To make bread, food, and lodging articles of trade, is quite the same as slave-driving; it is a refined or civilised species of slave-driving which reduces thousands of hopeless creatures to irremediable ruin and literal starvation; and it is by this trade only that all our nobility and landed gentry are supported. What is it that makes a nobleman so rich and so powerful? The bread of life, which he has appropriated to himself, by appropriating the land which produces it; and what is this bread of life; but the blood of men? The day will come, when a man will revolt at the idea of possessing a piece of land, and regard it as a species of murder.

But no man would ever accumulate many luxuries for his own private use. The temptation to accumulate, merely for the sake of board-

ing, would entirely cease when food, clothing, and household arrangements ceased to be articles of trade. Besides, all these articles would be plentifully lavished upon the public; private individuals would largely contribute the productions of their genius to furnish the museums and exhibitions with the most choice collections of all that is calculated to refine the taste, by gratifying the senses, and adding to the stock of general information. These being accessible to all, would kindle the fire of genius, and stimulate the spirit of generous and scientific emulation.

I shall now say a few words on the subject of the natural equality of the sexes. This has been a frequent subject of discussion, and keenly contended between opposing parties; but the great error into which all disputants run upon such subjects is that of not properly defining their terms before they begin to dispute. To debate the mere question, whether man and woman are equal by nature, would be one of the most absurd questions that could be proposed. Their inequality is obvious to the most superficial eye, and so is the inequality of any two men or any two women; and it would be equally absurd to discuss the question which of the two sexes is superior to the other, for they are both superior. But it is highly interesting and highly useful to inquire where the superiority of the one, and where the superiority of the other resides. The superiority of man is evident in his muscular strength; he is taller and stouter by nature; and no education, no exercise, will ever give the arm of a woman the same brawny muscular look as that of a man. The difference lies in the original nature, and results from the same cause which has planted a beard on the man's chin, and withheld it from the woman's. This physical superiority of man, therefore, is indisputable, always admitting of exceptions to the general rule. Man is also superior to woman as a scientific animal; he is more laborious and systematic in thought, better qualified by nature for invention and discovery, for mechanical and mathematical pursuits, and, in fact, for all those pursuits which unriddle the secrets of nature and further the progress of society. Such has been the character of man hitherto, as contradistinguished from woman; and we have no reason to suppose that the relative characters of the two sexes will ever alter, for Nature is unchangeable, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

But although Nature is unchangeable in her mode of operation, she is always progressing, and developing something new, or bringing to light some long-lost or latent quality. Now, there exists in the mind of woman a peculiar feature, which has always manifested itself in part, but has never yet had an opportunity of disclosing its beauties; I mean her moral character. In this she is decidedly superior to man, and she must always rise into importance in proportion as the age becomes moralized. This one individual feature of the female sex is sufficient to give it a decided superiority over the male in the course of the progress of society. The end and object of all social arrangements is morality. In morality chiefly consists the happiness of social life; strength of body, strength of mind, are insufficient to confer that enjoyment to which we all aspire. We are not the happier for being strong, either intellectually or physically; but we are happier by being possessed of kind affections, and inspiring them in return. The moral power is decidedly the greatest power in the universe. It is the power which will ultimately prevail; at first it is the weakest, for in the infancy of society it cannot be developed; the intellect is a pioneer to prepare the way for it; there is a certain degree of intellectual progress necessary, before the moral power can be fully disclosed; but as it advances, it subdues all before it, and must ultimately become the great ruling power of human society.

The physical or muscular power is the first power that reigns; the intellectual power is the next. The physical power had its term of univalued triumph before the Christian era: the intellectual power has, since that period, been vigorously exerting itself; and now the moral power is about to complete the work which the former could not accomplish. The progress of woman, of late years, has been very rapid—her influence in society has been rapidly increasing: it is far behind what it must be ultimately; but it is not behind the progress of woman herself, who, by the narrow and illiberal education, and the moral and physical restraints which have been imposed upon her, has been situated in her position, and robbed of that social importance to which nature has ultimately destined her.

Man, therefore, is superior to woman, physically and intellectually; but woman is morally superior to man; and the moral power is destined ultimately to gain the advantage over the physical and intellectual power. Which of the two, then, is superior? At present man has the advantage, because the moral dispensation has not yet commenced; but woman will ultimately gain the advantage, and direct the helm of the social system, whose chief characteristic is that of morality and social feeling.

But, notwithstanding all that we have said of the inequality of nature, we must be very cautious lest we suffer ourselves to be misled by kind or ungenerous partialities. We are very apt, in our admiration of certain qualities and certain characters, to conceive unfavourable opinions of those of an opposite nature, and to regard them as useless, merely because they are engaged in pursuits, or are propagating opinions, which to us are unpalatable. We ought, by all means, to suppress these uncharitable notions. We ought to remember that we are all extremely ignorant of nature, as a whole; that all our experience is but a mere speck in infinite space; and that it is impossible for us to divine what good may finally result from pursuits and opinions, which, to us, at present, seem more likely to retard the progress of society, and extinguish the feeble glimmerings of truth. Every movement of nature has a wise end in view. All the opinions that flicker in the brain of parties and individuals, have a mission to fulfil; and if they do not further the movement, they at least check it in its headlong career, and prevent mankind from running into excess and extravagance. Man is a rash and insatiable being, and, when he has got a new idea, he is so much elated that he regards himself as a sort of infallible, rushes on impetuously to reduce it into practice, and would ruin both himself and society by his heedless rapidity, if not determinedly opposed by fixed and established prejudices, which retard his progress, force him to investigate more thoroughly his subject, lead him through a new course of experience, administer new truths and additional prudence to his mind, and enable him, in the course of a long, and what he thinks an irrational and useless opposition, to correct his own mistake, and separate additional improvements.

Thus, it will be found, at last, that even the irrational prejudices of society are useful; they are a sort of resisting medium, which compels the spirit of reformation to move deliberately and thoughtfully, instead of rushing on to action at the first glimpse of a new idea and some fundamental truth. The more we study nature, the more we become convinced that one extreme is set against another, to preserve a proper equilibrium and check the reckless rapidity of innovation.

(For Evening Lecture, see page 206.)

A man of genius, by too much dividing his attention, becomes diamond dust, instead of remaining a diamond.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—The proceedings of the Trades' Unions have excited for some months past no little interest in the public mind; but that excitement has been quickened by the talented memorial of Mr. Elliott and his friends of Sheffield, by an article in *Tail's Magazine*, by a work from the pen of Colonel Torrens, and by the thundering denunciations of that shift-about journal, the *Times*. I conceive that some of the remarks of the gentlemen who have written on this subject are worthy of further remark than they have yet received. Should, therefore, the following ideas and facts be thought worthy of a place in your valuable work, they are at your service. Our Edinburgh and liberal friend, *Tail*, says that "combinations can never succeed; for if the workman obtain greater amount of wages than what he receives in the regular way by competition, one of the two following things must be the result: either the master must intrench upon his profits or capital, or the cost of the articles to the public must be more. If the master intrenches upon his capital, he must give up his business for want of means to carry it on; and as to reducing profits, it is impossible, since now profits are very trifling upon single articles; and it is only by having a large quantity go through the manufacturer's hands, that the master is at all paid for his outlay of capital. This is generally allowed. And the other alternative, that of raising the price of productions to the public, is also allowed." But then, say the Sheffield Memorialists and our friend *Tail*, "the quantity of wealth consumed at home will be less, and we shall lose our foreign trade; by that means there will be fewer workmen required, and operatives will be worse off than at present." In reply to this, Mr. Fielden says that "our foreign trade resolves itself into barter, and that we shall be always able to command any quantity of raw material for the same quantity of our manufactures." But, Sir, allow me to ask our friends of Sheffield, and our friend *Tail*, what is this foreign trade, about which they are so much frightened? What are its benefits? Has it produced happiness or prosperity to the working classes? And what are the means by which it is carried on? I recollect having heard Mr. Owen observe that "we should be more prosperous if we had not a single ship at sea." And I think there is some truth in it. Our political economists argue, that the increase which has taken place in our foreign trade, and in the quantity of wealth produced, is a sign of our national prosperity. I find in Sir Henry Parnell's pamphlet on "Financial Reform," p. 13, the following accounts of the amount of the quantities of articles imported, or made for home consumption in Great Britain, on an average of three years, to the 5th January, 1781 and 1830.

	1781.	1830.
Cotton wool, . .	6,816,692 lbs.	218,484,904 lbs.
Wool, ...	958,080	27,182,094
Raw silk, . . .	428,958	3,503,289
Indigo	560,590	2,522,311
Wax	38,807,408	114,182,804
Lead, ...	51,713,319	115,813,275
Ditto, wax . .	202,079	1,002,749
Total amount, .	99,496,136	482,691,417

By this we perceive that the amount of wealth consumed at home is nearly five times as much as was in 1781. Yet, let me ask, who consumes it? the working classes? Assuredly not. For, though the population has only doubled itself since 1780, the poor-rates have increased tenfold since at time; while at the same time the official value of exports in 1792 was 16,824,067, and in 1832, 690,122. According to these statements, the mass of the people ought to be better off than they are in 1781. But every one, who knows any thing about the people, knows that they are hourly sinking into greater wretchedness and poverty.

Some people imagine that the more trade a nation does, the more prosperous it must be. But I will show that it is possible to carry on a trade that shall be destructive to the best interests of the people, and I will then show that this is what England is now doing.

Suppose that two tradesmen, say shoe-makers, were to live in one street; the one was to sell boots at nine shillings a pair; the other at twelve shillings; the one was to sell 100 pair a-week, while the other sold only 50 a-week; the one was to make his workmen labour 16 hours a-day, and give them hardly enough to support life, while the other was to make them work 12 hours per day, and give them wages that would support them comfortably; which would be the more prosperous tradesman? The one who sold a large quantity of articles at the expense of his workmen's happiness and comfort, or the other, who did a less trade, and paid his men a fair price for his labour? The former, I should say. It is the same with a nation, only on a larger scale. Let us enquire whether it is so with England.

But I will show, first, that it is at home where we ought to look for our best markets. There are more manufactures consumed now at home than abroad, as the following statement will show, which I take from No. 20 of *Chambers's Information for the People*. The amount of cotton goods produced in one year is worth 36,000,000, and about 17,000,000 are exported. Of woollens, 20,000,000; the exports, 5½ millions; of hardware, 17,000,000, while the value of the exports is only 1,397,204. The value of linen produced in one year is 10,000,000, while the exports in 1829 were 1,953,609. Of iron, in 1829, the value was 5,400,000, and the exports were 1,100,000. (See p. 351 of vol. I. of *Penny Magazine*.) These things prove, as Mr. Chambers says, that "the people of Britain are, in truth, their own best customers." But the difference hereafter will be that the producers will consume more, and the idlers very little, if any, less of the staple manufactures of England. The aristocracy will do without many of their luxuries; but the necessities they will have, and it is necessities that form the staple manufactures of England.

Now, what is it that has increased the quantity of articles produced since 1781, and also the amount of our foreign trade? The political economist answers, "Cheap production." So do I. The only difference is, that he contends that this cheap production is good for society, and I contend it is not. I assert, and I will prove it, that this principle of cheap production is the one that has brought the working classes to their present state. Machinery has come in competition with human labour, and superseded it. The supply of labour far, very far, outstretches the demand; and thus it is that we find one-fifteenth part of the population is living by the lowest and most degraded prostitution; one-fifteenth by crime and theft; and five-fifteenths are living from hand to mouth, and sinking hourly into heartless beggary! (See *Carpenter's Magazine*, page 31.) But I will bring two cases in point to the subject.

In Mr. Chambers's work, before alluded to, I find the following:—"The number of work-people in the various departments of the cotton manufacture is estimated at 1,900,000, and their wages at five millions and a half; while, in America, the whole produce of the cotton manufacture is less than six millions, or one-sixth of that of Britain; yet, either from want of skill, and consequent loss of time, or from the higher rate at which work-people are paid, the amount of wages is about two millions and a half, or nearly one half of those of England." There, Sir, is a picture of prosperous England! Mr. Chambers is not a socialist; not a radical; not one of the "rabble;" but, recollect that he tells you that 1,200,000 of your fellow beings live upon five millions and a half of wages; or that they each have, upon an average, 54. per

head, which is two shillings per week! Two shillings a-week to support a human being! And yet we are told of the prosperous state of the cotton manufactories.

But, Sir, the silk trade affords another proof that the quantity of articles produced may increase, and the exports of an article also increase, yet the condition of the labouring classes be much worse. Before 1823, the journeymen weavers had a fixed rate of wages, which was technically called the book price. Our political economists say that the silk trade has very much improved since 1824, for the quantity of raw and thrown silk imported in 1823 was 2,482,286 lbs., while in 1830 it was 4,695,517 lbs.; so that the importation of silk has nearly doubled. The value of our exports, in 1823, was 140,320l., while in 1830 it was 457,880l. These facts they quote as a proof of prosperity; but I know a young man who served his time to a branch of silk weaving, and seven years ago 15s. was given for the same work that 7s. 6d. is now; and this work takes a man a whole week to do, working twelve hours a-day. This young man is not in the business now. I should like to take a person, who says that the silk trade has improved, into Hare-street, Bethnal-green; I would take him into a house falling down almost for want of repair; I would take him up a pair of stairs, where he must stoop his head, or else give it such a knock that he would remember it the remainder of the day. I would let him into a room, and I would show him the sash covered with paper where once was glass, and where once a neat, if not gaudy, curtain was hanging. I would show him the fireless grate, with a saucepan without a handle in one corner, and an old kettle in the other, forming the whole amount of their culinary vessels. I would show him the chairs without bottoms, some without backs, one or two perhaps with only three legs; I would show him an old table, to which if justice was done, it would be burnt—and placed on the table some potatoes, called chats, which in general are given to pigs, and which are to form the next meal for the miserable inmates of this dwelling. I would show him, in a corner of the room, an old bed, covered with a thread-worn blanket, forming the whole amount of their bedding. I would show him, in another corner, a human being, with thin cheeks, trembling limbs, dim eyes, a sorrowful countenance, and, in fact, an appearance too plainly speaking the poverty which this silk slave in free England undergoes. I would point out his miserable partner, sinking daily for want of nourishment, with a baby in her arms, crying for food, which she has not got to give it. I would take him into the street, and show him the offspring of this wretched couple, uneducated, ill-trained—infants in years, men in crime. If he asks me, where is the furniture of this wretched couple, I will point to the splendid house with the three golden balls over the door. The next step which their children will take is to Brixton, or the hulks; and the parents will shortly enter that large house opposite Bethnal-green church, where hundreds crowd the door every day to receive a miserable pittance, while the inmates of this crowded house sleep by turns, day and night. The parish is deeper and deeper in debt; the tradesmen are leaving the parish, because they cannot pay the rates. (See "Evidence on Poor Laws.") These things I have seen myself, and thousands, I have no doubt, are in the same condition. Such are the effects of opening the market of labour, and allowing it to compete with "the improved processes from the continent." It has destroyed the physical comforts, degraded the morals, debased the intellects, and demoralized the moral feelings of a large portion of our countrymen. I did intend to prove that nothing short of universal combination could emancipate the working classes; but I have already encroached on your limits, and I shall conclude by subscribing myself yours, truly,
Feb. 9, 1834.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN.

"One day, when I was in the bath, a friend put into my hand a piece of scented clay. I took it, and said to it; Art thou musk or ambergris, for I am charmed with thy perfume? It answered, 'I am a despicable piece of clay, but I was some time in the company of the rose.'"—*Persian Apologues*.

While the philosopher, the moralist, and the legislator, have been employed in the investigation of cause and effect, and in tracing the consequences of various institutions; while the influence of climate, government, or religion upon the character of mankind has been enquired into, there has existed in silent, but unceasing operation, an influence which has almost wholly escaped notice—the influence of woman. Let the state of society have been what it may; let it have elevated woman into a divinity, and then, with chivalrous enthusiasm, have worshipped her; let it have considered her a soulless being, made for amusement and seclusion, and have imprisoned her in some oriental harem; or, let it be, as it now is in more civilized countries, where the value of female intelligence is beginning to be felt, and where her right to equal advantages with the other sex is admitted, or at least not universally disputed; in all the gradations which connect these different conditions, still may her influence be traced, for it is inseparable from the various relative and social duties she has to perform: "the empire of women," says Rousseau, "is not theirs because men have willed it, but because it is the will of nature."

It may be asked, if this influence is so universal, whence comes it that we are so little benefited by it, and why is it so frequently exercised only to produce mischief? These are precisely the inquiries which will lead to a useful examination; and at a future period they shall be answered; at present, it must be sufficient, in reply to the first remark, to allude to a counteracting influence in the ignorance of the men, by which a great portion of immediate female agency is perverted or neutralized; and to the second, that the education women receive is, in many instances, but little calculated to give them those views or aims which are most elevated and true, or the most likely to increase permanently and extensively human happiness.

There has been no want of those who have found a paltry gratification in attacking the very beings they have rendered defenceless; no want of those, who, having made woman weak and frivolous, allege this weakness, this frivolity, as a reason why she should be forced to continue so. Woman's errors, woman's ignorance, yes, and woman's sorrows also, have been too often, and but too carefully, recorded for me to swell the list; mine be it to sketch, though but faintly, the influence of her moral beauty, of her unwearied affection, of her tenderness; mine, to trace the effects of her integrity, of her noble simplicity of purpose upon the plastic mind of the child; mine, to show that much of all that is most lovely in human nature owes its origin to the ineffaceable impression of her gentle, yet enduring, character. Let me show that she it was who wrote upon the young heart those lessons of integrity and perseverance, to which society is largely indebted; lessons which have been so indelibly impressed as to have become talismans amid temptations, safeguards in the time of severest trial. The appeal is confi-

dently made to every man who remembers an affectionate and high-principled mother, whether the certainty of her sorrow has not often stepped between him and evil? whether the thought of her sympathy has not roused him to renewed efforts in the pursuit of virtue? whether the remembrance of her love has not been sweet, though she may have ceased to be?

Nor is the influence of woman limited to morals; she it is who not only marks, but directs, the first efforts of infant reason. She not only watches the dawn of that intelligence which maternal fondness thinks so bright; but she, involuntarily perhaps, decides in what particular pursuit it shall shine. She identifies herself, as none but a mother can do, with the mind of her child; and instances are not wanting to prove that, to her cultivation, to her example, we must refer the celebrity attached to many names which history has chronicled. It is not necessary to refer to the records of ancient times; though woman must, of course, even then, have influenced the character of the Spartan warrior, the Athenian philosopher; though, even then, we have no reason to suppose that Valeria was the only Roman mother whose lofty and noble spirit could have bowed the heart of her warlike son, when the entreaties of a whole city had failed, or that Cornelia alone educated her children to glory and virtue; we may mention names "familiar to us as our household gods," and it is rather remarkable that the monarchs to whom England and France are, perhaps, the most indebted for wise laws and liberal regulations, were both educated, principally, by their mothers. Alfred was incited to literature by the counsels of his step-mother, and Charlemagne was not only left entirely to the care of his mother during his youth, but consulted her in all those measures which he subsequently took for the improvement of his people. Our own days will recall many who were conscious of this influence upon their own minds. Sir William Jones ascribes his veneration for truth, and his successful pursuit of useful literature, entirely to the early precepts of his mother. Sir Walter Scott tells us that his love of poetry was greatly owing to his mother's beautiful manner of reciting the national ballads, thus calling his attention to them; and, not to weary by naming the many whose fame may be distinctly traced to the mother's tastes and talents, who that has read will ever forget the touching anecdote recorded in the life of the artist, West, whose mother, on discovering some of the efforts of his early genius for painting, stooped down and kissed him. "That kiss," said he, "made me a painter!" There are, I believe, few who have not observed, if they have, unhappily, been prevented from experiencing the power of similar acts; let such, then, endeavour to observe how these first feelings—these infant associations—operate upon the future man, and it will no longer be denied that, women very materially influencing his character, it is of the greatest importance to give the highest and best direction to her powers, both mentally and morally.

It being once admitted that any given circumstance acts extensively upon individual opinions and manners, it follows that that circumstance gives a tinge to general opinions and manners. And here, again, therefore, we meet with the influence of women. When these are well educated, the circle in which they move will be formed of a superior kind; not

only because the charm of an intelligent woman's society induces the ignorant to learn and awaken the energy of the indolent, but because her refinement diffuses a gentleness and benevolence of feeling on all around; smooths the ruggedness of unpolished manners, and destroys those asperities of habit which, when indulged in, interfere greatly with social order and peace. Her influence upon manners, indeed, is so universally acknowledged by travellers, and others who have had the best opportunities of remarking the state of society in various countries, that we can scarcely open a book of this kind, without finding allusions to corroborate the assertion. In all civilized countries, in our own particularly, it may, perhaps, be stated, as the result of enquiry and observation, that the class of society which possesses the greatest amount of worth and happiness will be found among the best taught of the middle ranks, equally removed from the enervating effects of luxury, idleness, and ennui, and the uncivilizing consequences of excessive labour, want, or the fear of it, with its train of misery; and here we shall find that the women are upon a greater equality with the men; are allowed to share their pursuits, and sympathise, not only in their cares, but in their pleasures; and where, upon an average, the same proportion of bodily and mental exercise is required. To the women among this class, therefore, will the attention of present and future ages be directed; to their influence, wisely employed, do we look for the regeneration of society; in their hands is placed the precious deposit of human happiness; may they prove worthy of the sacred trust! may they become sensible of their importance! may they be prepared to meet the scrutiny! and oh, may they remember that the effects of the lessons they give, be they for evil or for good, cease not with the existence of the instructor; but will be transmitted to the latest posterity, as the gift of a pestilence, whose progress is marked with desolation and misery, or as legacies rich in the blessings of integrity, of kindness, of truth!

CONCORDIA.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEB. 13.

THE REV. MR. REDFORD.

WE publish the following specimen of clerical sanity and rationality, as it appeared in the *Worcester Journal* of Feb. 6, with a few remarks of Mr. Smith's:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WORCESTER JOURNAL.

SIR,—It will perhaps appear to many of your readers somewhat problematical, whether I am to be the object of their condolence or congratulation, on account of the sermon I lately preached against the irreligious and atheistical doctrines of Mr. Robert Owen. It has indeed brought a swarm of gnats around me, but as yet I regard them and feel them as little as did the bull's head in the fable. I really could not have flattered myself that my humble labours would have produced such a convulsion through their whole body, and been followed by such evident symptoms of insanity as have seized some of their number. First, they endeavoured to intimidate me with the intelligence that their hierophant himself would be certainly present to hear and to answer my discourse. However, he never appeared, or, if present, was incog. Next, they employed an official reporter to

take down the sermon; after that they engaged a creature to write an answer to it, who is evidently a MANIAC, though styling himself a *Reverend Clergyman* and a *Master of Arts*. Then they published their own report of my sermon, with the poor MANIAC's answer; and now comes a challenge from the "MONO-MANIAC" himself to meet me in mutual strife, at the Grand Stand, I suppose, on Pitchcroft—but where or before whom Mr. Robert Owen does not say, and does not care, so long as I give him an opportunity of venting his absurd blasphemies before such an audience as he well knows his own name could not collect in Worcester. This is all he desires. He hopes for an opportunity of insinuating his infidelity in quarters which it could not otherwise reach. But, Sir, I know his knavery and his artifices too well to be made the tool of his malignant designs against Christianity. He offers to discuss his principles publicly with me; but nothing shall ever induce me to give him this opportunity; I am too well aware of the natural proneness of mankind to infidelity, to expose any of my fellow-creatures to the temptation. Besides, Mr. Owen never did debate fairly with any Christian opponent; he always gives a continued series of lectures; he cannot debate; but he seeks to avail himself of the name of a debate, to deliver his pernicious absurdities. The last time he debated with a Christian minister, he never once noticed the arguments of his opponent; and though the debate, as it was called, lasted many days, Robert Owen replied to nothing, noticed nothing advanced against him, but employed every portion of time allotted to him, to deliver a continued series of lectures upon his own crude, absurd, and immoral opinions. Now, Sir, he may call this *discussion*, but I call it a dishonourable artifice to deliver atheism and blasphemy before a respectable Christian audience. His conduct in his long meeting with the Rev. Mr. Campbell, has proved him to be utterly unworthy of ever again meeting a Christian advocate. The results of that meeting, as well as of all his attempts to re-model society, might have taught him, that all thinking persons nauseate both his blasphemies against religion, and his speculations in social economy. I therefore declare, that I deem him unworthy of being met in any other way than through the press. Were his challenge less unworthy of being accepted than it is, I should have conscientious objections against debating the momentous questions of revealed religion on a platform, or from the hustings, before an audience whose feelings must, on both sides, be in the highest state of excitement, and, in consequence, proportionably disqualified for a dispassionate and rigid examination of arguments. By the press he may, if he can, overthrow Christianity, and if he is ambitious of the honour, he may first reply to my sermon—they are both before him—let him attempt this, and if he can produce any objection of weight, I promise to meet him by the same medium. But, before I have done with this challenge, he must allow me to say, that his advertisement shows clearly that *his disciples* in Worcester are practically as immoral as they are theoretically irreligious. The information conveyed to him demonstrates that where there exists no fear of God, no belief in a future state of retribution, there neither is, nor can be, any basis of moral principle. I have never publicly interfered with Mr. Robert Owen's "Views of Society," or "System of Society." I have rigidly confined my arguments in the sermon alluded to, and in several others I have recently preached on infidelity—to the moral and religious bearing of his assertions, for reasons he has none. Moreover, his disciples grossly deceived him when they stated to him that I had publicly declared my readiness to discuss his principles, or any other infidel's principles, with any one who supports them. I declare this to be utterly false. Let all who heard my sermon testify if I uttered any such sentence. But, before I

quit Mr. Owen and his system, I would take this opportunity of saying, I have no wish to interfere with his views on political economy. He is in far better hands than mine. Col. Torrens has demolished them in his pamphlet, noticed in the *Times* of January 28: and the good sense of the op-ratives will very soon perceive that the rise of prices he is endeavouring to effect for them, will produce a universal decline of trade; and where will the deluded unionists be then? But upon these subjects I have not touched in my late sermon. My warfare is against the inconsistency, absurdity, atheism, and immorality propagated by Mr. Robert Owen, his son, and his reverend ally of apostate fame—a dark band of plotters and praters against things which their vain and animalized minds will not study, and therefore cannot understand. Against these and all such foes to revealed religion and pure morality, it becomes every patriot, philanthropist, and Christian to make common cause. The principles of Robert Owen and his coadjutors are alike pernicious to the present and future interests of mankind; and I take upon me to call upon every man who respects and loves his Bible, to dissolve all connexion with a band of destructives, who, under the mask of friendship to the poor, are endeavouring to rob them of their best and sweetest portion in this life, and their only consolation for eternity. They feign philanthropy, but they mean infidelity; they would give the poor man better wages, but they will rob him of his religion. If any Christian has been inveigled into their confederation, let him remember that he has joined hands with infidels and atheists, and unless he flee from their society he will receive the contagion of their ungodliness. I shall ever feel myself honoured by any odium I incur in opposing their designs. But while I see them making victims of the young, the ignorant, and the poor, I shall not cease to war against them. They may rely upon it I shall watch their movements, and, when I deem it necessary, shall again expose the absurdity and pernicious tendency of their doctrines.—Yours, &c.

GEORGE REDFORD.

Worcester, Feb. 3, 1834.

A few days ago, I published a discourse of Mr. Redford's, with a Reply, which has called forth the eloquent and pious appeal to the feelings of the public, contained the above letter. It is evident that the rev. gentleman is unable to reply to my arguments, or he would at least have made the attempt; but afraid of showing his own weakness, or rather the weakness of his cause, he tries to blow away the gnat that gnaws him by a shower of abuse. He pretends, forsooth, that gnats cannot be reasoned with—you must merely persecute them; and as he has not now the bloody sword of the magistrate at his disposal, nor the burning faggot of the orthodox zealot, he resorts to the only remaining instrument of torture which the poor clergy have left,—that is, scurrility of the vilest description. He endeavours to prejudice the public against me by calling me a maniac. Well, then, I confess I am a maniac; but I claim the privilege, or rather the honour, of calling Mr. Redford, and all other men, my brothers. There is such a Babel of confusion, such illiberality, such ill-feeling, such uncharitableness and irrationality in human society, that I have often said, and still maintain it, that all men are mad; and the question be-

tween Mr. Redford and me is only this, "Which is the madder of the two?" I allow the public to judge between us, and I do not fear the ultimate decision. But why does Mr. Redford confine himself to moral persecution? why does he not bring forth his strong reasons? Ah! that is a secret which remains in Mr. Redford's own breast! Does he want an opportunity—he shall have one—the *Crisis* is open to a reply, if he can write a reply. Perhaps he does not *deign* to reply to a maniac; but let him recollect that that maniac is making other men maniacs, and unless Mr. Redford or some of his pious brethren come forward with their logical strait-waistcoats of rational material to confine the raving reformers of a base and corrupt system of hypocrisy and apostacy, such as Mr. Redford's Christianity is, the maniacs will rapidly multiply, and the church will be overrun with pure lunacy. A physician's duty is to prevent disease as well as to cure it; so that, although I myself am a hopeless subject, being more fit for the inquisitorial cells of the church than for a public pillar of apostate Christianity, yet there is contagion abroad, and the remedy must be sought by every good and faithful servant of Jesus Christ.

"Be ye always ready," says St. Paul, "to give a reason of the hope that is in you." But poor Redford has no reason to give. He has hope without reason; and every man who brings a reason for his hope is, in Redford's sane imagination, accounted a maniac. Does Mr. Redford imagine that he has more hope than I have? Perhaps he is mistaken. Did I ever attempt to destroy the poor man's hope? Can he produce one single sentence that ever I wrote which has that tendency? Did I ever deny the immortality of the soul, or the hope of happiness hereafter? Did I ever utter a syllable with my mouth that had a tendency, or was moved by an intent, to annihilate that hope? Never! and I believe never shall. But because I have attacked, upon scriptural grounds, his doctrine of hell-fire and brimstone, and extinguished the flame and annihilated the stench by the very book itself, the poor man thinks that I have been annihilating the hopes of the Christian!!! And are the Christian's hopes founded upon fire and brimstone, and all the joys of the Devil's inquisition? What secrets the clergy let out at times! "Which is the greater maniac of the two?"

When Jesus Christ, my master, was on earth, he was accounted a maniac also by the priests. "He hath a devil and is mad; why hear ye him?" They could not find a reply to his sublime morality and personal accusations, and therefore they used this inquisitorial weapon of priestly notoriety to turn away the ears of the people. His pretended followers now imitate the example of the murderers of their master, and persecute every generous and benevolent mind which attempts to reform the corruption of the age, and detect the hypocrisy and apostacy of the priesthood.

They are afraid of the test; they tremble at the idea of being called to an account; they know that they do not possess the morality of the book; they shudder at the very sound of argument and reason, and raise the savage yell of *Maniac! Maniac!* against every son of Adam that dares to make use of his own reason. I am a madman, am I? Nature will soon fill the world with such madmen, who will blow away, by the pure, intellectual, and moral breath of their lungs, the putrid vermin of stagnation and hypocrisy. Happy would it be for the population of this country, if you, and all the clergy of Great Britain, were as mad as I am. "There is a pleasure in madness, which none but madmen know."

I shall give Mr. Redford a privilege, which, perhaps, no one ever gave him before; I shall allow him to abuse me to his heart's content, without ever resenting it; I defy him to offend me. I have learned some capital lessons from Jesus Christ, and I am determined to follow them. I would rather have abuse than flattery; and it is the sure sign of defeat in an opponent, when he resorts to the expedient of bullying himself out from the horns of a dilemma by such a "quack" expedient as that of a charge of insanity; and then, think—pray do think, Mr. Redford, of the reproach of being overcome in argument by a maniac! What an incredible disgrace! "How art thou fallen, Lucifer, son of the morning!"

Mr. Redford says still, "Answer my discourse," attempting thus to conceal his own defeat; but this will not suffice for the present age; men are now beginning to suspect some trickery in priests as well as in pickpockets, and are scarcely so credulous as to believe that a man who will not defend his cause has got any sound argument to support it, however he may boast of his ability. All the world knows that cowards talk loudly of their own courage, and contemptuously of their adversary's; but merely advance a step with a daring countenance, and they run and squeak like pigs before you. The *Crisis* is open to Mr. Redford, and he may assure himself of several thousand readers; but, perhaps, he does not choose "to cast his pearls before swine, lest they turn again and rend him."

J. E. S.

TO M. J. GAY, OF PARIS.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have much cause to apologize to you for allowing your letters to remain unanswered, and also for permitting your last letter to be published in the *Crisis*, without consulting you upon the subject. It got in there I scarce know how; but it was reading it in that paper, a few days ago, that gave me the highest opinion of the progress which you have made in a correct knowledge both of the principle and the practice of the Social System which I have so long advocated, and I trust the extensive benefit which your letter is calculated to effect among those who imagine they are good disciples of this system, when, in fact, they have only the most limited and correct notions of it, will reconcile you to its publicity. The present system of society makes the human mind so degraded and irra-

tional, that it is most difficult for it to comprehend that which is elevated, pure, and rational; and hence the parties professing to understand my views continually make the greatest mistakes respecting them, and are daily giving to the world *their own* notions of them, instead of *mine*.

Your letter is one among a very few which I have received, that evinces a correct knowledge and thorough understanding in the writer of the views which I entertain. Your conceptions of the system are just, with regard to its principles, and also of the future effects which must arise from it in practice; and with your development of both I am highly gratified, and more especially as coming from a stranger and a foreigner, who has derived his information solely from the study of my writings; and thus giving assurance that other intelligent superior minds, when they give due attention to the subject, will also understand them. But your proposed practical plan is upon too large a scale to give "to each individual the greatest advantage," which is the rule I have adopted in recommending practical arrangements. As this is a part of the subject of great importance, at this crisis, in the affairs of the productive classes, and more especially of the Trades' Unions, I am very desirous of having the benefit of your professional knowledge united with some of our first English architects, who, like you, feel a deep interest in the great change about to take place.

The Trades' Unions of this country have already discovered the grievous, and to them ruinous, error of longer supporting a system resting upon a division of interests, or individual competition; and they are determined as one man to put an end to it. But they are not yet aware, although they soon will be, that they cannot change this principle in practice, without forming for themselves arrangements altogether different from those in which they are now obliged to live, to work, and to bring up their children. Nothing can be conceived more unlike what ought now to be the abode and general arrangements for the producers of wealth and knowledge than the hovels, cellars, garrets, and confined workshops in which so many of them are compelled to spend their days and nights, and to exert all their power of body and mind for those who do not even thank them, while they daily and hourly riot in the most unnecessary and often injurious luxuries, the product of the hard labour and excessive toil and anxiety of these poor, degraded, unpitied, and yet the most useful members of the human race. This state of things, with the light which has latterly come upon the Trades' Unions, cannot much longer continue, and they will very soon enquire what they must do to get out of this worse than Egyptian bondage. They will necessarily discover that they must begin to form a new world for themselves, and that they have the most ample means at their own control to commence this work immediately, and to carry it on continually with the greatest success. They will require, however, the best aid of professional architects, and of men of great talent and experience in agriculture, gardening, manufactures, education, &c., who, unitedly, can assist them to form, through their own labour and pecuniary means, a new and very superior combination of domestic, agricultural, manufacturing, educational, and commercial arrangements to enable them to produce the wealth which they require, to distribute it, to educate

their children, and to improve and locally govern themselves. I have already a model of the domestic arrangements and general outline of all the other parts of the new practical measures to connect with them; but it is very desirable, as these have been formed some years, and several new and important discoveries and improvements having been made in various sciences, that the experience of France as well as of England should be conjoined in devising the most perfect combination that the united talent of both countries can now elicit. I am, therefore, most desirous that you should, if practicable, come over here to assist in this great work, that you may afterwards consult with other talented men of your country and with your government, as to the probability of introducing such a change into France beneficially for all classes. I readily admit with you that, in some respects, the superior classes of all countries are better prepared, by their education, to carry this system into practice than the uneducated; but they lack the industry and practical knowledge of the productive classes, which are essentially necessary to carry the new measures into execution. I do hope that your next communication will inform me that you will come, and what early period you can fix for your visit, that I may be at home on your arrival.—I am, my dear Sir, your truly obliged friend,

ROBERT OWEN.

London, Feb. 7.

SUNDAY EVENING, FEB. 9.

Mr. Owen lectured on the cottage system, that is, the system of apportioning land to the destitute and unemployed poor, to be cultivated by the spade, which possesses nearly double the productive power of the plough. He alluded to the strike of the Derby workmen, who were now supported by their fellow-operatives at a weekly expense of 350*l.*, which sum is now being spent in an unprofitable manner; but he believed the working classes were fully aware of this, and convinced that it would be much more usefully employed in capital in setting the men to work. But how is the capital to be employed? We have lately heard from Lord Althorp, in the House of Commons, that the agricultural interest is in distress; and if these unemployed weavers were added to the list of agricultural labourers, under the present arrangements, it would only increase the competition, and the misery that is the infallible consequences. If, on the other hand, you employ them in manufactures, the same effect will follow. If you enable them to prosecute their own trade, it will affect their fellow-labourers in Spitalfields, Macclesfield, &c., and thus you are placed in a sort of dilemma, necessitated to do mischief whichever course you pursue. The remedy proposed for this distress is the cottage system, which, though accompanied with many disadvantages, is yet one of the best intermediate expedients which the present circumstances can afford. In such a state men cannot enjoy those intellectual and moral advantages which might be afforded in a scientific association of individuals, producing all that is requisite for the support and enjoyment of life. But it would be a happy relief from that deplorable destitution which has ceased to be productive itself, and hampered the productive industry of others; and I am now delighted to hear that the men of Derby have turned their attention to this subject.

Mr. Owen then spoke of the comparative characters of the Social and Anti-social Systems, deprecated the evils of religious sectarianism, and the bitter animosity which subsists between one religious sect and another, maintained the necessity of mild and conciliatory modes of arguing with all parties, and the most unlimited toleration of opinion, as well as freedom of speech in expressing that opinion. This toleration, however necessary, is still an object of aversion to the whole religious world. Before I made this public declaration of my opinion, I had the whole British public along with me. The press was entirely at my service; but on that day, when I publicly expressed my conviction that there could be no political regeneration effected without perfect freedom of conscience, those very men who came to support me publicly hissed me; and those who were my enemies (thinking that I was a friend of the aristocracy and the present ecclesiastical establishments), and who had come on purpose to give me their decided opposition, were as suddenly converted into friends as the others were converted into adversaries. A complete revolution was effected in my relation to the public, and from that day the British press has never ceased to oppose me. All this arose from the strength of religious prejudices. My system of association they admired, and were eager to see it established; but the idea of freedom of conscience blasted all its beauties, and converted it, in their eyes, from an instrument of human happiness to an instrument of wretchedness and vice—such is the blinding effect of religion upon the human mind. "This declaration, however," continued Mr. Owen, "I never regretted; although it lost me the favour of the influential men of the country, I still had the satisfaction of feeling that I had done a duty to my species."

Mr. Owen then alluded to an article in the *Reformer*, by the St. Simonians in London, which, he maintained, was full of false statements. Dr. Prati must have been grossly mistaken in his conceptions before he wrote that article, as he (Mr. O.) never proposed to enter into any discussion with the St. Simonians, but merely that he and Dr. Prati should publicly develop their respective systems, and allow the public to judge between them. When they came to London, he (Mr. O.) received them kindly as friends, and gave them every encouragement; but he knew their doctrine, and saw at once from whence it came. He knew also that, if he entered into any discussion with them, he must reveal all that he knew, which would have been very unpleasant to these gentlemen, whom he meant to treat with kindness. St. Simon, he said, went to America, and lived for three years amongst the Shaking Quakers, from whom he borrowed all his doctrines. The Shaking Quakers have the doctrine of the Hierarchy, and they reward the members of their community according to their capacity. This constitution they have had for seventy years: they also put the women upon terms of equality with the men. It is a most confused system, and quite unsuccessful in practice. The St. Simonians are totally ignorant of the laws of human nature, or the science of society, a science of which the world is as yet thoroughly ignorant. I have never met with any individual, either in this or any other country, who was possessed of sufficient intelligence and experience to comprehend it in all its details, as it requires a particular acquaintance with the most approved systems

of agriculture, manufacture, production, and distribution, a thorough knowledge of human nature, a knowledge of all that has been done, in order that he may be able to discover what may be done, and to make a complete analysis of society. I have never met with such an individual, and the knowledge of the science has been as thoroughly concealed from the minds of men, as the knowledge of the mechanism of the steam-engine, until it was discovered and brought to light by Watt. Dr. Prati is totally unacquainted with the scientific combinations which I recommend. How, then, is it possible for him to analyse my system, as he professes to do in his weekly lectures? He also makes a very gross mistake respecting the infant schools, the origin of which he ascribes to Pestalozzi. The fact is, I myself opened these infant schools by a discourse in 1816; after that, I took my sons to the continent, visited the schools of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, had much conversation with them, and they confessed to me that they had no idea of the system of the infant schools. In fact, Dr. Prati does not know what the infant schools are; he merely imagines that they are such as the old wives' schools which have been in existence from time immemorial.

Mr. Owen then gave a general outline of the community, by describing the model of the parallelogram which stood before him; but as we have not a model to which to refer, we shall not at present attempt to follow him.

GRAND MONTHLY DINNER OF THE UNION OF NATIONS.

"The feast of reason and the flow of soul."

Most of our distinguished and *savant* readers, who have known Paris, or resided in this classical city during the last dozen years, must entertain a grateful reminiscence of those delightful monthly reunions, originally called *dinners mensuels de la Raoue Encyclopédique*, which were attended by some of the most eminent characters of all countries, who visited the Gallic capital during that period.

Through the indefatigable exertions of the founder of those "feasts of reason," M. Julien de Paris, whose name is its own philanthropic eulogy, the *dinners mensuels* are again revived, under the felicitous and harmonious title of the "Union of Nations."

On Tuesday, the 14th instant, we held the gratification of assisting at the first of a new series of those splendid and intellectual entertainments, the two-long *interregnum* of which had excited so much regret in the *élite* circles of this learned metropolis. At 7 o'clock about 150 persons of the highest respectability sat down to an excellent dinner in the magnificent saloon of the Place de Chatelet. Mr. Julien de Paris presided, having on his right the venerable Gen. Lafayette, and on his left the gallant Admiral Sir Sidney Smith. At the end of the repast, and after the usual toasts, the President addressed the assembly in an eloquent speech, which produced a powerful effect. He traced the origin, and dwelt on the advantages of such brotherly communions as the present, whose sole and noble objects were to excite that holy spirit of emulation which tended to make man kind and sociable to man—to eradicate national prejudices—and, by the frequent collision of intellect, to promote peace and good-will throughout the earth, by unitedly and mutually advancing the progress of civilization and improvement. He especially alluded to the happy alliance of sentiment subsisting between Great Britain and France, and with exquisite tact and urbanity complimented several of the foreign guests distinguished

by their sacrifices, services, and efforts towards the grand design which occupied all minds present—the amelioration of the whole society of man. Of the splendid Literary Establishment, at 55, rue Neuve St. Augustin, and of its able, intelligent, and popular director, Mr. G. G. Beunis, the President spoke in merited terms of encomium, as from that establishment sprang a daily intercourse and interchange of intellectual information, kindness, and unanimity amongst nations of the most distant regions of the earth.

Gen. Lafayette, with his usual benevolent and persuasive eloquence, expressed his ardent approbation of the preceding speaker's sentiments, and promised to support the praiseworthy objects of the "Union."

M. Niemcewicz, the venerable *doyen* of the Polish emigration, and the high-minded patriot, Count Louis Plater, acknowledged, in most touching terms, the ardent sympathy which existed in favour of the nationality of Poland, and which so universally pervaded that company, composed of the gallant and the talented of various climes.

Admiral Sir Sidney Smith made a short, but excellent, speech in favour of the views of the meeting.

Mr. Bennis returned thanks for the flattering approbation with which the eloquent allusion to the Literary Establishment, and to his zealous endeavours to disseminate and aid the peaceful "march of intellect," had been received by an assembly, whose approbation was indeed an honour of the most grateful kind. He sensibly concurred in the noble motives by which the society, so happily called the "Union of Nations," were actuated, and to the extent of his power and abilities they might be assured of his support.

M. Cesar Moreau, President of the Statistical Society, under whose liberal auspices the "Union of Nations" was formed, dwelt with much forcible eloquence on the friendly alliance which indissolubly linked together the two first people in the world, by the natural ties of interest, assimilation, and the will and power of extending the blessings of civilization to every quarter of the globe. In expressing his grateful *souvenirs* of the British nation, he begged leave to state that an Englishman of letters was then present. Mr. Lake, who, domiciled in this capital for many years, had, in all his numerous writings, rendered the most important services to the cause of humanity, and especially contributed to promote and pioneer the way to that fraternal feeling between the natives of Britain and France, which henceforth would remain eternal. He could bear ample testimony to Mr. Lake's untiring and useful intellectual exertions; and he begged leave to propose that gentleman's health.

After the toast, Mr. J. W. Lake rose to express his unaffected gratitude for the high and unexpected honour which had just been conferred on him; an honour which he doubly as well as deeply appreciated, both as a foreign author and as an Englishman. During a residence of seventeen years in the centre of civilisation, he had constantly, though humbly, endeavoured to make the two first and noblest nations of the earth intellectually acquainted with each other, because he felt convinced that nothing but false prejudices could ever have kept them in a state of enmity, and that it was the duty of the *littérati* of both nations to remove that dark veil of imposed ignorance, which had been thrown by interested hands to impede the progress of civilisation. That veil was now rent in twain; the two people see and know each other through the medium of their own enlightened senses; and, in seeing and knowing, they most naturally admire and love each other. No longer rivals, but like twin *Sœurs de Charité*, they would now go forth in their benevolent and peaceful pilgrimage to soothe and heal the wounds and to assuage the ills of humanity. Mr. Lake then alluded to the wrongs and sufferings of the patient Poles; and

concluded by saying that, in the union of France and England, he foresaw a brighter and a better day for that land of heroes, the country of Kosciuski, of Niemcewicz, and Plater.

Amongst the company present we also noticed Generals Dabourg and d'Evreux; the celebrated traveller in Africa, M. de Riffaud; Mr. O'Sullivan, the compiler and author of "Elegant Extracts;" Mr. Ditchfield, Mr. Livingston, M. Gase, &c.

The celebrated child, William Manuel, who is able, at the age of three years and a half, to read with fluency, either Welch or English, placed before him in the usual or in an inverted position, on Monday was brought to our office, by his father, who is a miner, from Holywell, and with much ease read passages from books in four different positions; but he appears to prefer reading upside down. His father stated that attention was first attracted to the reading of this singularly gifted child when only two years of age, and he has continued to make progress to the present period without any particular instruction, not having been at school a single day. He is a fine child, the picture of good health.—*Chester Courier*.

THE SLEEPING WONDER.—It cannot be expected, perhaps, that distant readers will credit all the statements respecting the somnambulist in this town, inasmuch as many of the acts are unaccountable as well as apparently incredible. We ourselves doubted till we could doubt no longer. The Boston Courier seems to think the Springfield editors make statements of the conduct of the girl which they do not themselves believe. We as fully believe what has been stated in the Gazette on this subject, as if we had written it: and with regard to our article of last week, we presented the facts upon the testimony of our neighbours. We have since seen the girl two hours in one of her paroxysms, and the exercises of her mind in that time more than confirmed to us all we had said. The paroxysm commenced on Tuesday night, and continued till about 5 o'clock Wednesday evening. The latter of Wednesday afternoon, she was in so much pain that she would neither read, write, nor sing. She evidently suffers great pain at times when in these paroxysms. She keeps her eyelids closed tight, by night as well as day, and in the day-time prefers to have a bandage tied over them, for the reason, as is supposed, that light produces pain. On Wednesday, both cavities of her eyes were filled with cotton, and over this was tied tight a bandage of a black silk handkerchief, after which cotton was stuffed in the crevices between the face and bandage. In this situation, she reads very fine writing just written, the date on a small piece of coin, the time upon a watch, wrote her own name, and recited two pieces of poetry twice with accuracy, but two or three lines of which she could repeat when awake. There is also abundant evidence that she can read in a room totally dark. She is a well-educated, innocent, artless girl, in her 17th year, rather corpulent, and has every appearance of health, but is subject to the head-ache. When awake she is unconscious of all that has happened. We understood that arrangements are made to convey her in a few days to the State Hospital in Worcester.—*Springfield Republican*.

A MAN PORCUPINE!—A middle-aged man, of very athletic and robust form of body, presented himself at the Westminster Hospital, a few days ago, in order to show himself to the surgeons and students of the establishment. He is completely covered with a green horny substance in the form of quills, not dissimilar to those which are produced on the porcupine. The parts which have escaped the deformity are his face, the palms of his hands, the soles of his feet; every other part of his person is abundantly supplied with this green horny

substance. He sheds his horns or quills annually, and a fresh crop succeeds. He has been thus afflicted since his earliest infancy, and all the male members of his family, down from the great grandfather, have been similarly well furnished. His general health is excellent, and his secretions very regular. A model has been taken of him in one of the Borough hospitals.—*London Medical and Surgical Journal*.

USE AND ABUSE OF TOBACCO.—Tobacco is a narcotic poison, so repulsive, that *conservative nature* exerts her utmost power against it. When she yields, and the appetite is modified to the offensive qualities of the *deleterious* plant, the desire for it becomes importunate and uncontrollable. The contest between nature and fashion takes place in early life, and then it is that the system, endowed with acute and delicate sensibilities, is most injured by the impress of the poison. It is a great mistake that the *spitting*, for which we are so justly renowned abroad, and which is promoted by tobacco, is the chief cause of bodily injury from its use. It acts with pernicious effect upon the whole nervous system, producing tremors and depression of the muscles, and still greater weakness as well as acidity of stomach.

To the phlegmatic it is least prejudicial and although some persons of that class, after the age of forty, may derive a certain degree of harmless gratification or comfort from the pipe or the quid, the injurious effects in *early*, far outweigh all the favour it can possibly confer in *after* life, and therefore calls loudly for total *proscription*.

In this case, as in most other vices, reformation must be dictated by the old, but commence with the young. If the former will not give up the habit, the latter should be preserved from contracting it. Public sentiment must be enlisted, to take the lead in frowning upon it—fashion must discountenance, by looking upon it with contempt, and sarcasm proclaim its reproach. Masters, parents, and guardians—all who have the care of boys, should forbid their use of the noxious weed; and it ought to be a fundamental law of every academy and college, that no young man should be retained within its walls who indulged in the loathsome practice. Lastly, the physician should interpose his influence, and point out to the youthful aspirant smoker, that victory in the struggle, to which this fashion invites him, will be his total defeat, in the triumph of an absurd and abominable custom, over nature and reason.—*American Paper*.

NOTICES.

Mr. Detrozier will Lecture at the Institution, Charlotte-street, on Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock.

National Equitable Labour Exchange.—The Second Quarterly Account not being yet audited, remains over for the present week.

The Teacher or Superintendent of the Rational School, Grosvenor-street, Millbank, is desirous of taking a few Children under twelve years of age to board, who would receive instruction in the school.

Terms, 11. per month, to be paid in advance. Application may be made personally, or by letter (post-paid), at the school as above.

SOCIAL TEA PARTIES of the Association of the Industrious Classes, 14, Charlotte-street. The Friends and Members are informed that their Social Meetings having given so much satisfaction, it is intended to continue them every Sunday afternoon, until further notice. The Second Social Tea Party will take place on the 16th inst. Tickets, 6d. each. Tea served at 4 o'clock.

During Tea, a selection of Vocal and Instrumental Music by the Amateur Band and Choir of the Institution.

National Equitable Labour Exchange,
14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place.
GROCERY DEPARTMENT.

THE Members and Friends are respectfully invited to support the Grocery Department of this Association. Arrangements have been made to obtain a supply of Groceries, which will be sold at a profit merely sufficient to cover the cost of distribution; the object being to insure our friends genuine articles at the lowest prices. The advantages we shall be able to give our friends being in proportion to the support we receive, we confidently anticipate that assistance will not be withheld.

THE THIRTY-NINTH SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, on Monday Evening next, the 17th instant.

Tickets of Admission, including Tea and Coffee, 1s. 6d., or 1s. and 1-hour note each. Doors to be opened at Seven, and the Concert to commence at a Quarter to Eight precisely.

The Dancing will commence at a quarter to 10, and continue uninterruptedly till One o'clock; Quadrille, Spanish, Medley, and Courté Dances alternating.

SOCIAL LAND COMMUNITY OF FRIENDS TO THE RATIONAL SYSTEM OF SOCIETY.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Actual Subscribers to the above Society, belonging to the Moral Union, will take place at the Green, Colville-court, Charlotte street, on Sunday Evening, February 16, 1834, to receive the Report of the Committee appointed to draw up Rules and Regulations for the consideration of the Subscribers, and other important business. The Chair will be taken at 5 o'clock.

FREDERICK BATE, Sec.

N.B. The Members of each Class, who may not yet have received their Cards, can be supplied, by applying at the Institution on Sunday Morning next.

ST. SIMONISM.

In a few days will be published, **NEW CHRISTIANITY**; by HENRI DE ST. SIMON. Translated from the French by the Rev. J. E. SMITH. Embellished with a coloured Engraving of the St. Simonian Female Costume.

Also in a few days,

The **SYNOPSIS** of the RATIONAL SYSTEM of SOCIETY. In a neat Pamphlet, price 1d. B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn-fields.

Of whom may be had, just published, **A SERMON**, by the Rev. G. REDFORD, A.M. of Angel-street Chapel, Worcester, on the doctrines of ROBERT OWEN, &c.; to which is appended a **REPLY**, by the Rev. J. E. SMITH, A.M. of London. Price 1s.

Lately published, **VOLNEY'S RUINS OF EMPIRES**, and **LAW OF NATURE**; in a neat pocket Volume, gilt lettered, with 2 plates, price 2s. 6d., or in 14 numbers at 2d. each.

The **AGE OF REASON**. By THOMAS PAINE; with a Portrait of the Author. Nearly bound in cloth, price 2s. 6d.; or in 20 numbers at 14d. each. B. D. Cousins, Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn-fields.

Of whom may be had, **A few complete Copies of the PIONEER**, of Trades' Union Magazine.

Printed and published by B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn-fields; and at 379, Strand.



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 16.

AFTER a few introductory remarks, Mr. Smith gave the following analysis of the SENSES:—

The sense of taste is the first sense, which reigns, and man looks around for more eating and drinking; this admits of very little sociality. In fact, the less the better, at times. Two dogs can scarcely enjoy a social repast upon one bone. This sense, in its original passive character, individualizes mankind, and confines their selfishness to their own persons; and as long as there is a scarcity of food for all, it will ever set individuals at variance. There is no sociality in it; it is purely selfish in the grossest sense of the word; but being so grossly selfish, so exclusively, so brutishly self, it becomes the very best sense of the lot for encouraging sociality; for the gratification of this selfish sense puts men in such good humour, that immediately all the fine social feelings of our nature begin to sparkle, and shed forth their benign rays upon all around them. Thus the fair and brilliant colours of nature are more beautifully relieved upon a dark ground; and the flash of the light and the twinkling of the star are only discoverable by the contrast of the surrounding gloom.

The other three senses are much more intellectual in their nature, and much more social in respect to the distribution of the pleasure. The smell is somewhat more refined and spiritual than the taste, and there is much less traffic in the pleasures of the nose than in the pleasures of the palate. Men have appropriated and individualized the pleasures of the palate, by collecting all those articles of vegetable or animal origin which give enjoyment to the taste; and this they can easily do, for the objects of taste are all visible and tangible, solid matter, which can be given to one and withheld from another; but the sweet scent of hay-fields, the hawthorn, or the pea-bloom, can be enjoyed as freely by the peasant as the noble, and is incapable of being bottled up and confined to the drawing-rooms of the wealthy. Had that been possible, it would have been done long ago, and the nobility and gentry would have collected around their own sacred persons all

the agreeable aromatic scents of nature, and left the pure stench to the hardy peasant, whose industry has given its sweetest savour to the meadows and gardens of his lord and master. What has been possible in this respect has already been done. The villas and the palaces of the nobility are perfumed without and within by the frankincense of nature; whilst the poverty of the poor man has compelled him to retreat to those hog-sties of filth and corruption into which nature invariably degenerates, if not prevented by the labour and industry of man. So far, then, there is a traffic in smells, but it is less susceptible of monopoly, inasmuch as the scent is not so easily caught and bottled up as a turtle or a bottle of champagne. The household servant enjoys the rural scent as much as his master; but it is only the master that enjoys the turtle and the liqueur.

The next sense to the smell is the sight. This is still more intellectual, and more social. Its range is infinite; universal nature delights it; and the man of intellectual and reflective mind has abundance of intellectual food conveyed to him by the eyes alone, without money and without price; but not a morsel can his mouth get without paying for it. No doubt the rich would have monopolized and appropriated to themselves all the beautiful sights of nature, if they could have accomplished it; but in that case they must have put the universe in their pockets, or put out the eyes of the people. But what they could do, they have done; they have selected the finest spots of earth for their own private residence, and they have inclosed these spots with walls, and guarded them with keepers and with dogs, to keep out the mob, who must be content with common-place nature, and abandon all the delicious enchanted vales to the favourites of fortune, who alone have that refinement and divine polish of soul that can do justice to their merits. Besides, there is a higher and a more extensive order of pleasure enjoyed by the educated and the wealthy, which results from the scientific system of observation, which, unless they are mere fools, they are in general taught to employ; their refinement of taste, their converse with men of science, their thousand opportunities of acquiring general knowledge, even in spite of themselves, unfold to their eyes innumerable

charms, which the uneducated, unpolished labourer and mechanic are incapable of perceiving. Add to these the beauties of art, of painting, of sculpture, of engraving, and numerous other branches of ingenuity, which are in a most exclusive degree accessible only to the rich, and you find that there is also a most unjust monopoly of sight, as well as of taste and of smell.

Hearing is the most intellectual and social of all the senses; it is the principal organ of social intercourse; it is the organ by which we correspond personally with each other, and hold familiar intercourse with each other's minds. Hearing is very intellectual, but limited in its range. That defect, however, is now supplied by means of the sight, and the printing-press, by which the thoughts of men, and the knowledge of particular facts, may be transmitted to all parts of the earth. The ear and the eye are therefore, in a peculiar sense of the word, intellectual senses; and it is chiefly by means of these two senses that mankind will come to a common understanding; it is by them that the intercourse between individuals is maintained; for them the fine arts are cultivated; and so miraculous are they in their mode of communication, that a thousand, and a thousand thousands can be fed and satisfied with the same morsel that is given to one. A shoulder of mutton will only serve a few individuals; and when they are satisfied, the mutton is no more; but that knowledge which is communicated to the ear of one, may be heard by a thousand; and that single fact which is impressed upon paper, may be communicated to all the human race, and yet enough be left to satisfy more, or revive the impression again, when memory has failed to recall it.*

* The sense of *smell* is the great universal sense, which comprehends all the rest, and combines them into one. The sight is universal in its sphere, but local as an organ, being confined to the eye. The feeling is universal in the body as an organ, but limited in its sphere of communication. The eye, therefore, is the great social organ which is the most extensive and comprehensive in its intercourse by means of written language, but without written language it is less social than the ear; the sphere of the one is preaching, lecturing, speaking, &c.; the sphere of the other in reading, &c.; but, as the two senses are purely intellectual, the one less the other greater, and as preaching, lecturing, &c., are first introduced without the art

[Mr. Smith then showed that self-love began with the individual, and manifested itself in the gross appetite of eating, children and brutes being most easily managed by the sense of taste; then it became more and more extended and intellectual, and tends at last to embrace all the species, and form a universal union, and a system of equal distribution. It advances into socialism, and still preserves its pure selfishness,—inasmuch as the socialism is only cultivated in order to promote the individual happiness; but this socialism cannot be accomplished until we have cultivated some wide-spreading, universal senses, which can transmit the thoughts of each other from place to place with rapidity and certainty. This has only of late been done in the arts of reading and printing, without which social union amongst men would be as impossible as among dogs and horses. We shall give a few more extracts, but let it be remembered that these are merely extracts: we cannot give the whole discourse, but we preserve the connexion as much as possible.]

Confined selfishness teaches unequal distribution; but refined or systematic selfishness teaches equal distribution. But it may be asked, Is this doctrine or system of equal distribution not rather to be derived from a principle of justice than a principle of selfishness. I answer, no; that the principle of selfishness ever has been, and ever must be, stronger than the love of justice. If the doctrine of equal distribution is deducible merely from the justice of the thing, then I say it does not go far enough; for if justice teaches us to distribute equally the necessities of life amongst mankind, and also to preserve the life of a fellow-creature, ought not justice also teach us to make an equal distribution amongst brutes, and to preserve with equal care the life of an inferior animal? The same sort of reasoning which proves all men to be equal, suffices also to prove that all animals are equal. Justice is blind to distinction between man and a brute; but self-love won't have it so. Self-love in man gives the preference to man, and takes upon itself the right of preserving or destroying the rest of the animal world. By what right do I take it upon me to destroy vermin? to kill a dog or a cat? to set traps for rats and mice, which devour the contents of the pantry, or destroy any other useful article? Have they not an equal right with myself to live and enjoy life, and also to devour the common produce of the earth? Are they not the children of nature as well as myself? My reason says, yes! they have a right to live and also to enjoy life. But my self-love and prejudice say, they shan't live under my roof; they shan't feed upon my provision; I shall devour them and persecute them, till I rid me of their presence for ever.

of printing, and are then perfected by the art of printing, the eye becomes the first great regenerator of mankind, and perfects all the other senses. The order of the senses, therefore, stands thus—FEELING, taste, smell, sight, hearing, the EYE (or written language); then the social regeneration begins, and goes back reasoning, by universal intercourse, the most social and intellectual first, and afterwards the sensual; viz. hearing, sight, smell, taste, FEELING.

This analysis illustrates many beautiful, but misunderstood, articles of ancient faith and philosophy, to which I cannot allude at present. The eye is the regenerator, but the ear is its teacher, the father of language. But the father can do little without the son.

This is the strongest reason or motive, and we have always followed it, and will continue to follow it for ever. It is the law of the strongest—the law of self-love, and not the principle of justice.

But then, it may be replied, no one ever affirmed that the social principle should extend so far as to embrace the inferior animals, and put them on a footing of equality with mankind. No! but what is it that prevents us from extending our sociality so far? Is it not self-love? Is it not that natural preference which we give to our own species? Certainly it is selfishness, and selfishness alone. But will not that same selfishness which makes a distinction between our own species and another species, also experience particular preferences for individuals, and companies of individuals, amongst ourselves? Certainly, we must always have our predilections, even in the most perfect state of society; for without predilections we could have no individual affection whatever; and if any one say that these predilections are unjust, I answer, we cannot help that, they are natural and unavoidable, and they are the very same in respect to justice as the preference which we give to our own species over that of a cat, a rat, or a dog. If partialities are allowable in one sphere of nature, they are allowable in another.

But these partialities or particular friendships are not unjust, they are necessary to the well-being of animal nature. They are necessary to preserve order and harmony in society; to prevent indiscriminate mixture and confusion; they unite kindred minds, and separate those which are uncongenial. They increase the pleasure of genuine love and friendship by concentrating them upon a few; and if they exist in a state of society which does not give encouragement to plunder and violence, or unequal distribution of food, clothing, and domestic comforts; they are calculated to confer a greater degree of happiness than that general indiscriminate love, which is called philanthropy, which, by embracing all the human race, overlooks individuals, and treats them with indifference.

Even man's selfishness in the extermination of other animals may be justified. Man is more susceptible of pleasure and pain than any other animal; the life of a man is not only valuable to the man himself, but it is valuable to others, who are personally attached to him in the character of a friend, a lover, a brother, or a son; and his death is the cause of multiplied suffering to other men. Not so with a brute; it is a solitary thing; it has no personal attachments, and its surviving fellows are not the less happy that it has fallen a prey to the knife of the butcher: it neither foresees the stroke itself, nor does its death confer any pain upon others. It is upon this principle of reasoning that man is justified in his selfishness, and in the very violence which he commits upon all the other animal creation, provided it be committed with the greatest possible tenderness.

As the self-love of a man first attaches to his own individual person; so, according to the law of nature, it next alights on an individual of the other sex. There never can be such a thing as general love. General love is no love at all: it is the cold, bleak frost of indifference or aversion; the affections must have a resting-place, and they will always give the preference of one individual to another. Hence, mankind will always live in pairs, and these pairs will be

unavoidably attached to each other, and prefer each other to all the rest of the species. Man is twofold by nature, male and female. Neither of the two is perfect when alone, and the love that subsists between two individuals of different sexes, is nothing else than individual selfishness. They are literally one. A common or general affection is not only contrary to the nature of man and woman, but it would be detrimental to the order of social life. It would cause a sort of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, which would create a scene of indescribable confusion. Even suppose jealousy were for ever removed, that the very word and the feeling which it expresses were unknown; still, the unsettled, roaming, and desultory sort of life which would be the consequence of indiscriminate or general love, would set society in an uproar, put a check upon the progress of industry, and sacrifice social and domestic comfort to the caprices and whims of temporary attachments and conjugal unions. But nature has provided an infallible preventive of such an evil. Love is a monopolist, when it is satisfied with the object. It is neither a roamer, nor an adventurer. It fixes a man to a particular spot; domesticates him, inspires him with sober and industrious habits, settles his mind and determines his pursuits, and cures him of the vagaries and wild and enthusiastic whims which are incident to those who are not bound by his silken cord.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE VIEWS OF MR. OWEN.

First given to the Public in 1817.

I will now proceed to other matters, important for all to understand thoroughly and well. It has been stated by me, that a gradual alteration in the arrangement of the working classes is absolutely necessary, owing to the new circumstances in which the country has been placed; it may be useful for me to make my ideas on this part of the subject better understood by the public.

At the commencement of the late war, all the products of Great Britain and Ireland were produced by about five millions and a half of the working classes, aided by a comparatively limited proportion of mechanical agency. The war created a large demand for men in the prime of life, for all the purposes of war, and it also created a demand for all the materials of war, in such a manner as to give a most extraordinary stimulus to the rapid extension of more mechanism. The result of these combined proceedings was to leave this country, at the commencement of peace, with a working population of about six millions, and an increased mechanical agency, which is now daily at work that effects as much as could be accomplished by the united labour of 150,000,000 more; and without consuming either food or raiment, and requiring but a few of other articles of manufacture. The certain results of this unnoticed change in the manner of supplying the wants of this and other countries, was to add, in a most extraordinary manner, to the amount of annual produce, without increasing the power of consumption in the same proportion. The one, therefore, greatly outran the other, and a very material diminution of products became necessary. Individual interest immediately made the calculation, and found mechanism to be a cheaper agency than manual labour; human beings were therefore discharged from employment, their labour in consequence rapidly fell in value, and with it fell almost every other article of commerce, and misery at once and most extensively followed. This is the grand cause that is constantly operating every hour to grind you to misery; and, while it continues, without other arrangements being made to give

a right direction to this magic power, hitherto unknown to the world, you must be subjected not only to the misery that now exists, but to much greater. Were every shilling of your national debt and taxes removed to-morrow, and were the Government wholly unpaid for all its services, in a very few years, either this or some other country must suffer more than you now experience.

Mechanism, which may be made the greatest of blessings to humanity, is, under the existing arrangements, its greatest curse. Those who direct the affairs of men ought to make themselves masters of this subject, and thoroughly understand all its mighty influence and consequences. They are overwhelmed with the labour of picking useless straws, while they ought to be engaged in gathering the most precious and valuable of all products; and which they might collect in unlimited quantities, with only the labour they now bestow in collecting the veriest trash. Investigate this subject now, or ere long dire necessity will compel you to give due attention to it. We, and all countries, are already so placed by it, that a very large portion of human beings are thrown idle greatly against their will, and they must be supported or starve, or be so placed as to be enabled to create their own subsistence. *Something, therefore, must be done* for them, and done soon, or society will speedily be in a confusion of which the human mind can previously form but inadequate conceptions. *That something must be employment on land. There is no alternative.* The question then is, How are men to be most advantageously employed on land to create their own subsistence, and well supply their own wants? Is there a single individual in existence who has been placed in a situation to enable him to understand the subject even partially? If one exists, let him now be named, and brought forward to instruct us in the practice of what ought to be, of what can be, done. For five years I have in vain sought for one; and if I had found such, I would have given to him all the knowledge and experience which, through nearly forty years of active inquiry and practice, I have collected, with the sole view of benefiting my fellow-men of every rank and description, of every country and colour; and I would have remained secluded and unknown to the public to the latest day of my existence; and when such an individual shall appear, and will advocate this most interesting subject, so as to make it practical to the world and give its endless benefits to man, I will again retire to the shade and rejoice; for, whether you believe me or not, it is a fact that, with the sentiments and feelings I possess, the full blaze of popularity would give me far more pain than pleasure. A rational being will not, never can, derive gratification from the ignorance and imbecility of his fellows, and there is no other source whatever from whence popularity or fame can proceed. In the absence of such individual as I have now asked for, I will now give you the result of the practical knowledge that experience has given me. It is solely for your use and benefit, and I give it to you at the hazard of all that is usually valued by man. The question is, How can men be most advantageously employed to create their own subsistence, and supply their own wants? I answer,

First, not by any of the existing arrangements in society; they have now been fully proved to be quite inadequate to the purpose.

Secondly, not by any arrangements that it is possible to make, by individualizing man in his proceedings either in a cottage or in a palace; for, while his character shall be so formed, and while the circumstances around him shall be, as they have must be, in unison with that character, he cannot but be an enemy to all men, and all men be in enmity and opposed to him; nay more, while the arrangement of society shall continue, the best parts, the only valuable parts of Christianity, can never be brought into action; you may as

well attempt to unite oil and water; individualized man, and all that is truly valuable in Christianity, are so separated as to be utterly incapable of union through all eternity. Let those who are interested for the universal adoption of Christianity endeavour to understand this, and discover that which for nearly two thousand years has rendered it impossible to unite their theory with the practice of the world.

Thirdly, I admit that to purchase a cottage, and let it to a labourer, with land sufficient to support an industrious family, would do much to relieve and improve society; but when all the details of such arrangements shall be known, it will be found very difficult of execution, very expensive, and very defective in all the results which are now required to remoralize and improve the working classes; as we advance in this interesting inquiry, it will be discovered that a limited knowledge only of our physical and intellectual powers could induce any parties to recommend this mode in preference to united labour, expenditure, and instruction, in conformity to a practical plan suggested 120 years ago by John Bellers, in complete unison with the soundest principles of political economy. Let us now contrast this plan, only somewhat enlarged, with the separate individualized cottage system, which is beyond all comparison the best that the existing arrangements of society now offer.

In the first place, under the cottage system, there must be a separate dwelling, and all the usual appendages for each family, which will be at first greatly more expensive, and far more incomplete than the arrangement proposed in the plans lately submitted to the public; and all the domestic labour to produce usual comfort would be double at least. In the second place, one half more land would be required to feed the parties on the cottage system, than on the new plan; and of course one half more labour would be necessary in cultivation. In the third place, the cottage system would not admit, without great expense and inconvenience, of an effective system to well train and instruct the children of such parents whom we now find profoundly ignorant under that system.

Under the new, the best possible arrangements are made not only to prevent the acquirement of bad habits, but to give them good ones, and the soundest and best instruction; and all this will be given more under the eye of their parents, than in any way this important object can be now attained; except under constant family tuition, and this in many respects will be found greatly inferior to it.

Fourthly.—In the fourth place, the cottage system offers no obvious advantageous mode to employ their children, so as to render them afterwards either so valuable to themselves, to their neighbours, or to their country, as the plan proposed. Under the cottage system they become stupid, ignorant, and brutally selfish; in the plan now advocated, they will be made lively, intelligent, and rationally selfish—that is, truly disinterested and benevolent.

Under the cottage system the parents are subjected to all the restraint to which ignorance and brutal selfishness must ever be liable; under the other now proposed, such injurious restraints may be gradually withdrawn, and in the second generation, punishment of every kind will not only be unnecessary, but the reason why punishment is pernicious will be evident to all. Under this system, kindness, properly directed, will easily and shortly accomplish that which punishment, if permitted to try its power, could not effect through all the ages of time; for punishment is the instrument of ignorance and barbarism only.

While the working classes shall remain individualized, the world will be liable to famine from unfavourable seasons. It never can be the interest of the growers of food, on this system, to raise more than sufficient for the consumption of the

year in an average season; and the cottage system will be subject also to this evil. The new arrangements will easily admit of granaries, and to have always on hand at least twelve months' stock for each village, in readiness to prevent the melancholy effects of a season of scarcity. The new villages would combine within them all the advantages of the largest town, without one of its innumerable evils and inconveniences; and with all the benefits of the country, without any of the numerous disadvantages that secluded residences now present.

In fact, the entire labour of the country, by the proposed arrangements, would be directed under all the advantages that science and experience could give; while now it is wasted in the most useless efforts, and generally exerted under the grossest ignorance. This difference in the application of human powers will soon produce an advantageous result in favour of the new system, far exceeding the annual amount in value of all the taxes and government expenditure. *But who is yet prepared to understand this kind of political arithmetic?*

The cottage system renders each individual of every family subject to those evils which all have witnessed and experienced, or are hourly liable to experience: the husband suddenly deprived of his wife, the wife of her husband—parents bereft of their children—children deprived of their parents. The ties of endearment are separated in a moment, and, under your system, what remains to the survivors? A wreck and desolation of all that before made life desirable; often anguish not to be described or imagined, for the irreparable loss of the only loved object in existence; no friend remaining that feels, or can feel, one particle of interest in all those nameless associations which had been formed by and with the departed object; and at the same time liable to insult, poverty, and every kind of oppression, and no one inclined to help or relieve. All are individualized, cold, and forbidding; each being compelled to take a hundredfold more care of himself than would be otherwise necessary; because the ignorance of society has placed him in direct opposition to the thousands around him. Under the proposed system, what a reverse will take place in practice when any of these dispensations of life occur! In these happy villages of unity, when disease or death assails its victim, every aid is near; all the assistance that skill, kindness, and sincere affection can invent, aided by every convenience and comfort, are at hand. The intelligent resigned sufferer waits the result with cheerful patience, and thus most effectually parries every assault of disease, when unaccompanied by its fell companion, death; and, when death attacks him, he submits to a conqueror whom he knew from childhood was irresistible, and whom for a moment he never feared! He is gone! The survivors lose an intelligent, a sincere and truly valued friend; a beloved child; they feel their loss, and human nature ever must regret it; but the survivors were not unprepared, or unprovided, for this natural event. They have, it is true, lost one endeared and beloved object; and endeared and beloved in proportion as it was intelligent and excellent; but they have consolation in the certain knowledge, that within their own immediate circle, they have many, many others remaining; and around them on all sides, as far as the eye can reach, or imagination extend, thousands on thousands, in strict, intimate, and close union, are ready and willing to offer them aid and consolation. No orphan left without protectors; no insult or oppression can take place, nor any evil result whatever, beyond the loss of one endeared friend or object from among thousands who remain, dear to us as ourselves. Here it may be truly said, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory?"

It may now be asked, "If the new arrangements proposed, really possess all the advantages that

have been stated, why have they not been adopted in universal practice, during all the ages which have passed?"

"Why should so many countless millions of our fellow-creatures, through each successive generation, have been the victims of ignorance, of superstition, of mental degradation, and of wretchedness?"

My friends, a more important question has never yet been put to the sons of men. Who can answer it? who dare answer it, but with his life in his hand; a ready and willing victim to truth, and to the emancipation of the world, from its long bondage of diuision, error, crime, and misery? Behold that victim! On this day—in this hour—even now—shall those bonds be burst asunder, never more to resume while the world shall last. What the consequences of this daring deed shall be to myself, I am as indifferent about, as whether it shall rain or be fair to-morrow. Whatever may be the consequences, I will now perform my duty to you, and to the world; and should it be the last act of my life, I shall be well content, and know that I have lived for an important purpose. Then, my friends, I tell you, that hitherto you have been prevented from even knowing what happiness really is, solely in consequence of the errors—gross errors—that have been combined with the fundamental notions of every religion that has hitherto been taught to men. And, in consequence, they have made man the most inconsistent, and the most miserable being in existence. By the errors of these systems, he has been made a weak, imbecile animal; a furious bigot and fanatic, or a miserable hypocrite; and should these qualities be carried, not only into the projected villages, but into *Paradise itself*, a *Paradise* would be no longer found.

In all the religions which have been hitherto forced on the minds of men, deep, dangerous, and lamentable principles of diuision, division, and separation, have been fast entwined with all their fundamental notions; and the certain consequences have been, all the dire effects which religious animosities have, through all the past periods of the world, inflicted with such unrelenting stern severity, or mad and furious zeal!

If, therefore, my friends, you shall carry with you, into these proposed villages of intended unity and unlimited mutual co-operation, one single particle of *religious intolerance*; or sectarian feelings of *diuision and separation*—maniacs only would go there to look for harmony and happiness, or *elsewhere*, as long as such insane errors shall be found to exist!

I am not going to ask impossibilities from you; I know what you can do, and I know, also, what you cannot do. Consider, again, on what grounds each man in existence has a full right to the enjoyment of the most unlimited liberty of conscience. I am not of your religion, nor yet of any religion taught in the world!—to me they all appear united with much—yes, with very much—error!

Am I to blame for thinking thus? Those who possess any real knowledge of human nature know that I cannot think otherwise; that it is not in my power, of myself, to change the thoughts and ideas which appear to me to be true. Ignorance, bigotry, and superstition, may again, as they have so often done before, attempt to force belief against conviction, and thus carry the correct-minded, conscientious victim to the stake; or make a human being wretchedly insincere! Therefore, unless the world is now prepared to discard all its erroneous religious notions, and to feel the justice and necessity of freedom, it will be futile to erect villages of union and mutual co-operation; for it will be vain to look on this earth for inhabitants to occupy them, who can understand how to live in the bond of peace and unity; or who can love their neighbour as themselves; whether he be Jew or Gentile, Mahomedan or Pagan, Infidel or Christian; any religion that

creates one particle of feeling short of this, is false, and must prove a curse to the whole human race!

And now, my friends, for such I will consider you to the last moment of my existence, although each of you were armed for my immediate destruction; such, my friends, and no other, is the change that must take place in your hearts and minds, and all your conduct, before you can enter into these abodes of peace and harmony; you must be attired in proper garments before you can partake of all the comforts and blessings with which they will abound.

Such are my thoughts and conclusions, and I know that you will hereafter ponder them well in your minds, and TRUTH WILL PREVAIL!

When you shall be thus prepared, if life be spared to me, I will be ready to accompany you, and to assist with all my power in every particular step that may be necessary to secure your immediate happiness and future well-being.

Now, my friends, I am content that you call me an infidel; that you esteem me the most worthless and wicked of all the human beings who have yet been born: still, however, even this will not make what I say one jot less true.

No name can make falsehood truth. How can any name whatever make truth more true? Of what use then can names be, except to give a false validity to gross error?

No one is implicated in the slightest degree in these sentiments. I do not wish to pledge any one beyond the most severe scrutiny and investigation, only to approve of what may appear practically beneficial, and to reject all that may be proved wrong in principle, or any ways injurious in practice.

The interest of those who govern has ever appeared to be, and under the present systems ever will appear to be, opposed to the interest of those whom they govern. Law and taxation, as these are now necessarily administered, are evils of the greatest magnitude; they are a curse to every part of society; but while man remains individualized they must continue, and both must unavoidably still increase in magnitude of evil. Under the system proposed, both these scourges of society will gradually diminish; and the diminution will be in exact proportion as men are made rational, moral, and intelligent. Each village will ultimately be governed by a committee of all its own members, from forty to fifty years of age, or should this number be too numerous, it may be composed of all from forty-five to fifty years of age; which would form a permanent, experienced, local government, never opposed to, but always in closest union with, each individual governed. This committee, through its oldest member, might communicate direct with the government, and the utmost harmony be thus established between the executive, the legislature, and the people.

No change whatever in our national institutions need take place for many years, except among the working classes: nor at any period, until the benefits of the arrangements proposed shall become fully evident to all parties. Every great national change hitherto proposed, has rendered it necessary to sacrifice the interests of some parties, by which only, the proposers imagined, the welfare of the others could be attained. But, my friends, the improvement I now advocate will remove many evils from all, and not introduce one to any. The change contemplated has no tendency, even in the slightest degree, to remove those who enjoy any supposed advantages in eminent stations to which they have attained. No one will envy those privileges, whatever they may be, and every hair of their heads will be securely guarded by the rapidly improving condition of the great mass of the people. This gradual and well-prepared change now advocated, has no tendency whatever to drag down from their stations those whom a course of events far, far beyond their control has placed there. It has solely for its object to raise from

abject poverty, misery, and degradation, those whom the same course of events has now sunk to the very depths of wretchedness. If the principles for which I contend be true, then there can be no permanent and beneficial change in human society that does not enable every one among the working classes to produce his own subsistence; to improve his bodily and mental powers; and to secure to himself the natural comforts of life; and which by his own labour, properly directed, will be very easily attainable. I hastily notice these particulars, in order that you may understand that a mere change of sufferers, whether it be from one part of a class to another—from one entire class to another—or from one nation to another—is no remedy for the great and increasing evils which the world now suffers. But this is the dilemma to which the systems that have hitherto regulated the conduct of men has reduced them; and while these principles shall be acted upon, a choice of severe evils only lies before them. Every great mind will comprehend, that to give the British population now, in its present state, greater freedom than the constitution has heretofore admitted, would put to hazard the safety of the state. The contending and selfish passions of mankind, irritated, goaded, and aggravated, by the hitherto unperceived operation of the new and irresistible power of mechanism—if let loose before ameliorating circumstances could be introduced, would expose all that is valuable in the country to certain destruction. But not a moment should be lost in applying the proper remedies to relieve the country, at the present alarming crisis. The plan proposed will effectually accomplish this object, in a manner most advantageous to each, and not injurious to any. The objections made against it proceed from a gross misconception of each of its parts separately, and a total want of knowledge of its effects when combined.

To enter further into details would be to arouse a desire for the attainment of the object, that would be injurious to its sound and beneficial progress. The change cannot be effected in a week, or a month, although much, very much, may be put into action next year; so much, indeed, as with ease to relieve the country from the most grievous evils of poverty: and it will be done. Should it be asked, on what principle is this assertion made? the reply is, on the well-known principle of self-interest, which compels all men to prefer their happiness, when easily attainable, to a continuance in wretchedness and misery.

The multitude, the uninformed part of the public, those, in short, whose field of vision is confined within the circle of ordinary localities, could form no conjecture why I disclaimed connection with the errors of all existing systems, political and religious. They could not know that to secure to them solid, substantial, and permanent good, my course must be such as they have seen; the declaration made at the last meeting was a step absolutely necessary then to take. To oppose myself to all the most inveterate, and hitherto unconquerable prejudices with which the human intellect has been afflicted, could not have been a premature and hasty measure on my part. I long knew that to deliver from abject slavery of intellect—from the grossest ignorance—from the vilest passions—from crime, from poverty, and from every species of wretchedness, I must, for a time, offend all mankind, and create in many, feelings of disgust and horror, at this apparent temerity of conduct, which, without a new understanding—a new heart—and a new mind, they could never comprehend; but these, in due time, shall now be given to them. Ere long there shall be but one nation, one language, and one people; even now the time is near at hand, almost arrived, when swords shall be turned into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks—when every man shall sit under his own vine, and his own fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid. But what is still more marvellous, the time is also at hand, when your

rejoice, delight, and love, for those who oppose all your prejudices, will be much greater than for those who now defend them; because you will discover that the instructions of the latter tend only to perpetuate endless evils throughout society.

Yes, my friends, in the day and hour when I disclaimed all connexion with the errors and prejudices of the old system, a day to be remembered with joy and gladness henceforward throughout all future ages, the dominion of FAITH ceased; its reign of terror, of disunion, of separation, and of irrationality was broken to pieces like a potter's vessel. The folly and madness of its votaries became instantly conspicuous to the world. When the benighted intellects of humanity were opened, and it was clearly perceived that any faith, however horrible and absurd, could be given to all of the sons of men, it was in the same hour made known that, therefore, Faith could be of no practical value whatever; but that its longer dominion on earth must be productive of error and misery; and if permitted to remain, that its continuance among the children of light would produce only evil continually.

Now, from henceforth CHARITY presides over the destinies of the world; its reign, deep rooted in principles of DEMONSTRABLE TRUTH, is permanently founded; and against it, hell and destruction shall not prevail.

Yes, on this day, the most glorious the world has seen, the RELIGION OF CHARITY, UNCONSCIOUS WITH FAITH, is established for ever. *Mental liberty for man is secured, and hereafter he will become a reasonable, and consequently a superior being.*

What is the character of this NEW RELIGION?

It is throughout consistent with all facts, and therefore TRUE. It suffereth long and is kind; envieth not; vaunteth not itself; is not puffed up; doth not behave itself unseemly; seeketh not her own; is not easily provoked; thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth. Beareth all things; believeth all things (WHICH DEMONSTRATED BY FACTS, BUT NOTHING THAT IS DISTINCTLY OPPOSED TO THE EVIDENCE OF OUR SENSES).

What is the power of Charity?

It never faileth; but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be (FALSE) knowledge, it shall vanish away.

What has been foretold of Charity?

That it has been known only in part, and prophesied of in part; but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass darkly, but when CHARITY REIGNETH ALONE, we shall see face to face; now I know in part, but then shall I know even also as I am known.

The greatest of all things is Charity.

What are the signs of the last days of misery on earth? "And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and, upon earth, distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth; for the powers of heaven shall be shaken." "And then shall they see the son of man (or TRUTH) coming in a cloud with power and great glory. And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption (from crime and misery) draweth nigh." "This generation shall be passed away until all shall be fulfilled."

What immediate and permanent consequences will follow from the religion of Charity alone, unaccompanied with Faith?

Peace on earth, and good will towards men.

What will be its conduct to those irrational persons, who for a time must oppose it?

Consideration for their mental infirmities; but

an ascending kindness will be continually exerted to benefit them; and thus evil shall be overcome of good, until its nature shall be changed, and its injurious propensities shall disappear from among the children of men. "Then shall the wolf dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the sucking together, and a little child shall lead them. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

What overwhelming power has done this? Where is the arm that has crushed the mighty ones of the earth, and made them afraid? Who has said, Let there light, and there was light, and all men saw it?

This marvellous change, which all the atoms of the earth could not effect through all the ages that have passed, has been accomplished, (without an evil thought or desire toward a being with life or sensation,) by the invincible and irresistible power of truth alone; and for the deed done, no human being can claim a particle of merit or consideration. That, hitherto, undefined, incomprehensible, power, which directs the atom, and controls the aggregate of nature, has in this era of creation made the world to wonder at itself.

The nations of the earth will be astonished! Their heretofore esteemed sacred institutions; their far-famed complex political arrangements; and their varied domestic manners, habits, and languages, will be no longer esteemed among men—"old things shall pass away, and all shall become new." (See the 68th and 69th chap. of Isaiah, for the calamities of ignorance, and the requisite changes therein described; and the 65th chap. on the omnipotence of truth, and the changes to take place in the fulness of time.)

It may now be asked, What are the characteristic differences between Old and New Society?

They are decisive and manifold.

Old society has supposed, contrary to every fact that has been observed from the earliest period of known time to this hour, that men form their own character! and all the transactions of mankind have been governed by this absurd notion!! New society will be instructed, by close and accurate attention to all existing and provable facts, that the child does not fashion itself in the womb; or direct the language, manners, habits, sentiments, and associations, which shall be afterwards impressed upon its natural, physical, and intellectual powers; and that the whole character of man is a compound of these combined circumstances. Old society, therefore, from the hour the child was born, began a system of conduct diametrically contrary to fact, and Nature was counteracted by all the efforts of ignorance. Nature, however, continually opposed ignorance, and all the force and violence of the latter could not keep the former in subjection. Ignorance then called in Superstition and Hypocrisy to its aid, and together they invented all the faiths or creeds in the world; a horrid crew, armed with every torture both for body and mind. A dreadful conflict ensued; Nature was overcome, and compelled for a long season to receive laws from her conquerors, and to be the slave of ignorance and Superstition. Nature was then treated with indescribable severity, and would have been put to death, if she had not been immortal, and possessed powers capable of gradual reaction, equal and superior to any force that could be permanently exerted against her.

As time advanced, the appalling terrors of Ignorance and Superstition, Faith and Hypocrisy, imperceptibly diminished. Experience waited herself to Nature, and produced Real Knowledge and Demonstrable Truth. These grew up together; in close bond of union with their parents, they became strong, felt conscious of their strength, and were soon eager for attack. But Nature and Experience knowing the wiles and power of their opponents, restrained their ardour, but insured them to continual opposition and severe contest,

until Knowledge and Truth became assured that their united efforts would be irresistible. War was then openly declared against Ignorance, Superstition, Faith, Hypocrisy, and all their dire associates. The latter instantly sounded the alarm, collected their forces, and began to prepare for battle. To their utter dismay, however, Charity, who till now had been compelled by force, contrary to her nature and inclinations, to be their ally, and appear in their front ranks, escaped their toils, and declared she would henceforward unite herself solely with Nature, Experience, Real Knowledge, and Demonstrable Truth; but to prevent all future devastation and misery, she would use her mediation, and obtain the best possible terms for the weakened; and now disheartened enemies of Nature and her invincible allies. This offer, seeing all resistance vain and hopeless, was readily accepted, and Truth and Charity dictated the terms, which, in consequence, were kind and benevolent, evincing that they were not influenced by anger, revenge, or any evil motive whatever.

Ignorance, Superstition, Faith, and Hypocrisy were permitted to retain all their possessions; to remain free and unmolested in the conquered country; but they were to leave it solely to the government of Nature, aided by Experience and Real Knowledge, as counsellors. And Charity, assisted by Demonstrable Truth and Sincerity, were to preside as the active agents over the whole dominions of the new state of society.

Their first care was to make a new code for the government of the people, in union with all Nature's laws.

They decreed it to be just that, as Nature was always passive before birth, in infancy, in childhood, and in youth, and was made beneficially or injuriously active by the treatment she had previously experienced, that Nature could do no wrong, and, therefore, could never become a proper subject for punishment; that the cause of all her errors proceeded from the powers that acted upon her in her passive state; and that, if these were consistent and proper, Nature would become actively good, and in consequence universally beloved; but if they were irrational and improper, Nature would become disgusting and wicked, and in consequence disliked and hated by all.

Charity, Truth, and Sincerity, therefore, decreed that not one child of Nature ought to be neglected or improperly treated; that it should be well trained, instructed, associated, and occupied, and placed amidst circumstances most congenial to the genuine feelings of Nature; and which were to be arranged by the twin sisters Science and Practice, who were to unite their efforts in the execution of every thing that was to be accomplished. Every minor regulation was in strict union with these general laws; and Truth was ever watchful to mark the least deviation from her favourite rule, "that inconsistency is error;" and therefore inconsistency must never be admitted into any transactions within the dominions of the New State of Society.

Such we have been now described are the fundamental differences between man in the old, and a man in the new state of society; in the first he has been a wretched, credulous, superstitious, hypocrite; in the last, he must become rational, intelligent, wise, sincere, and good. In the old, the earth has been the residence of poverty, luxury, vice, crime, and misery; in the new, it will become the abode of health, temperance, wisdom, virtue, and happiness. The change from the one to the other, however, must not be too hasty. All I ask is, let it be gradual, and conducted in the true spirit of benevolence; and let no one be injured in mind, body, or estate.

We have, therefore, my friends, a most important duty now to perform. The institutions of our forefathers, enormous as they are, must not be handled with violence, or rudely touched. No; they must be still preserved with care, supported,

and protected, until it has proved its numberless important benefits to mankind, even to the conviction of the most unbelieving. None must suffer in person, property, or comfort; all will soon be reconciled to the change, and lend a helping hand. The instructors of the endless, varied, existing creeds or faiths, which have deluged the world with blood, and rendered it a curse and desolation, will all become the unresisting teachers of Charity. Benevolence will pervade all their language and all their conduct; and an evident and substantial success will crown every step of their future progress. They will no longer say, we piped unto you, and ye have not danced, or, that we preached in vain.

The whole frame of society may remain as it is; the British constitution will readily admit of every improvement requisite to insure the interest and happiness of the empire. A CHANGE of the most extensive magnitude the world ever contemplated will be accomplished without violence or confusion, or any very apparent opposition. The feelings and the interests of mankind imperiously demand this change; *the world approves—and none can resist.*

Thus, in the fulness of time, ere its commencement was well known, is the great work accomplished:

The change has come upon the world like a thief in the night.

No man knows whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth.

ROBERT OWEN.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEB. 22.

We were rather surprised to find, in the last number of *Cobbett's Magazine*, such a lame attempt as the following to defend the system of private property. The argument is clothed in the popular garb of a fable:—"A gooseberry-bush which grew on the road-side complained that it did not bear fruit as other gooseberry-bushes; it was chopped down like a bramble by the commoners, or its unripe fruit was plucked by the idle boys and girls. As a fruit-tree, it was thrown away, because nobody could stand by and say, "Don't touch this fruit, the tree is MINE." "What is everybody's business is nobody's business," says the writer; "and what is every body's property is nobody's property;" and after a great circumlocution, all amounting to what we have comprised in one or two sentences, he concludes thus:—"This proves the necessity for having property belong to private persons; some to take care of what all are to enjoy."

Now, will any man tell us what is the meaning of the above sentence? It is a puzzler. Whether does it defend private property or common property? He says, some must take care of what all are to enjoy—certainly. This is a mere truism, not worth telling; for every schoolboy knows that, unless you cultivate the earth, and tend the production thereof, it will become a wilderness; thistles will grow among the wheat, and cockle among the barley. But how are all to enjoy the gooseberries, if they are private property? We always understood that private property was not public property,

and that the produce of the earth, which was reared by private individuals, was reared for themselves only. We know what the writer means; he means that things should just continue as they are; that individuals should compete as heretofore, and endeavour to outdo each other, for he imagines that public property would become a wilderness for want of cultivation. Now we would ask this public teacher whether the public could not employ an individual to take care of a gooseberry-bush just as well as an English squire could employ a gardener to dress his garden? Is the garden worse dressed because the squire does not dress it? Is it necessary that the proprietor of the bush should prune it, and nurse it, and destroy the weeds that threaten to suffocate it? No, the gardener will do it much better; and yet the bush does not belong to the gardener. Upon the same principle of reasoning, then, upon which this economist defends private property, may we oppose it, for his own arguments defeat themselves, and his premises cry shame upon his conclusion.

Last week and this, the delegates of the Trades' Unions have met in London, for the purpose of taking into consultation the affairs of the people. There are two Parliaments in London at present sitting; and we have no hesitation in saying that the Trades' Parliament is by far the most important, and will, in the course of a year or two, be the most influential. It is more national than the other; the constituency is much larger. The Union is composed of nearly a million of members, and universal suffrage prevails amongst them. The present is not a general congress. The delegates would have been too numerous for a first sitting, which was intended to transact merely preliminary business. Besides, they are not as yet prepared with a House of Commons. That they must build for themselves. The Parliament has refused to build a new house for itself, wisely calculating that it would not require another. An empire within an empire is now growing; and the old legislature will, no doubt, soon retire from business. It is now time for lords and lordly commoners to set their house in order and wind up their affairs. What they now do is mere palavering; they are merely the bullocks whom the people are driving; they are very reluctant, and obstinate as bullocks generally are; but they are, at last, obliged to run in the path which their masters point out to them. At present the parliament are useful as a check and an executive power; but every year will increase their worthlessness, till they dissolve at last in everlasting disorganization, giving way to a parliament of industry, which shall consult the welfare of the mass in preference to the advantage of the few.

On Wednesday week a large public meeting was held at the National Labour Exchange, to take into consideration the objects which the advanced state of society now requires from

the governments of civilized nations, for the benefit of all classes. The report, however, was so late in reaching us, that we could not insert it; we shall give it next week. We have also omitted Mr. Owen's lecture this week, because we have given the substance of a lecture which he delivered on a previous occasion. Mr. Morrison, the editor of the *Pioneer*, addressed the meeting after Mr. Owen, returned thanks in the name of the Unionists of Derby, for the liberality which they had experienced from their friends in Charlotte-street; and gave some very gratifying intelligence respecting the cause of the suffering workmen, stating, that he trusted that, in a week or two, they would be in full employment, conducting their own affairs independent of their masters. These strikes, he observed, had proved exceedingly fortunate; they had pushed on the operatives to active exertion, and compelled them to do what, if left to the mere impulse of calm reason and reflection, they never would have attempted.

After the Lecture, Mr. Baume came forward with a little boy, which he says is entrusted to his care, and requested that he should be publicly registered, and named after Julian Hibbert. Mr. Owen, in doing so, spoke a well-merited eulogium on Mr. Hibbert, who, he said, was one of the most perfect models of humanity he had ever beheld. Many, we have no doubt, will deplore his loss; he had a most generous heart, a most unbounded philanthropy; yet was he one of those who, with the most tender and sympathetic feelings, enjoyed a life of solitude, and almost abjured society. In a state of society like the present, this may be regarded as an indication of a more refined and delicate mind than is common amongst men, especially when it is accompanied by a spirit of generous distribution; for who that has nerves of any delicacy of texture, can walk even the streets without horror at the ghastly spectacles which competition and tyranny have driven from a comfortable roof, to prowl, or supplicate the deaf ears of hardened selfishness for a morsel of bread? The delicate nerves of some of our fine ladies and scented gentlemen, also drive them from scenes of misery to spare their offended feelings; but when they fly from distress, they forget the sufferer; but Hibbert carried his sympathy along with him; he was ever present in spirit with the poor, the oppressed, and the friends of liberty. He has given a thousand pounds to an individual at once, because he saw he was a man of nerve, and could turn it to good account in the case of the people. His other donations are too numerous to be reckoned; no one knows them, nor could he even himself (if alive) recount them. Mr. Hamilton, of Dalziel, and he, died about the same time. Hamilton was another specimen of as good a beau ideal of moral perfection as this old world can furnish; his sacrifices in the cause of universalism are well-known. Though reared amongst the aristocracy, he was a man of the people; he loved

humanity, and not the gilded trappings with which art has clothed it; he longed for that benevolent enjoyment which arises from the cheerful looks of a happy population, which are better symptoms of the prosperity of a nation than the wealth of its nobles and the military prowess of its generals. He has helped to plough the field, but he has not reaped the harvest.

The following is the letter Mr. Baume sent with his Protégé:—

TO ROBERT OWEN, ESQ.

SUNDAY, FEB. 16.

RESPECTED SIR,—The bearer of this letter is an orphan entrusted to my care. He was born on the 24th of May, 1830. I never allowed his being christened, because I have never found in history a character worth imitating in every respect. To my unspeakable sorrow, however, that difficulty is now removed! I request you, therefore, to record the birth of this boy in the books of your Institution, and to name him after *Julian Hibbert*, in order to perpetuate the memory of the public and private virtues of my late beloved friend.

Yours respectfully,

R. BAUME.

ANOTHER SPECIMEN OF PIETY!

At a numerous and *highly respectable* meeting of the citizens of Norwich, on the 6th of February last, a very loyal and Christian declaration was passed in approbation of the present church establishment, and religion as it is, and not as it ought to be. The meeting were *deeply impressed* with a conviction that the Church of England is one of the greatest blessings which they have received from their forefathers, and were resolved, if possible, to hand it down, unimpaired and unpoluted by the sacrilegious hand of Reform, to the latest posterity: it is a heavenly growth, and no mortal arm should dare to prune, or to lop it, or even to stunt it.

Amongst other eulogists of our worthy mother, was a sanctimonious sheriff, a Scribe, at least, if not a Pharisee, who deplored, in most affecting strains, the awful warning that was given to the Bishops, by a great authority in the state, at the commencement of reform, "to set their houses in order," as also the withdrawal of the parliamentary grant for the propagation of the gospel; and, above all, the cutting off, with one fell swoop, eleven bishops from the Irish Church: these were *awful sins*; and he attributed these to the diabolical agitations of Dissenters and Infidel Regenerators, the latter of whom he very learnedly and chastely describes in the following language: "enwrapped in the dark, sullen vapours of metaphysics, and grovelling in the lowest and filthiest depths to which human nature, in its most degraded state, is capable of attaining, we may apply to them the lines,

*Feedisima ventris prolevaries; necesseque manes
Et pallida semper ora fame."*

The meaning of which is—a most filthy affair comes from their bellies; they have crooked or hooked hands (for picking pockets we suppose), and faces always pale with hunger; but the sheriff rather had not the impudence to translate it, or he was resolved to make a show of learning at a public meeting, and have the filthy stuff thrown at the reformers, without offending the nostrils of the air. However, he proceeds in plain English thus:

And these obscene harpies (to use the words

of Burke), who deck themselves in I know not what divine attributes (true!) and who are really ravenous birds of prey, flutter over our heads and souse on our tables (we wish this were true), leaving nothing unrent, unripped, unravaged, unpoluted with the slime of their filthy touch.

There's a speech for you! worthy of being written in letters of gold, and placed over the sounding-board of every pulpit in England. But if the sheriff's bowels are bowels of mercy, and not mere Infidel Regenerators' bowels, he might, at least, have refrained from making mockery of the poor man's countenance, "pale with hunger." Surely this paleness is no moral crime; no good reason why a man should be designated by the opprobrious name of an "obscene harpy." And pray, who has more crooked fingers than a lawyer, or can pick pockets more dexterously? This pious lawyer then proceeded to abuse the Dissenter, but not just so religiously as he besmeared the Regenerators, and concluded by expressing a hope that the bishops would be firm, and summon up to their aid the old spirit of martyrdom, and that the lords, having seen the folly of yielding twice, would not yield a third time.

Then Mr. Speaker Skipper arose, and he said that the church had been the cradle of liberty and knowledge. That Archbishop Lanfranc had brought forth from obscurity and cobwebs the Magna Charta of British liberty, and the bishops had supported constitutional liberty in the time of *James the Second*!! and therefore the people of England owe a debt of gratitude to the church, which ought to be supported in consideration of its members; that is, we are to support a corrupt priesthood, because there have been occasionally honest priests. Then, why should we hang murderers, when the holy Psalmist was a murderer? Mr. Speaker Skipper had better take care of his logic, and keep it to himself till it grows somewhat more mature, or let him go back to his mother's "titty," and get a little more milk; he has been weaned too soon.

Such is a specimen of the march of intellect in Norwich.

MILLENNIAL HOPES.

Visionary and absurd as were the dreams of the Alchemists, they are not yet totally abandoned by men of science. In the sixth volume of the *Philosophical Magazine*, we are told that Dr. Gertanner, of Gottingen, has lately ventured to pronounce the following oracle:—"In the nineteenth century, the transmutation of metals will be generally known and practised. Every chemist and every artist will make gold; kitchen materials will be of silver, and even of gold, which will contribute more than anything else to prolong life, poisoned at present by the oxides of copper, lead, and iron, which we daily swallow with our food." The doctor seems to be not far off from the elixir of immortality, which Paracelsus thought he had so far discovered that he could prolong his life several hundred years; but he unfortunately died when he was about forty. Our ancestors seem to have been very confident of the possibility of accomplishing these marvels; and the tales recorded of the alchemists put to blush the simple and ordinary miracles of prophets and apostles. Henry IV., of England, was so sanguine in his alchemical hopes, that he published a patent, in which he tells his subjects that the happy hour was at hand, and by means of the stone, of which he should be master, he would pay all the debts of the nation in real

gold and silver. This patent was granted by authority of Parliament, which has always had a peculiar habit of flattering the people with hopes which it never realized. According to the Scriptures, there will be abundance of gold in the Millennium:—"For brass I will bring gold, for wood brass, and for stones iron. I will also make thine officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness. Violence shall be no more heard in thy streets, wasting nor destruction within thy borders, but thou shalt call thy walls salvation, and thy gates praise." These latter are the true gold; and if our legislators and parsons could discern their true interest, they might soon produce the philosopher's stone, and convert this now afflicted nation into the garden of God.

The true philosopher's stone is a proper system of political society, in which the rights and privileges of every individual shall be respected, in which the rich shall not triumph over the poor, nor the poor look with jealousy and envy upon the rich. Of what use is the metal called gold to man? It has hitherto only cankered his heart, and drenched his liver with bile; but the evil is not to be ascribed to the metal, which is in itself both innocent and valuable; the evil is to be charged upon the monopolizing system; the unnatural and unsocial laws of legislatures, which confer upon individuals the right of amassing enormous wealth, to the exclusion and spoliation of those whom fortune has debarred from enjoying the same advantages. The remedy for this evil is to be found in the social system of communities, sanctioned by the moral teaching of Christ and the example of the early Christians, and now proposed to be established (to the shame of the Christians be it spoken) by infidels.—From the *Antichrist*.

EFFECTS OF KNOWLEDGE.—The more widely knowledge is spread, the more will they be prized whose happy lot it is to extend its bounds, by discovering new truths; to multiply its uses, by inventing new modes of applying it in practice. Real knowledge never promoted either turbulence or unbelief; but its progress is the forerunner of liberality and enlightened toleration. Whoso dreads these, let him tremble, for he may be well assured that their day is at length come, and must put to sudden flight the evil spirits of tyranny and persecution, which haunted the long night now gone down the sky.—LORD BROUGHAM, *Glasgow Discourse*.

DEGRADATION.—Do the childish titles of aristocracy detract from my domestic comforts, or prevent my intellectual acquisitions? But those institutions of society which should condemn me to the necessity of twelve hours' daily toil, would make my soul a slave, and sink the rational being into the mere animal. It is a mockery of our fellow-creatures' wrongs to call them equal in right, when, by the bitter compulsion of their wants, we make them inferior to us in all that can soften the heart, or dignify the understanding. Let us not say that this is the work of time, that it is impracticable at present, unless we, each in our individual capacities, do strenuously and perseveringly endeavour to diffuse among our domestics those comforts, and that illumination which, far beyond all political ordinances, are the true equalizers of men.—S. T. COLERIDGE: *Friend*.

GLASGOW TURN-OUT.—In and around Glasgow there have been great disturbances of late amongst the weavers. There has been a strike amongst them, and new hands have been employed to supply the place of the old; this has given occasion to acts of violence in several places. At Denny, Milton, Lillyburn, Lennoxton, Strathblane, Milngavie, Leven, and other places, the printers went in a body, and after breaking forcibly into the works, compelled all the new hands to leave off working. Many of the rioters have been apprehended and sent to gaol, and the light infantry and dragoons have been called out to secure the peace of the country. A meeting of the masters has been held, and the Lord Advocate has promised them every assistance with troops. They are changing hands like the Derby masters; several carriages have left Glasgow with new hands to Milngavie. This is merely adding fuel to the flame.

HORRIBLE! INCENDIARIES DISCOVERED BY MEANS OF BLOODHOUNDS!—This horrible method of tracing the perpetrators of crime has been tried in Oxfordshire. The Duke of Marlborough has some bloodhounds; his steward, who has the care of them, had recourse to this plan at the fire at Mr. Raingley's, of Woodstock, one of the duke's tenants. The steward was one of the first on the spot, and observed some fresh footsteps; he marked their direction, and summoned his conductor. The hound was no sooner put on the footsteps, than he opened his deep-toned notes, and traced with wonderful exactness every winding attempt to elude his eager pursuit, until he reached a cottage. The door was opened, but no man was found. However, the insatiable pursuer was not to be thus deluded, for, rushing out in the direction of the fire, he became more anxious at every step, until he seized one of a group going to assist. The man was thunderstruck at this discovery, and soon confessed that he was the perpetrator of the act.

A PORTABLE HOUSE.—A very convenient and handsome dwelling, made entirely of wood, double-roofed, and containing two sitting-rooms, two bed-rooms, and a kitchen, with a front entrance, and passage down the middle, has been built for the residence of a gentleman executing such works as require his continuance in one place for some time. It is at present at Sleaford. It can be taken into three parts. The rooms are all handsomely furnished and papered, and the kitchen has every requisite for a small family.

A baker of Rome was condemned in a heavy fine, for having sold bread at an illegal price. The motive for his condemnation was not that the seller had done wrong to the purchaser, in giving him a quantity inferior to that which he ought to have received, but quite the contrary. The fault consisted of doing injury to the vendors of bread, in treating the purchaser too advantageously. The explanation of this unjust judgment is very simple. Almost the whole of the bakehouses of Rome belong to the cardinals, who have consequently an interest in selling the bread as dear as possible, and who regard as a crime every thing that tends to diminish their revenues.—*New Christianity.*

Governments are generally about twenty years behind the intellect of their time. In legislation, they are like parents quarrelling what kind of frocks their boy shall wear, who, in the mean time, grows up to manhood, and won't wear any frocks at all.

NOTICES.

Mr. Detrouer will Lecture at the Institution, Charlotte-street, on Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock.

THE FORTIETH SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, on Monday Evening next, the 24th instant.

Tickets of Admission, including Tea and Coffee, 1s. 6d., or 1s. and 1-hour note each. Doors to be opened at Seven, and the Concert to commence at a Quarter to Eight precisely.

The Dancing will commence at a quarter to 10, and continue uninterruptedly till One o'clock; Quadrille, Spanish, Medley, and Contré Dances alternating.

A GRAND MUSICAL FESTIVAL will take place at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, 14, Charlotte-street, every Friday evening during Lent. Admission to the Corridors, 1s.; Back Seats, 6d. (For particulars, see bills.)

SOCIAL TEA PARTIES of the Association of the Industrious Classes, 14, Charlotte-street. The Friends and Members are informed that their Social Meetings having given so much satisfaction, it is intended to continue them every Sunday afternoon, until further notice. The Third Social Tea Party will take place on the 23d inst. Tickets, 6d. each. Tea served at 4 o'clock.

During Tea, a selection of Vocal and Instrumental Music by the Amateur Band and Choir of the Institution.

National Equitable Labour Exchange,
14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place.

GROCERY DEPARTMENT.

THE Members and Friends are respectfully invited to support the Grocery Department of this Association. Arrangements have been made to obtain a supply of Groceries, which will be sold at a profit merely sufficient to cover the cost of distribution; the object being to insure our friends genuine articles at the lowest prices. The advantages we shall be able to give our friends being in proportion to the support we receive, we confidently anticipate that assistance will not be withheld.

THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE.

The second quarterly account, which will be found to return a profit, notwithstanding the charges for extensive alterations, is delayed from publication, owing to the Committee having determined, in the first place, to take stock, for the purpose of ascertaining the accuracy of the audit-sheet in this important respect, and thereby silence those persons who are ready, on all occasions, to raise doubts upon the official statements of this hitherto prosperous establishment.

SOCIAL, MISSIONARY AND TRACT SOCIETY.

The members of this Society having been, of late, diverted from their former zealous and beneficial proceedings, owing to the intervention of more pressing objects, and the appeals of other societies, none of which have been found to supply the place of the above society, it has been determined, by many of the old members and friends, at once to re-constitute the same in its full efficiency; to which end a General Meeting is hereby called, for Sunday next, at half-past three, at 15, North-street, Upper Charlotte-street, when the accounts will be brought forward, and a time fixed for the election of Committee, Council, and other officers, until which election the Council last chosen will continue their labours.

Feb. 18, 1834. ROBERT ALGER, Sec.

WESTMINSTER RATIONAL SCHOOL, AND GENERAL SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION, GROSVENOR STREET, MILLBANK.

LECTURES are Delivered at the above Institution, on Sunday and Wednesday evenings. Doors open at seven; Lecture to commence at half-past seven o'clock precisely. Admission 1d. Upper seat 4d. Ladies free.

N.B. A Governess being wanted at this Institution, any Female desirous of taking such a Situation is requested to apply between the hours of seven and ten on Monday evening next.

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Republished by the Society for Promoting National Regeneration.

A LETTER from JOHN FIELDEN, Esq. M.P., to one of his Constituents, in Defence of the Views and Objects of the Society Established at Manchester, for the Abridgment of the Hours of Labour, and the Improvement of the Moral and Physical condition of the Industrious Classes.

This Letter contains a full refutation of all the fallacies promulgated by Colonel Torrens, M.P., and by the *Times*, *Globe*, *Spectator*, and *Examiner* newspapers, upon this important subject.—Price Sixpence.

Also was published, on Saturday, February 23, price One Penny (to be continued Weekly).

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This day is published,

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"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 23.

Mr. Smith lectured on "THE FINE ARTS."

He drew the distinction between artizan and artist, and showed that the artist, being the more refined and intellectual of the two, is the originator of all the useful arts. The useful arts were once fine arts, or merely arts of imagination and theory, till, having established their character by successful practice and the production of articles of general consumption, they come under the denomination of "common industry." The sphere of common industry is always enlarging by new discoveries and inventions, so that the time must come when every man will be a producer of something, which has become a *necessary of life*. The fine arts prepare the way for the useful arts. The latter owe their existence to the former; but, in order to advance more rapidly the progress of society, these two departments ought not to be separated, but each individual should be an artist and an artizan; he should not only practice some one of the arts already established as essential to the happiness of society, but he ought to cultivate some one or other of the ornamental or infant arts and sciences, in order to help forward the movement of society.

I shall now for a short while dwell upon the peculiar advantage derived to society from the cultivation of the fine arts. The fine arts, as I have already observed, are chiefly the arts of imagination. All the arts were once fine arts; but gradually they became necessary for the common purposes of life, and came under the denomination of the useful arts. But there are a few of the arts which stand pre-eminent above all others, for their peculiar polish and refinement, and which, in all ages of the world, have been distinguished by the peculiar appellation, "fine." These are, poetry, music, painting, sculpture, eloquence, dancing, &c. Now, all mankind are either gifted by nature with some degree of success, some of these refined and intellectual arts, or they are capable of receiving a high degree of satisfaction from the productions of others. Low and vulgar must that mind be, which is insensible to the charms of poetry and music, or which is

not to be affected by the impassioned strains of eloquence, or the vivid representations of stage acting. It must be a mind which is either absorbed in some one overwhelming idea, which for a season engrosses all its faculties, and harrows its feelings with an infinity of vexatious recollections or fearful forebodings; or a mind which nature has not cast in the common mould of humanity, and forgot to invest with a capacity for progressive improvement and social intercourse.

The fine arts are not confined to civilized nations, they belong to human nature; and are so far from being last in the order of succession, that they are the first-born of human nature. I have already observed, that the artist is before the artizan, and so are the fine arts before what we call the useful arts; but, indeed, the designation "useful arts" is quite as applicable to the fine arts as to any other. Speech, or eloquence, is one of the very first arts, almost the starting point from which our progress commences; music also begins about the same time; these two are taught by the animal creation around us: the birds would teach the one, and the beasts would give instructions in the other, and that too before man had ever thought of either working brass or iron, or making use of any mechanical instrument whatsoever. Poetry came into being soon after, and drawing and sculpture would, no doubt, be practised before either of the former, to enable them to express their thoughts. They would draw representations on the ground, make little images of clay, and harden them in the sun or the fire, and thus communicate their sentiments to each other, by means of symbols. This we know was originally the case from the Egyptian monuments, which are all covered over with lines and figures, representations of birds, beasts, fishes, and other things, all expressive of some meaning, which, no doubt, was well understood by all, and which they could not express otherwise for want of written language. Drawing or painting was once the only species of writing. It was the art by which one person communicated with another; he took a leaf of papyrus, and drew the symbols upon it, and sent it to his correspondent, and he guessed at the meaning the best way he could. Thus, for instance, when an ancient Egyptian general replied to an

embassy from his enemies, proposing conditions of peace, he sent an arrow, a bird, a frog, and a mole, and left it to the ingenuity of his enemy to discover the meaning. It was interpreted thus: unless you can fly in the air like the bird, or live under water like the frog, or burrow under ground like the mole, you shall not escape the vengeance of my arrows. The ancients were more witty in finding out these meanings than we now are, because they were more accustomed to them. Necessity compelled them, they had no other method of writing; and therefore learning consisted principally of understanding the meaning of symbols, pictures, and emblems. Thus, King Solomon says that wisdom will teach a man to understand a proverb and the interpretation, the words of the wise, and their dark sayings; and King David begins one of his psalms in the following way: "I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old." So that it appears certain that not only are the fine arts before the useful arts in the order of time, poetry before prose, and painting and sculpture before writing, but parables and riddles before plain language, men being obliged to speak in riddles by signs, symbols, and emblems, until they acquired a language sufficient for the expression of their thoughts.

Thus it is perfectly evident that we are indebted to the fine arts for all our knowledge and all our progress in civilization. The fine arts first commenced the progress of mind; the fine arts have kept up the movement of society; and to the fine arts we must look for further progress in art and science to all eternity. Let us not, therefore, treat them despitefully, but let us endeavour to obtain a correct notion of their utility and their influence in the great machinery of human society.

Let us merely take one of these fine arts as a specimen of the rest, examine what are its merits, and endeavour to calculate the amount of good which we have derived from the study of it. Suppose we take the art of painting. We have already seen that the ancients employed it instead of speech, and they also employed it instead of writing. By-and-by they reduced the size of their emblems and figures, and made them into the form of letters. In the course of ages, they made these letters, which were at first very large and un-

manageable, smaller and smaller; and, at last, composed an alphabet, and a species of handwriting, which is now carried to such a degree of perfection, that we can communicate the very nicest and most minute conception of our minds by means of it; hence, we are indebted to the art of painting or drawing for written language. But it is to written language we are indebted for almost all our knowledge; we may, indeed, say all, for unless we could compare the extensive experience of other men with our own, which is only to be done by reading, we could never be said to be in possession of any real knowledge. The fine art of drawing, then, is the very fountain of learning. But the art of drawing has not only produced written language, but it has produced maps, globes, plans, designs, &c., by means of which we obtain an immense variety of useful knowledge. What a vast fund of knowledge is conveyed to the mind by means of a globe, where the whole world is painted in miniature before our eyes, and which gives us as correct an idea, indeed, a more correct idea, of the planet we inhabit, than could be given if we were lifted up from the surface of the earth, and presented with a bird's-eye prospect of the whole hemisphere! We see all the continents, and their respective kingdoms, with the capital cities, and many of the provincial towns and villages, the rivers, the mountains, the deserts, and the plains. We see the distance of one place from another, its relative position on the globe, its longitude, its latitude, the very temperature of its climate, all laid down with such precision, that we may be said to have the world in our hands.

It is by drawing, also, we are enabled to carry architecture to perfection; the architect first draws the model, before he begins to build. Without this model, the work could never be accomplished; it would be a confused mass of rubbish, without beauty, comeliness, order, or symmetry. Our machinery is the production of this invaluable art; it is all originally modelled by drawing. The inventor plans it on paper, before he realizes it in substance; and before he can give directions to the engineer to erect it, he must have it most minutely and beautifully designed, with every particular feature carefully delineated.

Moreover, to the art of drawing we are indebted for mathematics; and to mathematics we are indebted for astronomy. We also owe our knowledge of botany to drawing; for, by means of it, we become acquainted with plants of which we have never seen the originals. In fine, it is more or less connected with all the sciences, and is, without a single exception, the most useful, the most comprehensive, and the finest art in existence.

I do not hesitate, then, to place the art of drawing at the very head of the list. It has not a rival; none that can dare to dispute the sceptre with itself; it is the universal source and monarch of all the arts and sciences. In further illustration of this, I shall compare it with some others of the fine arts—with eloquence or music, for instance; these are very refined and very intellectual arts; but there is one thing remarkable about both, and that is their momentary existence. Their province is mere sound; it dies as soon as it is produced; the melting strain of the finest instrument, touched by the hand of the most exquisite artist, is merely the flash of the meteor; the fitting vision of a spirit before the eyes, which vanishes before its form and its features have been distinguished.

"'Tis like the snow-drop in the river,
A moment white, then melts for ever."

The orator and the musician both deal in the same fickle material; and their productions die as soon as they are born, never more to be recalled from the womb of time. Not so with drawing; the productions of this art are everlasting, because it works with solid matter. The hieroglyphs of the Egyptian priests are still in preservation,

when the sound of their voice and the music of their instruments are lost in everlasting annihilation. But such is the divinity, the power of drawing, that, being immortal itself, it can convey immortality to others. It has the power of rendering both oratory and music immortal, though in themselves they are merely ephemera, that flash into being, and are annihilated in a moment. By means of drawing, a piece of music is committed to paper, and conveyed from one musician to another, who is able to produce it with ease, as often as he pleases. Thus music can be transferred from Great Britain to China, and produced in China by a skilful musician, who plays a tune which he never before heard, in the very same manner as it is performed by others on the other side of the globe; and thus also, by means of written language, or the drawings of words, the ideas of the orators may be preserved, although the tones of his voice, and the gesticulations of his body, are for ever lost.

Immortality, then, belongs to drawing; all the other arts are mortal but itself.

I shall not enter into detail of the general influence exercised by the rest of the fine arts, but shall for a short time dwell upon the particular advantages to be derived by individuals from the study and prosecution of these arts in a public and popular manner. The tendency of all the fine arts is to polish and purify the mind. We are all brutish without that exquisite finish, which alone is to be derived from them. After being well provided with food and clothing, our next object is to provide ourselves with those amiable and endearing qualities which shall recommend us to each other. These qualities are various; they consist of simplicity and elegance of speech and behaviour, of refinement of taste, fine sensibility, such as consults the comfort and happiness of others, from a nice and delicate sense of our own, which teaches us to avoid the commission of such faults as would give offence to our own sensibility.

This delicacy and refinement of taste is only to be cultivated by the fine arts. It is only a modification of the sense of beauty; that sense which is highly susceptible of pleasure from symmetry of form, and elegance of motion, and chasteness and propriety of colouring. There is an observable difference between the educated and the uneducated, the polished and the unpolished, the inhabitants of the city and the mere rustic, in this respect. The well-trained and polished mind has a peculiar chastity of taste, which takes offence at those very qualities, which to the rustic are objects of the greatest attraction. A country girl is always fond of show; if she purchases a ribbon, it is always the most gaudy, the most tawdry and ostentatious; she values it by the brilliancy of the colour, the mere glare, independent of the design of the pattern. A woman of taste looks also to colour, but she looks to design as well, and prefers softness, harmony, and chastity to brightness of colouring. Fine taste generally leads to mixtures, delicate greys, or middle tints, as the painters call them; bad or vulgar taste leads to extremes; such as pure blues, pure reds, pure yellows, *virgin colours*. But virginity is no favourite with painters. One of the finest flower-painters in the world once told me, that, amongst all the fine splendid productions of Nature, there was not a virgin colour to be found; she invariably mingles her tints; and though she sometimes produces splendid colours, her usual, her domestic dress is the chaste and delicate mixtures. Hence, in painting, the grey is the standard tint of the artist, because it is the medium between two extremes, being a medley of both.

But a delicate taste, in respect to form, is of much more importance than one which is confined to colour; form is much more comprehensive and expressive; all the expression of our countenance consists in form chiefly; the movements of our lips, of our eyebrows, of our hands, and other

members, give the chief expression to our persons; there is very little expression in the colour of our cheeks, or the colour of our hair: in the colour of our eyes there is considerable influence; but it is not what we call expression, because it is always the same. Expression is a thing that varies. When I am angry, my mouth and my eyebrows assume a peculiar form, but the colour of my eyes is invariably the same; yet a brilliant eye will always help the expression of the countenance, though the expression does not reside in colour; the chief expression is in the mouth; there all the passions are delineated to perfection; you see the smile, the frown; surprise, repose; scorn, and indifference; in fine, every passion may be portrayed by the mouth and nose alone; and that, too, without colour, as can easily be proved by drawing pencil likenesses, which portray the passions as well without colour as with colour.

A good taste for form is a more refined taste than a taste for colouring; it is a refinement which few as yet possess to a great perfection; but nothing is so well calculated to impart it as the contemplation of choice specimens of drawing. Our continental neighbours, the French and Italians, are far before us in this particular, on account of the great facility which the common people enjoy of witnessing the finest specimens of art. The palace of the Louvre is open to every Frenchman, free of expense; and there he can spend a leisure hour in studying the finest productions of the pencil. The frequent exhibition of works of this description insensibly refines the mind; and it is, no doubt, owing to these frequent exhibitions, so easy of access in all Catholic countries, that the Roman Catholic are so far in advance of Protestant countries, in the social and refined qualifications. Our Protestant church has literally spoiled its disciples, by the prohibition of such sights as these, and the effect is discernable on the whole population. There is a bluntness, a rudeness, in all Protestant countries, which is quite proverbial. The Dutch are notorious for their awkward and vulgar mien; the Germans are not far behind; John Bull is a mere beef-eater; and in Scotland they are a race of mere Christian Jews, who have no higher ambition than that of scraping together a few pounds, shillings, and pence, to eat and drink well while they live, and to be carried to the grave on men's shoulders when dead.

GREAT MEETING OF THE PRODUCTIVE CLASSES.

On Wednesday, the 12th ult., an important public meeting of the productive classes was held at the National Equitable Labour Exchange, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square;

Mr. S. Austin in the chair.

The Chairman stated that the meeting had been convened in consequence of the opinion expressed by the audience assembled in the same place, on Sunday, the 2d instant, who had unanimously decided that "a meeting of the producers of wealth and knowledge, and especially of the members of the Trades' Unions, should be called, and be held at this time in this place, to take into consideration the objects which the advanced condition of society now requires to be obtained, for the benefit of all classes, from all the governments of the civilized nations connected by amity and commerce." I regret, the chairman said, that the honour of presiding on the present occasion has not devolved on some one better fitted than myself to occupy this station, but the task you have assigned me is rendered comparatively easy, by the circumstance that our worthy friend, Mr. Robert Owen, has undertaken to develop to you the objects, for the consideration of which you have been convened this evening; and I trust that, if any difference of opinion shall arise, you will conduct the discussion with that equanimity of

temper, which is so essential to forming a correct judgment on subjects of grave importance; and I have, therefore, now only to request your calm attention to the propositions which Mr. Owen will submit for your consideration.

Mr. Owen then addressed the meeting, and said, the time is now arrived when the productive classes may, with the utmost ease, and with the certainty of ultimate success, pursue the straightforward course that leads to prosperity and happiness. The experience of many years had quite satisfied him, Mr. O., that it was useless to expect any thing from the governments of the world: they were a non-producing power, and they felt that they had an interest in keeping the working classes in bondage; and while feeling this, they were not likely to take the lead in emancipating them; but even if this was not their feeling, they were at present without the knowledge and experience which was so essentially necessary to the right direction of the productive classes in effecting this great work. Mr. Owen here read a copy of a letter, which, in the year 1815, he had addressed to the Lord Provost of Glasgow, and an extract from a speech which he at that time delivered at a public meeting, of which the Provost was the chairman, on the subject of the then state of the cotton trade, in which, he said, for the first time, the condition of children in the cotton-mills was introduced to public attention; and, said Mr. Owen, I also hold in my hand the rough draft of the first bill which was introduced into Parliament on this subject, and to support which I received the promise of a majority of the members of both houses in my personal application to them; this bill, much reduced in the provisions which I had proposed, and considerably altered in many respects, was afterwards brought forward as Sir Robert Peel's bill, and, after three sessions of disputation, was passed in that modified form; and from that time to the present they have done nothing at all equal to what I have proposed. The bill passed in the last session is said to be impracticable; and therefore, after nineteen years legislation on this subject, the wisdom of our legislators has not been equal to the devising a remedy for the grievous evils which have arisen in this single department. If we go on at this rate, then, centuries will elapse before any decisive measures will be taken to better the condition of the productive classes. The important question then is, are the working classes themselves prepared to adopt those measures which will effectually relieve them from their present degraded state? My opinion is, that they are; the great progress that they have made within the last few months convinces me that they have now imbibed so much of the right spirit, and have acquired so much knowledge of the causes of the evils which oppress them, that they are sufficiently prepared immediately to commence the great object of working out their own emancipation. The Trades' Unions have already extended all over the kingdom, and the attempts on the part of the masters, which had been made at Derby, Yeovil, Worcester, and in the north, to put down the Unions, were the most fortunate events that could have happened; for they had demonstrated to the various Unions, agreeably to the fable of the bundle of sticks, that, as single trades, they might one by one be easily destroyed; but that if all the trades were united, no power on earth could overcome them; the conclusion then was, and to that conclusion he rejoiced to believe vast numbers of them had already arrived, *there must be a consolidation of all the Unions, and they must henceforward be as one man!* (Loud and continued cheering.) Mr. Owen then said, he would not longer detain the meeting with preliminary observations; no doubt they had all heard of the great charter which was granted by King John, and which might not improperly be called the non-producers' charter; it is now high time to ring forward a great charter for the productive

classes also, and this we will call THE CHARTER OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMANITY. Mr. O. then read the various clauses of this charter, explaining and commenting upon them as he proceeded, and we regret that our limits will not permit us to follow him through this most interesting detail, affording a degree of gratification to those who heard it that will not soon be forgotten: we can only give the charter itself, which is as follows:—

THE CHARTER OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMANITY.

The period has arrived, when the producers of wealth and knowledge have decided that they will not waste any more of their time or labour on objects of minor importance, which, if obtained, can effect no permanently beneficial change in their condition; but that, overlooking the local advantages of class, and considering only the general and permanent interest of humanity, they will henceforward devote all their energies to the attainment of those superior objects and advantages, developed in this their charter.

1. A graduated Property Tax, equal in amount to the full exigencies of government when wisely administered.
2. An abolition of all other customs, duties, and taxes, national, county, and parochial.
3. Free and protected ingress and egress for all persons into and out of all countries; and the free interchange of all improvements and commodities between all nations.
4. Wars to cease; and all differences between nations to be adjusted by an annual congress, to be held in rotation in each of the different states.
5. Liberty of expression of conscientious opinions, upon all subjects, without limitation.
6. No dominant religion to exist, nor any one to be encouraged by any worldly temptations whatever; but all to be equally protected in the rights of conscience.
7. National, scientific, physical, intellectual, and moral education for all, who, from any cause, cannot be otherwise well trained and cultured in all these respects.
8. National employment for all who cannot otherwise find productive or beneficial occupation, that thereby the greatest amount of wealth may be produced for each individual in the world.
9. The children of all classes, without any exception, to be trained and employed, physically or mentally, to produce for society as much as they require from society.
10. National measures to set the poor and unemployed immediately to beneficial employments, under arrangements which shall reform their feelings and habits, and secure their comfort and happiness.
11. National arrangements to distribute the new wealth, created by the national employment of the poor and unemployed, beneficially for them and the nation.
12. Unlimited freedom for the production and interchange of all commodities and riches, until more wealth shall be produced than is necessary for the happiness of the population of every country.
13. A change of the vicious and degrading circumstances by which the productive classes are now surrounded, for others, possessing a virtuous and superior character.
14. The present property of all individuals, acquired and possessed by the usages and practices of old society, to be held sacred until the possessors shall discover that it can be no longer of any use or exchangeable value, from the facility with which a surplus of wealth will be produced for all, thus destroying the motive to accumulate individual wealth, as the motive to accumulate water, where it is in abundance, has been destroyed, although it is the most intrinsically valuable of all our wealth.
15. The just rights of both sexes to be universally established.
16. The congress of the nations to determine on some one language, which shall be taught to all

the children of each state, in addition to their mother tongue.

17. Arrangements to be adopted, as soon as practicable, to put an end to individual and national competition and contest, now unnecessary, and producing innumerable grievous evils to all classes.

After Mr. Owen had concluded reading and commenting on the charter, he read and proposed the three following resolutions:—

1. That any law, regulation, custom, or practice, injurious in its application to any portion of mankind, at home or abroad, cannot be just in principle, or permanently beneficial in practice, to any portion of the human race.

2. That this meeting adopt the "CHARTER OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMANITY" as the birthright of all, as beneficial for all, and now necessary for the peace and prosperity of all; and therefore recommend the producers of wealth and knowledge to form, without delay, such arrangements as shall induce the non-producers of wealth or knowledge to agree peaceably to introduce these rights into the general practice of all civilized nations.

3. That, to effect this change in the laws and practice of nations, in the shortest time, the producers of wealth and knowledge must keep this charter continually before them, and never suspend their exertions until these rights shall be secured for the population, first of our own country, and ultimately of all other countries.

Mr. Horne rose to second the resolutions, and said that it was unnecessary for him to say much on these important resolutions, after the splendid and beautiful facts which had been adduced by Mr. Owen; but he would observe that the governments of the world were evidently ignorant of the principles of human nature, and until those governments became acquainted with these important principles, they could never secure the happiness of the governed. It appeared to him (Mr. H.) that there was a great similarity between the moral and the physical world. Our present state was like the barren desert of the wilderness; but, barren as it has hitherto been, the seeds of human happiness are now sown in it, and henceforward it must be the great object of all to cultivate it, and bring forth the goodly fruit; and this, the great charter of humanity, shall be our guide. It was a very different charter from that of King John: that was a charter for the aristocracy; this was for the producing classes, who had hitherto been kept in the greatest destitution and degradation. But the old system of things was like a company, in which the few possessed crowns and mitres, capital and competition, and these exercised the most oppressive influence over the many; but he now perceived a new company arising, composed of the working many, on whose foreheads was stamped union, and on whose hearts was inscribed human justice for the whole of the human race. And how was this happy change to be secured? Not by the working classes being disunited, but by their forming one general compact, an indissoluble bond of moral union, which will effectuate and secure the happiness of the whole family of man.

When Mr. Horne had concluded, it was announced to the Chairman that Mr. Morrison, the able editor of the *Pioneer*, had just arrived, and that, having some important business to transact that evening, his time was very limited. The Chairman, therefore, introduced Mr. Morrison to the assembly, and he was received with the warmest and most heartfelt demonstrations of good feeling that we ever recollect witnessing.

Mr. Morrison said he felt great pleasure in informing that numerous meeting that he was well acquainted with a great portion of the working classes, who had already been formed into Unions, and that he, with many others, had come to town for the purpose, if possible, of uniting all these in one great bond of union; and he would tell some parties, particularly those at Derby, that no family of the working classes need then be fearful

of the consequences arising from the oppressive conduct of the masters. In their progress, they had had great prejudices to contend against, arising from the partiality of many of the operatives to their own particular trades, and from the pride which had sprung from the possession of larger funds, which had also given rise to the feeling that they ought to have superior power; but this was unbecoming. They had, however, been very successful in subduing these injurious views and feelings; and, in order that all might be included in the great union about to be effected, it had been proposed to constitute a miscellaneous lodge; and the whole will thus be cemented by wise arrangements, and will form the great regenerating power of society. Happily, too, the working classes had now discovered that violence was injurious, and altogether unnecessary to the success of the great cause; and although the Derby masters had succeeded in their object in a trifling degree, they would, in a few weeks, convince them, and those of Yeovil and Worcester, that they were for ever removed out of the reach of their oppressors. But the tyranny of the masters, in saying "if you will not work for us, we will starve you to death," had greatly contributed to the success of the union, for in one week after this circumstance had occurred, we established a manufactory. These gloves now on my hands are *Union gloves*, and to-morrow I expect we shall have large parcels up, ready for sale, of the very best qualities, and all the production of the Union turned-outs [tremendous cheering, which lasted for a considerable time];—and to show that the masters can quarrel as well as the men, I can inform you that they had a quarrel, and also a fight, and in the battle the mayor got a black eye! The various attempts of the masters, in different parts of the kingdom, to put down the Unions, had caused the principles of general union to spread; and they had now attained that strength and power, which for ever prevents the capitalists from wielding the productive power of the country to the total exclusion and injury of the producing many. And though the prejudices had been numerous, and a great many objections have been raised against the ceremonies of the Trades' Unions, yet have we not conventional ceremonies, religious ceremonies, freemasonry ceremonies? And though secrecy has also been objected to, and however well the objection might appear in theory, in practice it had been proved to be highly beneficial. But, said Mr. Morrison, I had almost forgotten to inform you of the Female Unions: I had the pleasure of opening a lodge of females at Worcester, and such was their intelligence and capacity to execute the business, that, in the short space of three days after their formation, they proceeded in the most regular way; and such had been the fright of the poor masters, on account of this Union, that they had even endeavoured to induce their servant-maids to sign a declaration against it; but they stated their inability to do this, inasmuch as they had previously signed a paper in favour of it. In another female union they had at first a committee of twelve men to manage the business; but in a very short time this was found to be quite unnecessary, as the women had become so conversant with all the arrangements that they undertook the sole management of their own affairs. Thus, then, he was proud to say, the great cause of union was making sound and rapid progress amongst both women and men, and would, he was quite confident, in its immediate and ultimate consequences, be productive of the greatest good to society.

The meeting was subsequently addressed by Messrs. Simpson, Hoare, Abrams, Palmer, and Tipper; and some most excellent observations were delivered by these gentlemen, and we can only repeat our regret that the want of room prevents us from reporting them to our readers. The greatest unanimity and good feeling prevailed during the whole of this highly interesting meeting.

The working men and women, who never thought of Unionism before, are now nobly answering to our call, and mustering themselves into Unions. In Glasgow, in Paisley, in Greenock, in Dundee, and in Aberdeen, the trades are forming themselves into one grand association for each other's protection against the influence of capital and competition; and we point with pride to the long list of trades represented by delegates at the meeting of Tuesday last. The Operatives' Hall will be the first attempt of the working classes here, to obtain possession of property in their united capacity, and by their own labour; and, as was well observed by Mr. Sim, they may soon erect a new town of their own; if but a beginning was once made, the advantages of employing the idle members, instead of supporting them in idleness, will soon convince the working classes of their former errors, and carry them forward on the railway of improvement to independence. The subscription-list in support of the masons and cabinet-makers augurs well, when but so few trades have as yet had time to put their resolutions into practice; but we are confident the scheme of a voluntary tax in a short time will work well; and, when once the present struggle is over, which, we trust, will not be much longer continued, the means of subscription may serve the purpose of raising the necessary funds for the hall. There is no occupation but what may spare of their scanty earnings two-and-a-half per cent. for such a purpose, which will raise, at a very moderate calculation, three hundred pounds a-week. This sum would purchase stones, lime, wood, and iron, and pay the weekly wages of two hundred labourers, masons, joiners, smiths, plasterers, plumbers, and slaters; and the wages of these, again, would give work to tailors, shoemakers, and a variety of other trades. Let but the work be once begun, and we are sure it will be the first step towards the great social revolution of which we are advocates.

In our fourth number, we warned the Unions against the system of secret oaths, and the useless, and worse than childish paraphernalia of lodges. In this number we have given an account of an attack upon a lodge in Exeter by the police and constables; however much we deprecate the conduct of the authorities for their interference with the proceedings of the Unions, any more than with the lodges of Freemasons, Odd Fellows, Gardeners, or any other associations who in their proceedings do not interfere with the prerogatives of the legislature, yet we cannot but

blush to think of the foolishness which the secret system has manifested in the conduct of its members. Men "blindfolded," threatened with a "drawn sword," and formidable looking "battle-axe," and "war-hatchet," (made of wood,) are all the emblems of ignorance and tyranny, and ought to be abolished. If men will not be true to each other, without being bound by oaths, and threatened by swords and hatchets, farewell to social improvement—farewell to every thing that is noble or generous in human kind; and let us rather live as we have hitherto done, in our individualized state, contending with each other for a miserable existence, than be forced to submit to such degradation. These remarks do not, however, apply to the Scottish Trades' Unions—few have adopted the English system, and we hope in their future proceedings it will altogether be avoided. We again advise the Unions to always act upon fair, open, and honourable principles, and they will have nothing to fear; but if they do otherwise, they may rest assured, that if any interference is made by the legislature, it can only be upon the pretence of administering oaths, and being secret associations.—*Glasgow Tradesman.*

Mankind but a few ages since were in a very poor condition indeed as to trade, navigation, and science; nor indeed were they much better off in other matters of useful knowledge. It was a green-headed time; every useful improvement was held from them; they had neither looked into heaven nor earth, neither into the sea nor land, as has been done since. They had philosophy without experiment, mathematics without instruments, geometry without scale, astronomy without demonstration. They made war without powder, shot, cannon, or mortar; nay, bonfires were made without squibs or crackers. They went to sea without compass, and sailed without the needle. They viewed the stars without telescopes, and measured altitudes without barometers. Learning had no printing-press, writing no paper, and paper no ink. The lover was forced to send his mistress a deal board for a love letter, and a billet-doux might be the size of an ordinary trencher. They were clothed without manufactures, and their richest robes were the skins of the most formidable monster. They carried on trade without books, and correspondence without posts; their merchants kept no accounts, their shopkeepers no cash-books; they had surgeons without anatomy, and physicians without the *Materia Medica*; they gave emetics without *ipécacuanha*, and cured agues without bark.—*Ibid.*

POLITICAL QUACKERY.

The member for Montrose and the Abroath Bank visited Brechin on Saturday week, and doled out our allotment of the "explanations," in the Farmers' Hall, to a select party, admitted by "tickets." Availing ourselves of our electoral privilege, we attended, with a view of reporting the honourable gentleman's speech; but on comparing notes with the report in the *Advertiser* of the 7th, we find no material difference in quality between our portion of the sophistry and that dealt out to our neighbours in Abroath, only, as compared with theirs, we were rather *scrimped* in quantity. But this, so far from being regarded as a loss, we are quite sure was deemed a blessing by the meeting, which seemed most anxious to be delivered from the infiction, and to get away long before Mr. Ross had satisfied himself that he had said enough. There is nothing in Mr. Ross's character more conspicuous than his matchless effrontery. If he could blush, shame would have turned his face to a cinder long ere now; but his impudence stands him in the stead of argument, eloquence, and political probity; to a certain extent, it dissuades the resentment of his hearers, and deprives them of the desire of replying. On this occasion, silent contempt seemed to be the prevalent feeling of the meeting. The silly fragments of the Rossie faction made one feeble attempt of pattering with their feet, when Mr. Ross concluded his condemnation of Mr. Hume's motion against naval and military sinecures; but, being quickly hushed into decency, they remained quiet through the rest of the performance. Speaking generally of the "explanations," they wanted sincerity on all points except two; namely, first, his determination not to part with corn laws till the landed interest get some adequate compensa-

sation for the loss they would, according to this consistent political economist, sustain; for he assured us that all classes are protected by restrictive laws as much as the landed interest, and that no class is so unmercifully taxed. And, second, the gentleman was very serious in the manifestation of his boundless hatred of the non-electors, the Radicals, and the local press. On these points, Mr. Ross was quite alive, and spoke, at least for once, from the heart. It would appear that his former supporter, the editor of the *Montrose Review*, has touched him in the quick, and sorely wounded his irritable vanity with a paragraph in a late number of his paper. Well knew Mr. Ross, as he said, that he would be most wickedly aspersed and misrepresented by the newspapers when his back was about, as he had been before; but he would beg his friends not to listen for a moment to the base slander, till he came back, when he would "explain," and clear up all things to their entire satisfaction. It unfortunately happens, continued the member for Montrose and the Arbroath Bank, in a tone of doleful lamentation, "that many people take what they see printed in the newspapers for gospel; and so peculiarly situated am I, that though in most cases, when a public man is attacked by one portion of the press, there is another portion of it to defend him, yet I have none to take my part." Prodigious! as Dominie Sampson would have said. Was there ever such an unfortunate mortal as Mr. Ross, to ruin whose fair reputation, all the quilldrivers and printers' devils in the kingdom, from the editor of the *Encyclopædia* down to the boy that sweeps the office of the *Penny Magazine*, have conspired? To wade and wander after this man through all his evolutions would be sickening and endless. A few examples of his consistency may be given, however, though they should serve no other purpose but to edify and delight the silly reptiles that still continue to crawl in his train; though they know that he would, without the least compunction, starve them to death with corn laws, and trample them under his feet like the mire in the street.

Mr. Ross, when canvassing with his mask on, in 1832.

At a meeting of the electors of Forfar, in December, 1832, Mr. Rodgers asked both candidates—"Will you vote for a repeal of the septennial act, and for triennial parliaments?" Mr. Ross replied,—"I will agree to the repeal of the septennial act, because I think that the abolition of triennial parliaments was an act of injustice."

In a printed circular, dated the 16th July, 1832, and addressed to the electors by Mr. Ross, he says,—"It will no doubt be expected that I should express my opinion on the subject of the shortening the duration of parliaments. I think seven years too long a period for any parliament to exist; and, on that account, I should give my support to an alteration of the present septennial act."

At the meeting above alluded to, Mr. Rodgers asked,—"What ought to be done with all unnecessary offices and unmerited pensions?" Both candidates answered,—"Abolished." In his printed circular, referred to, Mr. Ross says, "I would unhesitatingly advocate economy in every branch of the public expenditure." One would think this plain enough; but turn to the right.

Referring to Mr. Ross's circular, when cajoling the electors, and concerning which he says, in his preamble—"I can assure you, gentlemen, I am thoroughly impressed with the importance of the document which I now send forth. So far am I from regarding it as mere electioneering placard, I submit it to your attention as a document by which I am willing that my future public life shall be tried." In this honestly-written manifesto, the notorious Mr. Ross says—"With respect to the corn laws, I have no hesitation in stating, that I consider the present prohibitive system utterly untenable. I perfectly agree with our most zealous reformers, that a fixed duty shall now be imposed, sufficiently low to facilitate an interchange of our manufactures for the corn of foreign countries. It has been stated by Sir Henry Parnell and other economists, in whose information I place much confidence, that the protecting duty ought, the first instance, to be 10s. per quarter bushel." Mr. Chalmers having stated, in a public dress, that he would consider 7s. per quarter bushel high to commence with, as the maximum rate of a descending scale of duties, Mr. Ross afterwards explained that he meant the ten shillings as the highest of a descending scale of duties.

Let any unprejudiced man look over the above specimens, and then say if ever Mr. Ross had equal, or if ever any honourable gentleman had a stronger claim to the distinction of having his portrait placed as the frontispiece to the "*Annals of Impudence*."—*Dundee Advertiser*.

Mr. Ross, after he had gained his election, and thrown off his mask.

Mr. Ross voted against the motion for a repeal of the septennial act; and, amongst the rest of the provoking humbug by which he attempts to whitewash himself, he says that "the motion was brought forward at an improper period; that it was intended to embarrass Ministers; that though brought forward at an earlier period, he would have had great doubts as to giving it his support; and (here is the cream of the impudence) that he is the best judge of the proper period for introducing a motion for the repeal of the septennial act."

Mr. Ross opposed Mr. Hume's motion on naval and military sinecures, and also Mr. Ruthven's motion on economy, retrenchment, and reduction of the public expenditure; and justifies himself for so doing, by telling us that "Hume's motion was brought forward too soon; that Ruthven's was a clap-net; and (mark this weighty reason) that the abolition of sinecures and unmerited pensions would be greatly detrimental to our interest abroad, because it would be breaking our national faith."

Mr. Ross supported Mr. Whitmore's motion against the corn laws, and so far acted agreeably to his solemn declarations to his constituents; but he now says that he did so merely to please them; that he repents of his vote; "that if the protection which the agriculturist enjoys against foreign competition is to be removed, the agriculturist must, at the same time, be placed on an equality with the manufacturer (we wish he were), in the manner they are taxed; and manufacturers of every description must abandon the protection they enjoy in their several trades." (We would wish to know the nature and extent of this protection, so far as several classes of manufacturers are concerned.) "That it would be unjust to reduce the price of the agriculturist's produce, by which he is enabled to pay his taxes; that a fixed duty is the favourable watchword of those who wish to see the question settled, not in a fair, and equitable, and statesman-like manner, but by the short-sighted policy of merely considering the temporary interest of the consumer; that a fixed duty would be no protection whatever to the landed interest, and ought never to be mentioned by way of protection; that the question must not be handled by any bot-headed demagogue, who has been bellowing into the ears of his constituents the popularity of cheap bread and no corn laws."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Received X. W. He shall appear, probably, next week, only we shall use a few liberties with his letter. We must put a "check" upon him; but we shall do it merely with a dash of the pen.

We hope Mr. Portbury's advertisement will not be too late next week, as we wish to see him previous to its publication.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 1.

THE Spirit of the Movement, as the French express themselves, has now decidedly taken up his abode with the "Trades Unions," and is likely to continue there for some time. He has spread his wings over the whole country, and is gathering his brood together to shelter them from the evils with which the aristocracy of birth, king's councillors, and pensioners are threatening them. There is a storm a-coming, when the old hen thus shelters her young ones; "and what sort of storm is it?" Why! only dew upon the mown grass, and showers to water the parched ground—no storm at all. We want a little radical moisture to make us take root.

The ladies, we understand, are at last resolved to behave themselves like men, and no longer to live a single life. Many of them have undergone the ceremony already, and commenced a lodge of their own. Some of the Unionists profess a little alarm at this. What are they alarmed at? and what right have they to interfere? Are not the women one half of humanity? Are they not fellow-labourers with the men? Are they not more oppressed, and more unequally paid, than their robust partners? Who is a greater drudge than the common house-servant? and how few women, now, comparatively speaking, have any support or dependence but their own exertions! Marriage is becoming less and less frequent, for a living is becoming more and more precarious. These arguments ought to prevail with the rudest and the most illiberal mind: and it is only a rude and an illiberal mind that can require an argument to justify women in claiming, and men in giving, to woman rights equal to man himself.

A miscellaneous lodge is also forming, and we request of such as are friendly to the cause of national productive Unions, to come forward and enter the list. This lodge will admit of all classes, from the king and his ministers, down to their livery servants. A nucleus is now forming at Charlotte-street—which will soon be in connexion with the great National Union.

TRULY man is rapidly falling, in a moral sense, in proportion as his means of improvement are increasing. Every day is adding to the list of those means, and opening new fields for his physical, intellectual, and moral qualities. Riches are accumulating on all sides. The science of mankind, in every department of human skill, is rapidly progressing. The

inventive faculties of humanity are continually subjecting some new power of nature to their control, and enlarging the dominion of the lord of creation. But what is power to a tyrant? Can it make him happy? No! miserable is the lot of him who trusts to mere dominion for that tranquillity which constitutes happiness. Man, whilst he is subduing the elements around him, is at war with himself; every individual eyes his neighbour askance; the green eye of jealousy glistens from beneath the lowering, wrinkled eyebrows of every member of society. It is war throughout the vast expanse of human intelligence and human intercourse.

This wretched state of dominion may teach us all that scientific or intellectual progress is capable of creating evil as well as good. Power may be directed two different ways; and hitherto it has all been directed to the creation of human misery. Those in power must either be extremely foolish, or extremely hypocritical, when they express their sympathies for the suffering poor, and exert themselves so little to remove the evil. What can these legislators think of the downward progress of society? of the tremendous increase of pauperism? of the precarious tenure by which the half of the species hold their very existence? and of the ghastly counsel which benevolence has been compelled to administer, to prevent the reproduction of the species, and put a check upon the generous intercourse of the sexes. Not only have our private, social, and political economists distributed this counsel amongst the poor, as the only possible relief from the miseries of starvation, but even the French Government has, of late, given official hints to the prefects of the different provinces to discourage reproduction as much as possible; and French mothers, inverting the order of common nature, instil into the minds of their daughters the same monastic notions. Where are we going,—into what sort of state are our law-mongers driving us? We shall tell you, friends, countrymen, and lovers—they are driving us into pauper communities; large monasteries, where the men and women shall live apart as they did in days of old, and only see each other through the grating. There we shall work at all sorts of machinery for our daily bread; and if ever the two sexes do meet, it shall be under the eye of an inspector, who shall take good care that no misfortune occurs. This is the ultimate tendency of Malthusian and competitive legislation, and the age is running rapidly into it.

If you do not interfere, by doing business for yourselves, and entering into great national and social arrangements—this is your fate. In a short time you will eat, drink, and breed, merely by a government allowance.

We shall give an article on the subject of Mr. Owen's lecture next number. We happened to defer the drawing up of the report till it was too late, and we want to compare it with an article in the *Times*.

ON THE MIS-STATEMENTS OF THE ST. SIMONIANS ON THE SUBJECT OF "COMMUNITY."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I am induced to offer a few observations on a part of the Address of the St. Simonians, lately inserted in the *Conservative*, which appears to me to be a sort of Jesuitical side-wind attack upon a system of which the writer, lamentably for himself, is totally ignorant, and which ignorance will be palpable enough to those who do understand the system which he opposes; but with those who are already prejudiced against that system, or who may know little or nothing about it, what he says may tend to strengthen their prejudices, and perhaps mislead the unwary. The writer recommends that, to render available the capital you are obtaining to the relief of the labouring class, you should adopt without delay, as your guiding principle in those plans which you mean to pursue, the principle of association. So far I quite agree with him—without union or association no permanent good can be effected; and I rejoice therefore in the extensive spread which the system of association is now making. But the writer proceeds to say that "this principle has been hitherto badly understood, or badly explained;" and if the writer had intended this to apply to himself, or to his own school, it would have been true enough, as the subsequent part of the paragraph sufficiently proves; but this is evidently not his meaning, for he says, "it (that is, the principle of association) has been confounded with that agglomeration of individuals called community. Such an aggregate, possessing no common life, no motive of action, no spirit of order, no method in the distribution of labour, no compass for the retribution of the worker, no standard for fixing employments and gradations among the members; being a mere chance-medley composition, or at best an unwieldy corporation, evolving itself by the mere routine of age, must necessarily in practice turn out a failure; witness the decay of the several Labour Exchanges and Incipient communities, founded here and elsewhere upon a false and metaphysical principle of non-responsibility and mathematical equality." Now, Sir, if I did not know that it is impossible for him to give any reply, I would ask this writer to inform your readers where these *Labour Exchanges* and *Incipient communities* have been founded, as he says they have been, on the principle, whether that principle be false or true, of non-responsibility and mathematical equality. I affirm that no such thing has ever yet been; and here, therefore, great ignorance, or an intended misrepresentation, on the part of the writer, is clearly made; but the misrepresentation, or whatever it may be called, does not rest here, for he has either ignorantly or designedly mixed up the Labour Exchange, and something else to which he refers, I know not what, but which he calls *Incipient communities*, with that which he is also pleased to term "that agglomeration of individuals called community," meaning thereby, no doubt, that arrangement of society projected by Mr. Owen, to which he has given the name of *community*. Now, Sir, every one who knows any thing about Labour Exchange, and what Mr. Owen calls *community*, is perfectly aware that the two things are as completely distinct the one from the other, as a bridge which leads from one town to another is distinct from the towns to, or from, which it leads: and if the writer, therefore, could prove—which I know he cannot, and I dare say he will not try, still if he was capable of proving—that the principle on which the Labour Exchange was projected had failed, he would then find that he had made very little way in overturning those principles on which Mr. Owen proposes to found communities. But let us examine what is this writer's notion of a community. He says, it is "an aggregate possessing no common life."

This is rather abstract; but whatever be meant by the term *life* here, if it be possessed by the community at all, will certainly be possessed by them in common, for *there* all things will be in common, and be possessed equally by all, according to their capacity of possession. In these communities will be literally fulfilled that purpose which Jesus of Nazareth said he came to accomplish. "I am come (said he) that ye might have life, and that ye might have it more abundantly." Life, physical, intellectual, and moral, will there be enjoyed by all, without distinction. But the writer says, there will be "no motive to action." If by no motive, he meant none of those motives which commonly influence human beings in the competitive state of society, no "love of the things of the world," no love of money, no love of accumulation, of distinction, of rank, of privilege, of domination, no love of any thing merely because we are the exclusive possessors of it, no desire in the strong, whether physically or intellectually, to tyrannize over the weak—no desire of artificial reward, or wish to inflict individual punishment; all these, and other motives of antipathy and individualism, I rejoice to believe, will, in the state of community, be unknown. But are these the only motives by which human beings can be influenced? have we, indeed, to learn, that this writer, in his great wisdom and kindness, would now teach that "the stimulus of action will cease, and a general laziness, inherent to man's nature, will set his energies asleep, unless due regard be paid to some fixed proportion between the labour, the talent, and the capital of the labourer, and the retribution he shall receive?" Is competition, then, to be the moving spring of action in these new associations? Are the weak, physically and intellectually, still to be pitted against the strong; and when the strong shall have acquired capital, shall they also have an additional advantage over the poor, and the less favoured by nature and by fortune? Why, Sir, we have groaned under these promised advantages from time immemorial—we want no new association to obtain for us these blessings! Oh, but, if you do not pay proper regard to these things, "the industrious bee will again become surcharged with the toil which should have been the portion of the idle drone;" and if we do pay regard to these things, let us ask, from whom will the rewards to be given to the talent and capital, in addition to those of the labour of the individual, come? these must of course be contributed by the less talented, and by those who have no capital. O rare discovery! we thank thee, St. Simon, if though art not libelled here, that thou hast thus displayed the clever foot, for this is indeed our old adversary competition, in a new dress, but still "seeking whom he may devour." These, then, are the no motive of action which will indeed be wanting in the state called community. But, I ask again, are these the only motives by which human beings can be influenced? Is man indeed such a naturally lazy animal that, unless goaded to labour by the love of individual distinction and accumulation, he will become actually torpid, and have all his energies laid asleep? Why, this is the "old serpent" in another shape—that of natural depravity; and are we indeed come to this, that a new revelation is necessary to teach us the old doctrine of original sin? Man is inherently a lazy being, is he? Where did St. Simon learn this dogma, think you? Not from the mouth of Jesus, certainly, though possibly in some Jesuit's college. But I assert fearlessly, that this is a gross libel on human nature, and that no man would have dared to make such a statement whose eyes had not been previously blinded by some strong prejudice, which prevent him from discerning that which is daily passing before him in the spiritless industry, and activity of every child who is in good health; true it is, that without some influencing motive, no one will be active; but the question again returns can nothing be

case human nature but the degrading motives above stated? I most firmly believe that there are other, and even much stronger motives, that may and do move him to action; though I must admit that great pains have been taken, and with too much success, to remove him as far as possible from their influence; yet, notwithstanding this, the native sympathy does and will break forth; and we see individuals pursuing a course of usefulness amidst obloquy and reproach, so influenced by the desire to benefit their fellow-men, that every other consideration sinks into nothing in comparison with this self-absorbing desire. And when man shall be trained amidst equals, without emulation and strife, where reason and kindness will be cultivated by all, as the sole means of acquiring that sympathy of our fellow-beings which is the greatest necessary and the greatest pleasure of life, then will it be found that to do and to communicate good, will be the strongest motive which can influence a human being, because it will bring him in return the greatest amount of real and permanent gratification; "good measure, pressed down and running over, shall men give unto your bosoms." But to proceed with the objections to the community system; our St. Simonian opponent says, there will be "no spirit of order." What does this mean? That there will be no rules, no regulations, no government? If so, this is only another proof that he is quite ignorant of his subject. Any one who will take the trouble to read the *Synopsis*, published in the *Crisis* of the 8th instant, will immediately perceive how totally unfounded is such a statement. Again; "no method in the distribution of labour;" the *Synopsis*, on the contrary, states "that the public arrangements shall be such, as to give the best known direction to the industry and talents of every individual." The writer adds, "no compass for the retribution of the worker." By no compass, is here to be understood, that the compass which he advocates, and which has been quoted above, is not that which will regulate the return to be made to the worker in the community! And this is true; it will not; the rules for the community workers is, that "every one shall be provided through life with the best of every thing for human nature;" yes; but then he says, "there will be no standard for fixing employments and gradations among the members;" alas! no—every one being made useful to the extent of his abilities, and each one having every thing that he can desire, there will be no opening for gradations, and all those baubles that belong to them; for there, "the science of mutual tormenting, and rising on each other's degradation, will be forgotten, and the earth will be laid out by the hands of wisdom and taste, for the greatest common happiness of all." "But," proceeds the writer, "being a mere chance-medley composition," if it were true, is rather an inconsistent objection for a writer to make, who, in the same paragraph says, "the only equality which a social system, in accordance with nature, can admit, is equality of chances," which I suppose means the chances of birth, of organization, of talent, of education, capital, &c. &c.; which is just equality of nonsense. The term chances, if it means any thing, means those causes with which we are unacquainted; and as long as there are any of these which produce inequality, of course we cannot remove them; but the moment we become acquainted with them, I contend that justice requires their removal; and if we were to act thus justly, we should even get rid of a very large proportion of the inequality that now exists. As far as human knowledge, then, will fail to avert it, the community will not be a chance-medley composition, nor will it be "an awfully corporation," for it has been one of the sweetest objects of its projector to ascertain what number of individuals can be associated so as to secure the greatest amount of advantages, with the

fewest disadvantages, to each individual; and I dare affirm that he will not be very wide of the mark, from having no small share of experience, in addition to the acquisition of considerable information on the subject. But the writer adds, "evolving itself by the mere routine of age." Yes; and the question simply is, where all shall be trained and educated in the best possible way, whether the routine of age is not better than any mode of selection or election; that is, of course, when the "equality of chances" is likewise removed, otherwise the capitalists, the sharers of the surplus dividends, and the superior talents, will be sure always to take care of the best places, wherever there are any; but, according to our notion of community, government, and places of usefulness, will entail no peculiar rank or title, or any of that nonsense, but will be exercised by all in turn, for the welfare of all. And now, Sir, I take my leave of this writer, without occupying any more of your valuable paper, with an attempt to remove that horror with which he says many capitalists now look on the Trades' Unions, or with the endeavour to induce any one to join communities, with the hope that they will derive any exclusive privileges on account of their money. No, Sir, having discovered that labour, not money, is the source of wealth, I am only anxious that the capitalist should see that he is really more dependant on the labourer, than the labourer is on him, and that he ought, therefore, to be quite satisfied to unite with the labourer on equal terms. I am, &c. S. AUSTIN.

14, Charlotte-street, Feb. 17, 1834.

REVENGE; A TALE.

The twilight was begun, and the dark shadow of the mountain had overcast the plain; universal stillness was approaching, living nature was beginning to rest, and only the everlasting music of the brooks and the rustling of the trees gave signs of life and motion to the listening ear. A thin figure, whose cheeks the hue of health had deserted, and whose countenance the expression of cheerfulness seemed to have renounced for ever, contemplated the general calm. "Ah!" said he, "it is a picture of repose and happiness, and misery has abandoned the rest of nature to take vengeance on me; how shall I escape my fell pursuer? where shall I fly? If I mingle in the social circle, he finds me out, and persecutes me into solitude; and if I fly into solitude, he pursues me back again into society; he is an insatiable blood-hound, an infallible pointer, an indefatigable tormentor! By heaven, it is intolerable!"

"What is intolerable?" said a voice from a thicket, which put a stop to the soliloquy of the plaintiff, and revealed the hoary head and venerable figure of one whose looks and whose manners betokened shrewdness of mind and experience of the good and the evil of life. "Life is intolerable," said the other, "if, like mine, it is unchequered with a smile." "And what is thy life more than others', that thou shouldst thus repine at the counsels of heaven? hast thou no equivalent in reserve to balance the account of suffering?" "No, none! There's no equivalent for me; I have not a nerve in my system that can vibrate to a strain of pleasure. I am a murderer; I have murdered my friend. O Fergus! Fergus! would to heaven I had died in thy stead, or that justice had pursued me, and avenged thy blood with mine! Justice has pursued me; but it is a more cruel, a more savage, justice, than the axe or the rope of the executioner. An axe is merciful! A rope—oh, it had been happy for me had they

convicted me, and put an end to my sorrow! but they acquitted the guilty; the proof was insufficient; the indictment was defective, and the witnesses were confused; but the guilt was plain; my friends and neighbours forsook me; I fled; I vainly hoped to find comfort elsewhere. But who can fly from justice? who can fly from one's self?"

"Thy case is hard," said the sage, "and I can offer thee little consolation; thine enemy is within, and he can only be subdued by the blunting of thy moral feelings; it is the moral power that torments thee, and that is a power which is not to be appeased but by perfect retribution. The moral power of Nature is just; she requires an equal balance. The brute beast has no moral sense; it destroys its companion and victim, without even feeling the pangs of compunction. But the murderer has a judge within him that can only be satisfied with his death." "What!" said Bernard, "is there no forgiveness?" "No, none," said the old man; "thou mayest still the agitations of thy mind for a season, but they will rise again and again with fury; thou mayest soothe them, flatter them, and even enjoy a sort of melancholy pleasure in indulging them; but thou shalt never escape them with life in thy body." "Shall they follow me after death?" said Bernard. "Nay," said the old man, "I do not say so; thou shalt be no more a murderer then; thy friend shall be alive in another world, as well as thou. If Fergus were now alive, wouldst thou still feel the upbraidings of conscience? No. Had he recovered from the blow of thy hand, wouldst thou have been the melancholy, forlorn wretch which thou now art? No! his life would restore thee in this world, and why not in the next?" "True," said Bernard, thoughtfully, "thou hast given me a new idea, and there is hope in it; but a hope that will not suffice to restore the peace and the cheerfulness which I once enjoyed. When I fled from my native village, I thought I might find repose in the midst of strangers; but it was a vain thought; I was always detected. Either some unexpected occurrence discovered my name and my guilt, or I became mine own accuser. Murder will out! Oh! there is no punishment so effectual as the moral punishment! I would cut myself to pieces before I would be guilty of such a crime again! And methinks, if all criminals were let loose upon the world and their own thoughts, as I am, this moral execution might entirely supersede the physical retribution of the public executioner." "The time will come," said the sage, "when there will be no other judge of man—when the moral government of God will be established, and all physical government shall end; but man must be tutored into the moral discipline. In ignorance man is a beast, and must be governed like a beast. The time was when men committed murder with impunity, and the law took no cognizance of the deed; and society, measuring the amount of guilt by the letter of the law, regarded it as a venial crime. When man became civilized, he set a price of blood upon man, and thus raised the estimate of human life, and deepened the guilt of murder. Under this law of bloody retribution, the moral feelings of refined society have been nurtured, and when they are sufficiently acute, they will take the reins of government in their own hands, and dispense with all violence in the administration of justice. Thy punishment depends upon thy feelings, for, bodily, thou art free; but

were not thy feelings, and the feelings of the people, refined by the violent discipline of the law, thou wouldst neither reproach thyself for the deed, nor would thy neighbours, and even the schoolboys, when they find thee out, shrink with horror at thy approach; and whisper to each other in accents of terror, "That's the murderer! that is the man who killed his friend." Physical retribution must continue till the moral power has come to maturity; the physical power is its tutor and its governor. The moral power is the heir of the world; as long as it is an infant, it is under the rod of the schoolmaster; but when it has become a man, it will assume the attributes and the power of royalty." "Thou has soothed my sorrows," said Bernard, "and taught me a truth which I never knew before; and thou hast also taught me to die without fear, nay, with hope and joy. I cannot live; the avenger demands my life; farewell!" So saying, in the twinkling of an eye, he plunged into the stream; the liquid element opened its bosom to receive him, and then closed upon him for ever. The old man turned round with composure, and retired. "Tis the moral power of the universe that has done this," he muttered as he went; "an omnipresent and infallible power, whom no eye hath seen, but whom every heart shall yet feel, and acknowledge to be the only righteous judge, and the only incorruptible accuser." "Vengeance is mine, I will repay," saith the Lord.

THE JOURNEY OF LIFE.

There are none can prevenge,
But, from all we can learn,
Tis an uncertain stage;
If short, or extended,
No mortal can say;
Nor what up-hills, or down hills
There are in the way;
Yet woe but all travellers
Socially inclined,
And true, honest-hearted
And loving, and kind;
Nor man to man scornful,
Nor man to man wrong,
How happily we might
All travel along!
But power will oppress us,
And pride pass us by,
And folly will laugh
At a tear in our eye;
And should dark misfortune
Our prospects o'ercast,
E'en friendship will leave us
Exposed to the blast,
And envy and malice
Augment our distress,
And cunning and avarice
Our little make less;
But, strengthen'd by virtue,
Still bravely contend;
Let hope yet support us,
Since Truth is our friend.

February, 1834.

Z.

SIGNS OF PROSPERITY.

(From the Chinese.)

Where spades grow bright, and idle swords grow dull;
Where gaols are empty, and where barns are full;
Where schoolpaths are with frequent feet outworn
Law-courtyards woody, silent, and forlorn:
Where doctors foot it, and where farmers ride;
Where age abounds, and youth is multiplied;
Where these signs are, they clearly indicate
A happy people, and well-governed state.

POLITICAL ECONOMISTS.

Napoleon observed that, "if there existed such a thing as a monarchy of granite, and it were to be entrusted to the keeping of political economists, they would grind it to powder in a month." Frederick the Great, of Prussia, had before used similar expressions respecting these people, denoting his contempt for the general ignorance of the science of government which their writings displayed. "If I wished," said that monarch, "to reduce a flourishing province from the highest state of prosperity to the lowest stage of misery, I would desire no more effectual course than to put it for ten years under the government of philosophers." What an illustration of the wisdom of these remarks is contained in the history of the last fifteen years! The fact is, that this class of persons usually resides in towns, of whose prejudices against the cultivators of the soil it is apt to partake; being all generally employed in literary speculations, leading a retired life, and communing principally with one another, they are for the most part unacquainted with the detail of the different branches of domestic industry, and the relation which exists between them, except from hearsay or reading; consequently, they have little or no real experience to guide them in their researches after what is most contributory to the wealth and happiness of nations, and are governed in their opinions by prejudice, books, and conjecture. They are seldom to be seen as either owners, or occupiers of land; they seldom engage in manufactures, commerce, or any other active pursuits; but depend chiefly upon some certain income, or salary, for a subsistence; their situation in life being such as to render low prices an advantage to them: and it is not merely their inexperience in the practical business of life which makes them unfit judges of the proper policy of nations; but their sense of self-interest being of an adverse description, is also to be distrusted, which must naturally incline them as consumers, however honest, to bear towards low prices, and to advocate those measures which tend to make their own incomes go farthest. Indeed, they may be looked upon as placed, by their circumstances, in a state of perpetual hostility to the prosperity of agriculture, and indeed of every other kind of productive industry, on the due encouragement and protection given to which, the welfare and happiness of mankind entirely depends.—*Theory of the Constitution*, &c. By JAMES B. BERNARD, Esq., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

The Whigs have put a seal upon their repented character of being excellent whipping-posts.—They can stand as good a drubbing as most men. This results, they say, from their intellectual superiority: a strong body can bear a greater burden, and a more severe whipping than a weak body; and the same may be said of the mind. The effeminate Tories always fled from the slightest castigation. Like spoiled children, they become petted at the slightest defeat, and in they tendered their resignation immediately. Not so the men of the people. The Whigs love their country too well to turn their heels and run; they are humble men, and will patiently endure the rod, provided they can keep place for a while longer. But it is not in the nature of Whiggery to reign; its power is merely a resisting or propelling power, and it is never in its element except when acting in the opposition.

NOTICES.

SOCIAL LAND COMMUNITY OF FRIENDS TO THE RATIONAL SYSTEM OF SOCIETY.—The Friends and Subscribers to the above Society, and of the Moral Union, are hereby informed that an adjourned General Meeting will be held at Mr. Pressley's, Community Coffee-house, John street, on Sunday afternoon, March 2, 1834, to receive the Report of the Committee appointed to draw up Rules and Regulations for the Society. A full attendance is requested, as other very important business will be brought forward.—Chair to be taken at 3 o'clock. F. BATE, Sec.

EASTERN INSTITUTION.

A Public Meeting will be held on Tuesday, March 4, Mr. Owen in the chair, for the purpose of establishing an Institution for Lectures and Festivals, on the principles of the Social System, at No. 12, Portland-street, Commercial-road, near Stepney Caneway, East.

A GRAND MUSICAL FESTIVAL will take place at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, 14, Charlotte-street, every Friday evening during Lent. Admission to the Corridors, 1s.; Ground Floor, 6d. (For particulars, see bills.)

Mr. Detroisier will Lecture at the Institution, Charlotte-street, on Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock.

SOCIAL MISSIONARY AND TRACT SOCIETY.

The adjourned General Meeting will take place at No. 15, North-street, Upper Charlotte-street, on Sunday afternoon, the 2nd of March, at half-past three.

THE FORTY-FIRST SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, on Monday Evening next, the 3rd instant.

Tickets of Admission, including Tea and Coffee, 1s. 6d., or 1s. and 1-hour vote each. Doors to be opened at Seven, and the Concert to commence at a Quarter to Eight precisely.

The Dancing will commence at a quarter to 10, and continue uninterruptedly till One o'clock; Quadrille, Spanish, Medley, and Contré Dances alternating.

IT is proposed to establish a Library, Museum, Laboratory, &c., with Apparatus for Lectures for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge among the Working Classes.—Subscriptions and Donations received by the Secretary, at the Institution, Charlotte-street.

ST. SIMONISM.

This day is published,

NEW CHRISTIANITY; by HENRI DE ST. SIMON.—Translated from the French by the Rev. J. E. SMITH. Embellished with a colored Engraving of the St. Simonian Female Costume. Also.

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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, MARCH 2.

Mr. Smith lectured on "THE LAW OF HONOUR."

The law of honour is the moral law of nature; that which some philosophers call the moral sense, an inward monitor, a conscience, which not only dictates what is right, but at the same time enforces obedience, under penalty of moral punishment of a severe and permanent character. It is both the lawgiver, the judge, and the executioner. This law of honour is to be found in all mankind, from the rudest savage upward to the most refined member of civilized society. Many tribes of savages are remarkable for it; but it varies in all according to the peculiarity of their national customs and progress in civilization. In a simple state of society, it is quite sufficient to preserve order and tranquillity. Where the wants of men are but few, and where there is no private property, the law of honour is the only law that is necessary. The simple Greenlanders, who never plough the fields, nor claim the right of possession to the ice or the snow, but who live upon the accidental produce of their fishing excursions, can live with great comfort and perpetual tranquillity without the use of any other magisterial authority than that which affection confers, and to which affection renders implicit obedience. This arises from the simplicity of their lives, and the limited number of their dealings with each other; but as these dealings multiply by the arts of civilization, the intercourse between man and man becomes more and more complicated, and the moral sense of honour is not only confounded by the complicated variety of circumstances, but it is also corrupted by individual selfishness, and the desire of accumulating private property. Hence, as soon as men begin to gather wealth, laws become necessary, and magistrates are required to put them in force. The law of honour then ceases to reign alone; the law of the magistrates becomes the supreme law; and as the dealings of men with each other increase, the laws of the magistrates increase in proportion, to suit every conceivable case; so that every day is increasing the number and

the difficulties of our laws; every year is making some additions or alterations, and rendering the administration of justice more and more intricate.

The law of honour is synonymous with the love of character, and is the only law which regulates the movements of social and domestic life, and interferes with almost all the transactions of public life. It rarely happens that people of tolerably good character are ever so malignant in their dealings with each other as to inquire whether they are coming within the penalties of the civil or criminal law. The greatest part of mankind never think of the criminal law, or any other magisterial law, in their intercourse with their fellow-creatures; they are conscious of good intentions; they have no desire or intention personally to injure any individual, or make an assault upon his property. It is only the poor, the unfortunate poor, whom distress has compelled to look with a covetous eye on that which is not his own, who has occasion to consider what the law has decreed as the punishment of the meditated act. All the rest of mankind are guided by a principle of honour, or a love of character.

The young clergyman and the young squire, with exactly the same propensities, would behave themselves very differently in a nocturnal perambulation through the streets. The squire would, no doubt, be bent upon a row or a lark, and then bilking the police. The parson, perhaps, has half a mind to do the same, but prudence restrains him,—he remembers he is a responsible person; his fortune depends upon his character: if he were to be apprehended, and taken to the station-house, it would ruin his reputation for ever. The squire is independent; he can live without a parson's character; self-interest has nothing to do with the matter; and where self-interest is not concerned, you may be certain that the law of honour is not to be found in action. The parson and the squire, therefore, though formed by nature in the same mould, become very unfit companions for each other: the parson cannot accompany the squire in his mad and drunken career, without a compromise of his dignity, and a great risk of his worldly interest; and the squire cannot conduct himself with so much gravity and apparent sanctity as the parson, because he has got no temptation—

no tithes to collect, and no Easter dues to pocket.

Nay, it is probable that the squire's sense of honour runs in a very different direction from the parson's, and he makes it a point of honour to do what the parson makes it a point of honour not to do. If the squire is a sporting character, and has selected a company of wild, drunken debauchees as his boon companions, he will make it a point of honour not to be eclipsed by them either in the quality of his horses or his dogs, or in the quantity of his social potations; he will boast of his intrigues, his seductions, his pious frauds, and many other follies and knaveries, which to him are letters of recommendation, which raise him in the estimation of his fellows, and make him a formidable rival in the field of glory. When once a race of any kind is begun, which rouses the zeal and enthusiasm by the number of gay and splendid competitors, it is almost impossible to stop the headlong course; yet no law compels the individual to pursue it,—no law, but the moral influence of his companions; they persuade him, they entreat him, they use ridicule, satire, and every other moral and intellectual stimulus; and he finds himself hurried on by an irresistible impulse, which drives him to ruin with his eyes open. Yet the ruin which he foresees is not more formidable to him than the disgrace which awaits him if he should retreat. He would rather lose his all, and shoot himself at last to consummate the catastrophe, than compromise what he calls his honour by listening to the voice of prudence. He must not yield; like a true Tory, he must stick to his first principle and first determination; for the laws of honour, as at present established, are like the laws of the Medes and Persians,—they will not admit of a change of mind or of purpose: whether you change for the better or not, it matters not; if you change, you have compromised your honour, you have turned your coat, and are in disgrace. Thus, you see, the honour of the old world is like that of a blood-horse, which is so determined in the prosecution of its career, that, instead of stopping at the wall to which it has unexpectedly arrived, it rushes recklessly against it, and dashes out its brains.

False as this honour is, it is evident, from the most superficial view of it, that it is an

powerful principle. There is no law in nature which is equal to it. What human law could compel the thoughtless squire to ride post to destruction, with the gulf before him, and a conviction of his impending fate? The laws of the magistrate are but pitiful stimulants, compared to this. A few pounds per annum of over-taxation will rouse his indignation, and make him a rebel or a traitor; an attempt upon his person or his house by a highwayman or a band of robbers will excite his courage, and enable him to resist and defend himself like a bear bereft of her whelps. But this law of honour, as it is called, finds him as weak and as helpless as a child; he is like Samson on the lap of his mistress; he yields without resistance; he rejoices in defeat, and would rather be ruined than lose the satisfaction of being beat.

Man has no greater enemy and no greater tyrant than that which rules within himself; and that tyrant is more frequently a false principle of honour than any thing else. It may be rather called a principle of obstinacy, a determination never to yield,—a determination which has been cherished by the false teaching of the world, which has always branded with disgrace the name of an apostate, so that the very word conveys a libellous and opprobrious meaning. What is more insulting to a man than to call him an apostate, a renegade, a turn-coat, a deserter? The most of men—indeed, all men—would reddened with indignation if you were to apply such epithets to them. Yet, what evil is there in the name? What is an apostate, but a man who has forsaken a cause which he has at last been convinced is a bad cause? What is a renegade, a turn-coat, a deserter, but the same thing? There is no evil in the name. It is a moral duty, which every man owes to himself and to society, to forsake a cause as soon as he becomes convinced of its error and its evil tendency. But what think you of the principle of honour, which teaches the world to despise him and load him with reproach? What is the tendency of this principle, but to blind men to the truth, to shut their eyes against objections to their own sect or party, lest they should happen to be convinced of its weakness, and lose their honour?

These apostates, as they are called, are tormented for life. If they happen to be public characters, public writers, or public speakers, then, forsooth, their former publications, their former speeches, are brought forward in opposition to their present opinions; and the loud laugh and the keen sarcasm are levelled against them. Who can withstand such battering? Yet what can be more contemptible and irrational? Is this the way to discover truth, to compare what a man said twenty years ago with what he says now? What has truth to do with any individual? However changeable man himself may be, truth itself is eternally the same; and if a man be exercising his mind as he ought to exercise it, he ought always to be changing, always becoming more and more liberal in proportion as he receives additional information and extends the sphere of his ideas.

It is evident that the law of honour, as at present established, is a stationary principle; and it is also evident that it is a most powerful and omnipotent principle. These two qualities render it extremely pernicious in the present system of society, by creating the dogmatism, the incorrigibility, and inflexibility of party-spirit. The more powerful it is, the worse it is.

Hence, as I observed in the outset, the old Tory principle of honour is a pernicious principle, which opposes itself to all change; a principle which teaches the nobility and gentry of England to maintain the political principles of their forefathers till death. The party-spirit is hereditary as well as the estate. If the old duke was a Tory, the new duke must be a Tory also; to become a Whig would be a dereliction of duty to the family; it would be a breach of the law of honour. Hence there is no hope of converting an aristocrat; you may just as well expect to convert an archbishop. They are too honourable; they are not open to conviction; they are men of principle; their creed is already prescribed to them by their ancestors and the laws of the land; and they would sooner be cut to pieces than become renegades, turn-coats, or apostates.

The people alone are accessible to reason; they are not honourable men; they have not yet obtained perfect truth; they are learners; they are willing to change every day, if you merely convince them; they want to change, and to be changed; they neither admire the wisdom of their ancestors, nor the British Constitution, nor the mother Church, nor things as they are; they admire nothing that they see,—they want something better, and, above all things, they want to get rid of the dogmatism and the tyranny of men of honour.

But this powerful principle of honour, which characterizes human nature in a condition of prosperity and worldly grandeur, is a principle which may be turned to very good account under more favourable circumstances. At present, it is most remarkable in the aristocracy and nobility, who are almost entirely governed by it in their intercourse with each other. Were all the population of the country equally independent, free from the fear of poverty, well educated, refined, and polished in mind, by daily reading and the contemplation of works of taste, the very same spirit would influence them, and the law of the magistrate would cease to operate.

But then, it may be asked, how would the dogmatism of the present law of honour be removed? That could alone be removed by the merging of political parties into one, by the abrogation of national and stationary creeds, and the acknowledgment of the progressive character of society upon every variety of subject. The day will come when nothing will be received as a standard principle, but what is capable of demonstration and acknowledged by all to be correct; and the principle of honour, instead of teaching men to adhere doggedly to certain assumed principles, facts, or axioms, shall teach them to search eagerly for new truths, new views upon every subject, with a full conviction and acknowledgment of their imperfect information upon all.

It unfortunately happens, that the different sects and parties are at variance upon the elementary principles of government, religion, and morals. They have not as yet got a common foundation. This makes their disagreements most unhappy; it inflames all their passions, and annihilates their finest feelings. Were this point settled respecting the foundation, how easily and smoothly they might all go on in the different movements of life! but so stupid are men, that they have not yet attained to the very first element of all knowledge, namely, the unity of nature. Without this idea before you, you never can reason correctly upon any general subject; and with this idea

before you, you may defy all mystery. Yet not a religious or political sect in existence acknowledges it; in fact, they all deny it, and regard it as blasphemy to teach it. The religious world will call you a mortalist and a blasphemer, if you teach the doctrine of the unity of nature; and you are in danger of being apprehended by the powers that be, and shut up in a dungeon, for teaching it. This is the foundation of all philosophy, yet it is not acknowledged by any party, old and new, the world has grown. Its day however is approaching. Unity has now become the watchword, the motto of the people; they are beginning to perceive that a general union of trades and individuals is the grand consummation of society; and when they see that unity in trades is the standard doctrine of society, they will soon acknowledge that the unity of nature is the standard doctrine of religion, without which as a foundation all their reasonings are a mere babble, which neither themselves nor others can comprehend. The union of trades is only the prelude to the union of sects, which will follow in succession; and these two, the temporal and spiritual union of society, will consummate the regeneration of the human race.

Then the false spirit of honour shall cease,—the Tory shall no more oppose the reformation of abuses, nor the aristocrat and the noble pride himself in following up the principles of his family, and transmitting them unchanged to posterity. The parson shall no more be bound down by a stationary creed, or be compelled to assume a foreign character to preserve his reputation. The squire will no more be allured by a false pride to ruin himself by gambling and racing; for industry will be the presiding genius of the new world, which will infuse the spirit of useful labour into every member of society; and Education shall spread her healing wings over the public mind, and so exalt it above the foolish pursuits of gambling, and cock-fighting, and other irrational recreations, that the very spirit of gaming shall be extinguished, and the place that knows it now, shall know it no more for ever. Moreover, ruin shall be an impossibility. Now the man of honour may bring himself to beggary, by yielding to the spirit of infatuation, which has caught him; or he may be the means of bringing ruin upon others, and driving the unhappy victim of chances to the act of self-destruction. But in the world to come there are no such chances; no poverty, no ruin, no infatuation arising from such ungenerous excitements which involve the wretchedness of one or other of the parties. The law of honour will take a different direction; it will aim at the promotion of the arts and the sciences, at the production of wealth, and the contribution of happiness; it will seek demonstration of truth, and not the promotion of party-principles and sectarian schemes; and society being based on a system of equalism, there can be no possibility of political contention to disturb its peace.

When man is thoroughly instructed, and society is based on right principles, there shall be no other law than the law of honour. As the Scriptures say, "I will put my law in their hearts, and write it in their inward parts; and one shall teach his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest, and I will have mercy on their infirmities, and remember their sins no more."

SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 2.

Mr. Owen said that it was of the greatest importance that every one should hear the truths delivered in this place, for the relief of millions of our suffering fellow-beings depends on our forming correct judgments on the causes of the evils which afflict them; and however strong our desire to relieve them may be, still if we are ignorant of the best means to do this, our desire will exist in vain.

The disadvantages arising from division have now become so great, and the advantages to be obtained by union are becoming generally so apparent, that almost all men in this country, as well as some others, have had their attention directed to the subject.

Man is by nature a social being.—Society necessarily implies union to a certain extent; and whatever may be the amount of the advantages we actually possess—small as they undoubtedly are, when compared with what they might be—yet to obtain even them union of some kind was indispensable. I am quite sure, however, that at present we do not possess more than one part out of a hundred of the benefits which the principle of union, when it shall pervade the whole economy of human life, is calculated to produce. I ask then, since it is now in our power to obtain the whole sum of these benefits, why should we limit ourselves to the possession of this pitiful fraction? It is true, the old customs and prejudices of the world, the accumulation of six thousand years, have not only reconciled us to the innumerable disadvantages of individual family associations, but have created in us habits and feelings in favour of this arrangement, which are supposed to be natural and unconquerable. I am, however, now thoroughly satisfied that they are neither agreeable to nature, nor too inveterate to yield to the influence of a better system; for it does not require a long or a difficult process of demonstration to prove that such individual and isolated arrangements are productive of far more evil than benefit to society, and that even those very results which are now imagined to be the peculiar advantages arising out of this state of society, will be greatly exceeded in the new villages of associated families, in which the permanent happiness of each will be increased in a greater ratio than the difference between the number in a family of five and of fifteen hundred. That the present notions and habits of society should produce a declaration of hostility to the proposed change, on its first announcement, is neither an extraordinary circumstance, nor is it one which goes at all to prove that the change would not be eminently beneficial to mankind. It is indeed nothing more than the result of the common and natural feeling which prompts human nature to resist, at first, any alteration of long established practices. But it is equally a law of nature, that when we have acquired a correct knowledge of that which has been proposed to us, when we distinctly comprehend its real merits, and perceive its beneficial tendencies—we relinquish our prejudices and adopt the improvement. I may refer to the introduction of inoculation and vaccination, and, indeed, to all the improvements which have been at any time introduced and established in society.

Each family has now its own peculiar notions and prejudices, which are different from those of other families, and are the faithful source of jealousies and heartburnings, and an endless

variety of evils. Every family is a little kingdom, and when these families attempt to unite, each one desires that his particular views and feelings and interests should predominate. This state of strife and contention, however, is only fit for the first stage, or lowest condition of society. I had an opportunity of witnessing the proceedings of a family, which consisted of six or seven hundred individuals, all brought up together, and their enjoyments were six or seven hundred times greater than those of other families: and until this kind, fraternal feeling shall become general, individuals will not be prepared for the full enjoyment of the social system.

Here are the two Models, the arrangements connected with one of which I explained to you last Sunday evening; and the other, which stands in the corridor, I will take some early opportunity of more particularly describing to you. These may be called No. 1, and No. 2; in the first, individuals may possess greater advantages than are enjoyed in any part of old society, and yet this is the lowest stage in the new society. I wish I could find language simple and plain enough to convey to you a correct comparison of the two states of society, the old and the new. But they are like numbers, in which every thing depends on correct data. If we begin with computing that one and one make three, all the compounds will of course be wrong; but, on the contrary, if we start with calculating that one and one make two, our compounds will correspond, and therefore be correct. Yet all the arrangements and the institutions of society have been formed upon data equally incorrect with the former of these in numbers.

All the religions in the world may be looked at in this way. They state that you must believe so and so, and that you must feel so and so, and then you will be happy, here and hereafter. But those who know anything of human nature are perfectly aware that it is in vain to tell those who have no power to alter their belief or to change their feelings, that they should do or believe this or that; but hence has arisen all the uncharitableness which is so prevalent amongst us, and hence also all the religious divisions and sects in the world, which are said to exceed 1000 in number; and yet ask any one of these sects, and he will not hesitate to say that the 999 are all wrong; and each of the 999 will give you a similar reply. Such are all the religions of the world.

The governments of the world are all founded on the same erroneous notions; indeed, they have always formed a partnership with the Church, and have therefore framed their laws according to the same rule, and have thereby endeavoured to compel all to think and feel as they would have them. They have also committed all power into the hands of the non-producers, whose sole employment seems to be, to collect as much as possible from the people, either by force or fraud of some kind or other. To extract all that they can get from the producers is the great moving principle of all the governments of the world; in fact, they are no governments, they are mere exactors.

Then there are the lawyers, whose chief business seems to have been to separate law and justice, and to divide man from man; and if their object had been to create as much evil as possible they could not have succeeded better.

We have then our armies and navies! Why are these necessary, and what is their effect? First, to draw off the flower of your population from being producers, and to train them to be the murderers of their fellow-beings;

and why is this, but that the theologians have trained all to believe that they can feel and think as they please? and thus alone have we been led to adopt the monstrous cause of devoting the strength and sinews of the people to the work of destroying one another!

Then there is the medical profession, the necessity for which arises alone from ignorance. If we had been well trained, we should have been saved from disease; instead of which, we must have a class of men set apart to cure that which our mis-training has first of all produced: but in the new state of society we shall take a very different course; we shall take care to ascertain the causes of disease, and all other evils, and remove them, and then health, comfort, and happiness will be the result.

Then we have commerce, which is a very pretty attendant on all the others. The moving spring of which is, that each one should buy the services of others at as cheap a rate as possible, and sell his own at as dear a rate as possible; and all these classes may in truth be said to be constantly engaged in "doing that which they ought not to do, and in leaving undone that which they ought to do."

But, I think I see around me some of those intelligent individuals who are determined to stem this course, and who are engaged in so doing; who are preparing the means to unite all the Trades' Unions into one consolidated mass. Already do they perceive the injurious nature and results of competition and inequality, and they will not, I trust, be satisfied until arrangements are made to well train and educate all their children, and to surround them from birth to death with the best and most virtuous circumstances, and to give the most advantageous employment to every one. They have worked long enough for those who will do nothing for them in return, or for themselves. By attending to the laws of nature, and especially of human nature, they will learn that all the faculties, physical, intellectual, and moral, must be cultivated simultaneously and in harmony; hitherto we have been but fractions of human beings.

It has been reproachfully said, that a tailor is but the ninth part of a man; but I rejoice to say, to the honour of the tailors, that they have been the first to set a great example of unity and concord, and to exert themselves to rescue their fellow-men from the misery and degradation to which they had been reduced. Hitherto, instead of being trained to understand ourselves and society, instead of being accustomed to analyze and recompose the various forms of society, we are all suffered to grow up in total ignorance of what it is; yet every one may be made to understand all this high knowledge, as it is now called, by the time they are six years of age.

Are any surprised at this declaration? let them then consider that all, as yet, have been instructed in a vast deal of error, connected with a very little truth, at least in the proportion of nine to one; which has made us like a machine that is constructed so as to be constantly counteracting itself. But when true ideas only shall be given to children,—and those may be given to them in great numbers before six years of age, they will be many times more powerful than they have hitherto been, mixed as they have always been with so much error. I can affirm this most confidently from my own experience. I ascertained early a criterion for truth; I found that there were certain facts, the truth of

which no one did, or could, dispute; but which were acknowledged by the intelligent of all ages, and of all countries. I, therefore, set these down as true. I began to read again, and to learn like a little child, and every new idea I met with, I compared with this original stock, and if it agreed with these in every respect, I then added this to the stock; but if it disagreed in any respect, then I rejected it; acting always on the principle, that every truth in nature must be in perfect accordance with every other truth; and thus, by the influence of this combination of facts and truths, was my own mind formed anew, and I became a new being. I did not create these ideas, no one can create an idea; but by this combination of facts, and truths, and ideas, thus arranged in my mind, have I been made to differ from all other men; and hence has arisen that visionary system, as it has been called, but which, in truth, has all been derived from facts; and this will presently be found to be the great difference between my views and those of others; the circumstances I have mentioned having operated to discharge to a great extent the old erroneous notions from my mind, and to give me more correct views than have been obtained by most other men.

A different state of feeling, also, has thereby been produced in my mind; and now, my friends, I will tell you a secret that will account to you why I do not experience the feeling of intemperate anger. It is because I am always looking to causes. I cannot help disliking the actions of many men, and may perhaps feel it to be necessary to remove from them; but I cannot be angry, because I know they cannot avoid being what they are; and in this way have I become a child of the new system, the children of which, as I have said, will be much wiser than the adults of the old system. I had full proof of this at New Barnark, where the children became the most powerful agents in producing the change which was effected in the population. This was particularly exemplified in relation to the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, which had much obtained amongst the adults in that place previously to my settling there. The children were correctly informed of the nature of these liquors, and of their operation on the human body, and they expressed so much horror at seeing their parents indulge in the use of them, and on marking their injurious effects, that a great change was speedily effected.

The experience I have thus obtained has enabled me to see a few steps before the Trades' Unions, and I know that they will be obliged to ask themselves how they shall escape from the evils of individual competition, and their only course is to put an end to it! But they cannot do this under any of the old arrangements, no more than they can make the old road coaches run on the rail roads, or combine the old mode of spinning with the newly invented machinery for the purpose. They must therefore form new arrangements so as to obtain land, the best houses and food, and the best education and employment; and by their new industry they will secure all these things for themselves and their children. They will therefore, by and by, with pleasure receive from me these details, which they will so much need, and by the adoption of which alone can they deliver themselves from the wretched effects of competition. And all classes will be benefited by this change, not excepting even the various professions of which I have before spoken,

all of whom we shall assist to get rid of all that is injurious and vicious in their various modes of life. I would, therefore, earnestly recommend all of you to join the Trades' Unions, in one way or another; and to facilitate this general union, it has been determined to form a Miscellaneous Lodge, to join which, all the producers of wealth and knowledge, not belonging to those trades already in union, are now invited.

But, to maintain and preserve ourselves in unity and kind feeling, we must, my friends, become intimately acquainted with our own nature; and this knowledge, above all others, it is now your highest interest, because it will lead to your permanent happiness, speedily to obtain.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

H. W. in our next.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 8.

WE happened by accident to leave out Mr. Owen's lecture last week, and did not observe it till the *Crisis* was made up. It dwelt principally upon the model of the new system of association, and drew a comparison between it and the present nauseous dens of filth and disease which characterize all our cities, and the greater proportion of our provincial towns. He deprecated the use of streets, as both injurious to the health and unpleasant to the eye, and remarked that the tendency of the present fashionable world is to resort to squares, as the most agreeable form for congregated buildings. The squares which he would recommend for the new world, are squares about the size of Russell-square, in London, which would be situated in the midst of an agricultural farm, consisting of about 2000 acres of average land, and capable of supporting and giving sufficient accommodation to 2000 individuals. In these squares, mankind would enjoy all the advantages of a city life, without any of its inconveniences and nuisances. They would be furnished with all the necessaries and comforts of life, and possess more real happiness than is within the grasp of the highest aristocracy of the land.

Three sides of these squares would be set apart for the accommodation of the parents, and one side would be appropriated for the rearing of children, who would thus be quite close at hand, and yet at the same time be without the sphere of the parents' action; and, therefore, both parties would be quite free from any chance

of annoyance from each other. One great evil of the present system of education is, that there are no domestic preparations for children, which are sufficiently suited to their infantine propensities. Arrangements are all made for adults alone, and children are driven about from place to place, without being able to call any place their own. They must not go here, and they must not go there; they must not touch this, they must not touch that; so that they merely become a sort of foot-balls, seeking rest, and finding none. In the new system, the arrangements for children would be as complete and scientific as those for men; they would have a place of recreation for themselves, with all the apparatus necessary for pursuing their different diversions without the interference of any parties. They would also be under the superintendence of persons suited by nature for the office of education, and not left to the random and inexperienced direction of parents and others, who, whatever their affection may be for their children or relatives, may have other pursuits to follow, which will so far engross their attention as entirely to overlook their young charge. There are some minds fitted by nature in a peculiar manner for the education of children. These would be carefully selected; and the employment of such in this sole office would not only be an advantage to the community, but the highest gratification to themselves.

Mr. Owen then stated that the erection of such squares would be an excellent mode of employing and supporting the present pauper population; and certainly, if the government were to carry out into practice the original laws of Queen Elizabeth respecting provision for the poor, these laws would lead directly to the establishment of such institutions. Thus, for instance, by the 43 Eliz. c. 2, "The churchwardens and overseers, &c., are directed to raise a sufficient stock of flax, hemp, wool, yarn, and other necessary ware and stuff, to put out the poor children apprentice, and generally to do all other things as to them shall seem meet." It would require no amendment of alteration of this law to adopt such a system of employing the poor as is recommended by Mr. Owen; and it would have such a decided advantage over the present in-

methodical, wasteful, and immoral system of provision as would immediately commend itself to public approbation: for it would not only procure suitable accommodation, cleanliness, education, and consequently good morals—but it would also in a short time create such a surplus of wealth, as would be sufficient to meet its own expenditure, and for ever banish pauperism from society. The Government seems at last to have some glimpse of the necessity of adopting some such measure as this, in order to relieve the country of the burden of the poor laws—for they are more likely to feel the burden of charity than those burdens—which affect the poor themselves most directly. The poor law commissioners recommend some improvements, the principal feature of which is, “no labour, no work.” We have no doubt that this new system will be an abortion, a half-formed, miserable, lean, haggard-looking thing; which will excite the compassion of every compassionate mind; but still it is an attempt at new life, and may lead to better things at last. The *Times* exclaims, “A workhouse pauper! is notoriously a term of contempt; yet this, the most degraded state of pauperism, is henceforth to be the destination of every pauper family throughout the kingdom!” We entirely agree with the *Times*, if the present species of workhouses are to be continued; but were they re-modelled, and re-erected as manufacturing or agricultural villages, we doubt not but the paupers of England would soon excite the envy of English independent mechanics. This, however, the *Times* denies or does not contemplate, for it says that “the project of making the workhouse system co-extensive with relief, outstrips our conception of what would be either humane or practicable in Great Britain.” We do not doubt this either; that is to say, we do not doubt that it outstrips the conception of the *Times*; but the conception of the *Times* was never very famous for being far in advance; it is generally accounted a laggard in liberal opinions; hence we can perfectly agree with the *Times*, and at the same time maintain that such a system of pauperism would not only be beneficial in removing the burdens of the poor rates, but it would produce a benign moral effect on the poor

themselves, and finally banish poverty entirely.

We have no hope, however, of the government adopting any very rational or scientific system. It will be a system of confusion; there will be no useful or profitable manufactures established—no agricultural system adopted; there will merely be some more severe enactments to put to the test the claimants for relief, so mortifying to every feeling mind that none but the wretchedly poor, or the wretchedly impudent, will be able to withstand it. If so, it will relieve the country of part of the burden of the poor rates, merely to load the unfortunate poor with greater misery. The poor have little to hope from legislators, who will always take care to release themselves first, and the poor afterwards; but their method of self-relief is starvation to the poor. They either know no other method, or they won't have another method; they have no notion of destroying poverty, but only of shifting it from shoulder to shoulder.

WILL OF THE LATE W. THOMPSON, OF CORK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Allow me, through the medium of your paper, to communicate to the friends of the Social System, and particularly to those who have rendered pecuniary assistance, the situation in which the trustees of the property of the late W. Thompson are now placed.

When I was in Ireland upon this business, in the month of October last, a Commission was appointed by the Consistory Court of Dublin, to proceed to Cork to examine the witnesses to the Will and Codicil, and thereby try its validity. This extraordinary mode of proof was forced upon us by our opponents, who are seeking to deprive the Co-operatives, and the working classes generally, of the benefits intended to be conferred upon them by the Testator. The testimony of the subscribing witnesses to the documents mentioned was of such a conclusive character as utterly to confound the Proctor employed by our opponents, who not only declined to cross-examine any of our witnesses, but declared that he never saw a Will more clearly established than in the present instance. On the return of the Commissioners, they reported in the most favourable manner to the Court, and it was fully expected we should have been allowed immediately to take Probate, and come into possession of the property. Not so, however; our opponents' attorney, with the view of giving us every annoyance possible, put in another vexatious plea, (the only one remaining to him,) and sought to set aside the Will on the ground of the insanity of the Testator. When the time arrived, however, for them to proceed to the proof, they declined it, and admitted the validity of the Will and our authority to act

under it. Thus, then, the trustees have completely triumphed in this most important particular, and Probate may now be taken at any time we please.

The expenses which have been necessarily incurred are, however, considerable, and far exceed the monies which have hitherto been subscribed by our friends to defray them. The trustees have made several advances to meet these expenses, and a little more exertion on behalf of those for whose benefit this property is intended, will complete the business.

The whole affair is now very much simplified. Our opponents are seeking, through the medium of the Court of Chancery, to establish the validity of some Judgment Bonds, said to have been given by the deceased nearly twenty-five years ago, and which, if proved, would entitle the holders to something like three-fourths of the value of the estates. We shall, however, be enabled to offer the most satisfactory evidence of the fraudulent nature of these Bonds; and this is well known by our opponents, who are only acting in the manner they are, in the hope that we shall be frightened from the contest, and tamely give the property into their possession. But this we are fully resolved not to do, unless indeed (which we cannot for a moment conceive) that small pecuniary aid which we require to be temporarily advanced by those for whom we are struggling should be refused. The whole amount of subscriptions yet received, (exclusive of the sums advanced by the trustees,) has not been more than 60% and another such sum would be sufficient to enable us to take out Probate of the Will, and possess ourselves of the chattel property; which again would enable us to continue our defence to the Chancery Suit, which there is every reason to believe will be of short duration.

Any subscriptions or loans forwarded to our friend, Mr. S. Austin, 14, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London, will be duly acknowledged and properly appropriated.

I am, Sir,

Yours respectfully,

WILLIAM PARE.

P. S. The *St.* forwarded from the Norwich Co-operative Society, by their Delegate to the late Congress, was received.

ON TOLERATION.

The Parable of a Celebrated Painter.

Transported in a dream to the gates of heaven, the first object that struck me was a venerable old man: by his keys, his bald head, and his long beard, I knew him to be Saint Peter. The apostle sat on the threshold of the celestial gates; a crowd of people advanced towards him; the first who presented himself was a Papist. ‘I have,’ said he, ‘all my life been a religious man, and yet honest enough.’ ‘Go in, and place yourself upon the bench for Catholics.’ The next was a Protestant, who gave a like account of himself. The saint said, in the like manner, ‘place yourself among the reformed.’ Then came merchants of Bagdat, Bussora, &c.; these were all Mussulmans, who had been constantly virtuous: Saint Peter made them sit among the Mussulmans. At last came the Infidel, or Atheist. ‘What is thy sect?’ said the apostle. ‘I am of no sect,’ he replied, ‘but I have always been honest.’ ‘Then you may go in.’ ‘But where shall I seat myself?’ ‘Next to those who appear to you most rational.’—*Digitized by Google*

LAW OF LIBEL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—It is very difficult for us to say in what position we stand at present, in respect to this celebrated law of libel, or indeed in respect to any other law. It may be almost confidently asserted that upon this, and the greatest proportion of legislative questions, there is no law at all. We depend entirely upon the pleasure of magisterial authorities. There is not a newspaper in London, perhaps in the country, which does not contain a libellous article of some description. Yet only occasionally is an individual selected, at the pleasure of the government, as a scape-goat to bear the sins of the rest. Truth, the law says, is no justification of a libel, for the law only looks to the intention of the libeller, and the tendency of the libel to make a breach of the peace. Thus, it forbids any language respecting the king, or two houses of parliament, which tends to bring these three authorities into contempt. It also protects the heirs of majesty, the British constitution, the established church, from all injurious or reproachful written language; and whatever renders a man ridiculous, or lowers him in the estimation of others, is libellous, and subjects the author to prosecution. This law is very well calculated to support things as they are, and to throw a veil upon every species of villany and infamy, for it is evident that, if the public instructors and moralists are not entitled to expose to shame the character of public and private individuals, the people must always remain in ignorance of their true character, and regard them with a false veneration. It is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the present age, that the old servile tone of flattery, in respect to men of authority, has entirely ceased; and men no longer regard, with a look of divine worship and reverential awe, the man who is clothed with a little brief authority. They have now discovered that royal and magisterial grandeur, as well as personal reputation for talent and patriotism, are merely the meretricious paint which attracts the notice and admiration of the public mind, but which only serves as a blinder to hide the truth, by concealing the deformities which lurk beneath. But by what moral and intellectual process has the age attained to this superior knowledge of human nature? Has it been by a dutiful obedience to the letter of the law; by a blind submission to the powers that be? No, certainly; perfect obedience would have left us in ancestral ignorance. We could never have made any new discoveries in human nature, or in the science of society, if we had rendered implicit obedience to legislative statutes. We have dared to disobey; and by disobedience we have advanced the morals of the age, by enlightening the public mind. We have treated the old letter of the law with contempt, and by so doing it has almost become entirely obsolete, and winks at a thousand daily infringements of its obligations by the most loyal and the most dutiful servants of church and state.

Kings and emperors are ridiculed and caricatured in every variety of way. They are nicknamed, they are abused, they are mimicked, they are charged with sayings which they never uttered, and deeds which they never committed; the priests who are full of the most laughable representations of his most sacred majesty, and his most sage counsellors; and old and young are alike entertained by the

libellous treat. All these things are against the law; but the law winks at them all, and the spirit of the age advances before it with rapid strides. But how does it advance? By disobedience, certainly; there is no other method of advancing, but by disobedience. Perfect obedience is a stationary principle, but disobedience is a movement principle, and to it, and it alone, are we indebted for all improvement. Why, then, call passive obedience a virtue? It is the greatest vice of which a man can be guilty. It is a brutal vice, for it keeps man in the same status for ever, and binds him down, if a fool and a slave to-day, to be a fool and a slave everlastingly.

What is it that has rendered so many of our laws obsolete? Disobedience, a determination of the people not to submit to these laws. But, in advocating the cause of disobedience, we do not advocate the cause of violence. Disobedience is merely a refusal to submit to certain injurious restrictions; and passive resistance, or moral resistance, is the utmost limit which we would prescribe to the audacious children of the state. Men are to be improved by intellect and morals only, and any attempt to destroy old laws by force would terminate in the institution of more barbarous and restrictive laws in their stead. Legislation is a science, and is only to be learned by mental application. A national riot would produce the same retrograde effect as a riot in a school-room, which the children had excited in the foolish expectation of learning their lessons the quicker by a "row." The consequences would be, that the magisterial rod would be uplifted, and Tyranny would discover his wrinkled brows and his frowning countenance.

We conclude by saying, the laws will be finally perfected by "Moral Disobedience." Deny that, who can. **DISOBEDIENCE.**

TRADES' UNION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—As you are a willing and efficient advocate for improving the condition of the working classes, you will perhaps insert, in your useful and widely circulated journal, the following resolution, which was carried with acclamation, at a numerous meeting of the Tin-plate-workers of London and its vicinity, at the Mechanics' Institution, Southampton Buildings, on the 24th inst.; which example I hope will stimulate all others working at the same trade, throughout the kingdom, to do likewise.

The order and good feeling which prevailed during the whole of the proceedings, together with the liberal views of the different persons who addressed the meeting, are an earnest of the near approach of that happy time—

"When men no man's n'r a' the earth
Shall brithers be no' a' that."

"Viewing, as this Meeting does, with pleasure, the rapid progress making by the Trades' Union towards effecting a great and beneficial change in the condition of the working classes, they are of opinion that the Tin-plate-workers of London ought to become a branch of the same, and contribute in facilitating the sacred cause of man's regeneration."

T. P.

WOMAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I was sorry to read in your last number, as also to hear from some of my own acquaintances, that there is a jealousy in the

men against Female Unions. What can be the cause of this, but the tyrannical spirit of the male? Is man not yet willing to relinquish the rod of authority. In these days, when servants are rising up against their masters, and claiming equal privileges with their employers, why should the spirit of tyranny still reside in the very servants themselves? If they deny our right to unite, and claim equal privileges with men, then, Sir, I say, we deny their right to unite and claim equal privileges with their masters. But it is clear enough, from this whispering spirit of jealousy, that is going about with its venomous tittle-tattle, that the men are as bad as their masters; that, in fact, they want to be masters themselves; and that life would not be worth having if the slave trade were completely abolished, and woman emancipated. But, I hope, Sir, that my fellow-countrywomen will despise these insinuations, these fears, and jealousies of the men, and consult their own interests, for it seems to be a law of nature that every species and every sex take care of itself, for there is a tendency in every one to make a slave of it. If we depend upon men, they will become our masters; therefore, I begin, now, to rejoice that there is an opposition to our Union, for it may stimulate us to self-exertion, which is the only way of effecting our deliverance. Then let our motto be, "Woman for herself, and man for himself."

A WOMAN.

ANGER; A TALE.

"WHAT a nice man Mr. Gentle is!" said Betsy to Kate, as they were removing clothes on the green; "so kind and good-natured, he has always a smile on his countenance. What a delightful temper he must have! Kate, do you think it possible to ruffle Mr. Gentle's temper—or make his eye-brows scowl?" "No, perhaps not," said Kate; "I sometimes think him too simple—and insensible to the distinction between right and wrong. Do you know, he always reminds me of our dog Rover. Rover's always a-smiling; if you beat him he smiles, if you feed him he smiles, if you put him he smiles, and for the life of me I never could make Rover frown on me; what a nice, good-tempered creature Rover is! Here he comes a-wag, wag, wagging. Oh, my dear Rover, God bless thee, my love." "Oh, shame, Kate, shame, to talk so to a brute beast." "And why not, Betsy; what harm is there in being fond of the poor beast? I think, if we cannot love such a noble, generous creature as Rover is, we must hate virtue itself—for what is virtue, Betsy, but goodness; and, what is goodness but kindness; and, what is kindness but innocence and affection? And who is so affectionate? who so innocent? who so kind? who so good? and, therefore, who so virtuous, as my dear Rover is? I'll kiss him. There is only one mouth I like better." "The girl's mad." "Don't be jealous, Betsy, for there's no jealousy in Rover; he has the soul of an angel, quite another Gentle, only he has two more legs. There is no evil in him. But, who are these two vagabond-looking fellows that are coming across the green. La! Betsy, I am afraid; we are so lovely here, and they won't hear us scream for the waterfall and the mill."

The two fellows approached, and soon showed that their intentions were by no means friendly. They did not personally assault the girls. They had their eye upon plunder alone.

One of them picked up a shirt, and said he would exchange it for his own. Then, by-and-by, he said that his own was not much worth, and he would not put the girls to the trouble and expense of washing it. The other swore he had found a very fine cap, and his little titmouse would be quite delighted with it.

Betsy was fuming with passion; but, as yet, she had quenched it by a moral effort. Some waggish spirit had reminded her of Mr. Gentle, and said, "What a nice man Mr. Gentle is, he is never angry." Kate was equally furious; but the devil, or something, always said, "What a fine creature Rover is, it is impossible to anger him." But it would not do; neither Gentle nor Rover had moral power sufficient to still the coming storm; and both, almost at the same moment, yielded to the resistless torrent, and each seized her victim by the neck. Rover followed the example of Kate, and, in an instant, tore her opponent to the ground; then, with the greatest alacrity, he flew to the assistance of Betsy, who seemed to be quite a match for her assailant. Rover soon decided the controversy, and drew the two rascals together, watched them, and grinned and scowled so devilishly if one offered to stir, that the two fellows, afraid of being torn in pieces by the virtuous indignation of the conqueror, never moved a limb. In the meanwhile, the girls screamed for help, both unwilling to leave the dog, and each unwilling to leave the other; and who should come to aid them but Mr. Gentle.

"There he comes," says Betsy, "and I am sure he won't be the least angry with the men; but, Lord forgive me, for I could not help it. And look at Rover." One of the fellows had been moving his legs, and as Rover's eye was watching every limb and muscle of both his victims, he gave a most savage, and deep-toned growl, which at once committed the rebellious member to rest. The fellow then moved his hand, Rover growled again; then his finger, another growl. Rover was determined to have implicit obedience, and by the time that Gentle arrived, he had obtained it.

"Oh," says Betsy, "I never would have believed that Rover could have been such a tyrant." "My dear," says Gentle, "it is Rover's good-nature that has made him a tyrant. Don't you see that mercy is his darling attribute. He attacked these men for your protection. And now he watches their every movement until you take means to secure your safety. Were Rover a cruel tyrant, he would tear them to pieces; but he merely watches their movements to prevent them from doing mischief. And when they move he does not punish them immediately, he merely growls to warn them of their danger if they dare to attempt an escape from the hands of justice. Anger is good when properly directed, it is only the abuse of anger in an ill-balanced mind that is productive of evil; no good man can look upon crime without indignation. Goodness is the natural enemy of evil, and if it cannot destroy it by breaths, it will come to blows and wounds. But its own nature directs it first to the use of gentle means, and it only employs violence when moral influence fails. He that could witness a deed of cruelty, or an act of injustice, without indignation, is without feeling. Anger and love are one feeling differently directed, or placed in different circumstances; and he that is unsusceptible of the one, never elicits the power of the other."

The two fellows were soon after secured, and Rover relinquished his charge; he kept a watchful eye upon them, however, for a long time, but took no offence at any of their movements. And such appeared to be his love of order, that there can be no doubt that, if any other assailant had attacked the two, he would instantly have protected his victims from the hand of violence. We may learn some very good moral lessons from Dogs.

NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE ASSOCIATION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

ADJOURNED MEETING, FEB. 26, 1834.

Mr. Hoare in the chair.

The Chairman stated the object of the meeting to be the further consideration of the Report of the Council.

Mr. Horne read the report, and moved that its principle be adopted by the Association.

Mrs. Watson seconded the motion.

Mr. Simkins said he was not opposed to the report of the Council, but was, indeed, favourable to it; but the delegates from the various trades had considered it impracticable at present. They were of opinion that something was required for immediate adoption, and had prepared the resolutions, which he now begged to move as an amendment to the report.

Report and Resolutions of the Committee of Delegates from the various Sections of the Association.

"The Committee appointed by the trade sections, subsequent to the last general meeting, to take into consideration the report of the Council, having fully discussed the said report, have unanimously agreed in recommending the adoption of the following resolutions, which they consider to be best calculated for immediate and beneficial adoption.

"1. The Association to consist of members of all trades and professions, to be classed into departments.

"2. Each department to comprise the collateral branches of its trade; thus, the carpenters, masons, bricklayers, plasterers, smiths, plumbers, painters, glaziers, paper-hangers, &c., to form a building department; the cabinet-makers, chair-makers, upholsterers, &c., to form a cabinet or furnishing department; the boot and shoe-makers, curriers, leather-cutters, grinders, &c., to form the shoe department; the tailors, hatters, and woollen goods to form a tailors department; the milliners, dress, pelisse, and stay-makers to form a millinery department.

"3. Each department to elect an efficient person to conduct its business, who shall be considered its responsible agent, subject to dismissal if not approved of by a majority of its members.

"4. Each department to elect a number, to form collectively a committee of supervision; whose duties shall be to inspect all proceedings, audit all accounts, and report weekly to the members in general meeting.

"5. Each department to receive all goods deposited, and all orders for goods, connected with its particular trade, and issue its own notes, holding itself responsible for the same.

"6. Each department to be governed by its own laws and regulations, assimilating each with the others as far as practicable.

"7. The departments collectively to protect a store of such goods as do not peculiarly belong to any one of the specified departments.

"8. None but members to be allowed to control the affairs of the Association.

"9. Each member's name to be enrolled in the books of some one trade department, paying not less than sixpence per month into the funds of such department.

"10. The general secretary to be elected by the whole Association. He shall superintend all business not belonging exclusively to the trade departments, subject to the approval of the committee of supervision.

"11. Each department, in addition to paying its own expenses, to pay a given per centage upon the amount of its business, to defray general expenses."

The resolutions having been read,

Mr. Horne wished to know whether the report of the delegates had gone the round of the sections? This question having been answered in the negative, Mr. H. thought, in that case, it could not be acted on until the Association had had an opportunity of judging of its merits in the different sections.

Mr. Wood supported Mr. Horne's suggestion, and observed that the same argument had been advanced on the first bringing up of the report of the Council. He considered that, if it was then essential, it was equally so now.

Mr. Peel supported the amendment, first, because the resolutions of the delegates were not opposed to the principle of the report, but were in perfect accordance with it, which was one chief point in their excellence; the conductor of each department was to have the control over his own particular branch; he was elected to the office he filled from the circumstance of his possessing superior intelligence in his own particular business. Now, no superintendent, however generally intelligent he might be, could possess the amount of intelligence combined in the conductors of each department. The Association would, therefore, under the new constitution, be governed by the greatest amount of practical intelligence, and was, therefore, in perfect keeping with the report of the Council. Secondly, he supported the resolutions of the delegates because they were simple, easily understood, and fit for immediate adoption. In these particulars they recommended themselves in a greater degree than the report of the Council, which, although highly philosophic, and reflecting great credit on the Council, to whom the Association were much indebted, yet their report was scarcely understood, and could not for some time be put into a working condition. Now, the Association was sick, very sick, and required the most prompt and immediate attention; for these reasons he was opposed to any further delay, and gave these resolutions his hearty concurrence.

Mr. Vook also supported the resolutions for the same reasons, but at the same time bore testimony to the excellence of the report of the Council; indeed, he thought the resolutions were to be viewed as a carrying out of that report in some of its leading features.

Mr. Tipper supported the amendment, as being the report of working men, and fit for immediate adoption.

Mr. Pryer had, on a former occasion, expressed his approval of the report of the Council, and he supported the resolutions as being an approach to the report of the Council; indeed, it could scarcely be considered as an amendment, but an adoption of such details, on the principle laid down in the report, as were practicable under the present circum-

stances. It was desirable that the principle laid down in the report should be constantly kept in view, and he doubted not it would ultimately be acted on to its fullest extent.

Mr. Jennesson was opposed to the resolutions, as being vague and indefinite, and strongly urged the adoption of the report of the Council.

Mr. Poulter approved the resolutions, and wished them to be engrafted on the old constitution, which, he contended at great length, was most excellent; and if it had been acted on, we should not now have had any cause for an alteration. He thought that any difficulties we might have fallen into were attributable to a departure from the spirit and letter of our constitution, which, he repeated, was excellent and sufficient for all purposes.

Mr. Mote asked for some explanations relative to the Miscellaneous department. He did not see that they were recognized in the resolutions.

Mr. Pryer explained that the Miscellaneous body must organize themselves precisely as the other departments, and conduct their own business, and issue their own note, which would be valuable in exact proportion to the usefulness of the articles it represented. The Miscellaneous department would then become one of the most useful and important features in the Exchange.

After some observations from Mr. Nicholls, the Chairman put the amendment, which was carried unanimously.

The Chairman then announced the business of the evening concluded.

WOMAN.

We publish the following extract from the "*Tribune des Femmes*," a French periodical, as it refers to the letters of Concordia published in the *Crisis*. The French women evidently regard themselves as far in advance of our fair helpmates on this side of the water—and are rather a little surprised that English women should talk of emancipation: they have been accustomed to regard them, no doubt, as a sort of voluntary slaves. The women in France are certainly far in advance of English women, and we have no doubt but the emancipation of woman will be first consummated over the water. But England is the land where the emancipation of man must take place—it is evident that nature has destined the two countries for these two departments; hence political liberty, which is the male department, is more abundant here—and moral or social liberty is more abundant in France. The political will come first, but the social is the grand consummation. We can see no country in the world so far advanced as England in the career of male emancipation; an event which is most likely to be accomplished by the Unions—as an example to all the world: but if the English outstrip the French in moral socialism, they must get wings to their heels "*instantanément*." But can moral socialism be accomplished before political emancipation? impossible. These are the two pillars of the new world, the Jachin and the Boaz, the right leg and the left. If the right leg moves on, the left is sure to follow; but it requires you to move both legs before you can move one step.

(From the "*Tribune des Femmes*.")

"We receive from England occasionally letters published in the "*Crisis*" by women, and feel anxious to communicate to our readers

the pleasure we experience in finding the subject of female emancipation so forward in the British empire. One of those letters, signed "*Concordia*," is directed to Mr. Robert Owen, as we might in France address Mr. Charles Fourier, who is here what Mr. Owen is in England, a man of sincerity, who wishes with all his heart and all the faculties of his genius to ameliorate the human species; but we could likewise tell him, You did not know, nor do you comprehend woman. How could your male heart correctly appreciate our sentiments, since the slavish state in which your sex keeps us, has never allowed our faculties to be freely developed? and still you dare call upon the world to put in practice a new Social System!

"Legislators, and all you system-makers, what is the use henceforth to build for us splendid "*Boudoirs*?" for if fatally we are precluded from making the least change in them, we shall soon feel dull and heavy; if we are not to participate in the divisions, appropriations, and decorations of our dwellings, in a word, in every thing connected with *taste* and *sensibility*, we renounce acknowledging you as the arbiters of our happiness, and we refuse you the right of directing our destinies.

"The complete emancipation of woman, therefore, must be the fundamental principle on which should rest, to be successful, the new Social System we are labouring to establish. "*Paris, February, 1834.*" "SUZANNE."

NOTICES.

THE FORTY-SECOND SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the Association of Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, on Monday Evening next, the 10th instant.

Tickets of Admission, including Tea and Coffee, 1s. 6d., or 1s. and 1-hour note each. Doors to be opened at Seven; and the Concert to commence at a Quarter to Eight precisely.

The Dancing will commence at a quarter to 10, and continue uninterruptedly till One o'clock; Quadrille, Spanish, Medley, and Contré Dances alternating.

PUBLIC MEETING OF THE SOCIAL MISSIONARY UNION.

The Association now formed under this title, with Mr. Owen as its responsible head, begs leave to call upon all friends of the Social System, and especially the late members of the Missionary and Tract Society, to meet together on Wednesday evening next, the 12th instant, at half-past seven, at the Burton Rooms, Burton-street, when the Council of the above Union—chosen and presided over by Mr. Owen—will deliver the result of their plans and deliberations.

By order of the Council,
(Admission Free.) R. ALGER, Secretary.

A TUTOR WANTED.—A Gentleman having a few twelve years of age, and of good disposition, is desirous of obtaining for him a Tutor, competent to give him good, plain, sound instruction. It is needless to state more than that the strictest investigation will be made into the character of the individual needed; and who, it is requisite to state, must be possessed of unimpeachable integrity, high moral worth, the most perfect candour, and be free from religious and other superstitions, being neither a Churchman nor sectarian of any kind. Any Gentleman of mild, even temper (qualified as above), and whose object is to obtain a comfortable home, with moderate salary, and who will clearly state the whole of his pretensions, under cover, to Mr. A. M., No. 5, Duke's-row, Pancras-church, New-road, will meet with an early reply thereto.

Mr. Detrosier will Lecture at the Institution, Charlotte-street, on Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock.

National Equitable Labour Exchange,
14, Charlotte-street.

GROCERY DEPARTMENT.

REDUCTION IN THE PRICES OF TEAS.—The Members and Friends of the Association are informed that, in consequence of the new arrangements which have been entered into for the supply of this Department, which are of the most advantageous description, the Management have great satisfaction in announcing a reduction in their prices, of from 5 to 10 per cent., on all Teas and Groceries, which may be depended on for their quality. Any orders with which our friends may favour us will be attended to with punctuality and despatch, and be forwarded to any part within three miles of the Institution free from any extra charge. W. PEEL,
Conductor of the Grocery Department.

NOTICE.—The Friends of the Social Land Community will meet on Sunday Afternoon, March 9th, at 3 o'clock, at Mr. Presley's Coffee-House, to consolidate the Union. T. BATE, Secretary.

NOTICE TO THE OPERATIVE CORDWAINERS

A Public Meeting of the Trade will be held on Monday, the 10th of March, at the Nag's Head, Hammersmith, to take into consideration the propriety of forming a Branch Lodge of the Trades' Union, for the District of Kensington, Hammersmith, and their Vicinities.

N. B. The Chair to be taken at half-past Five o'clock precisely.

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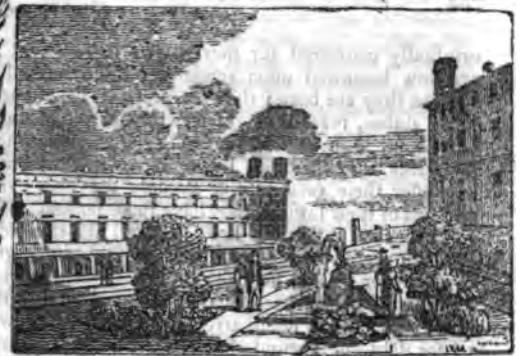
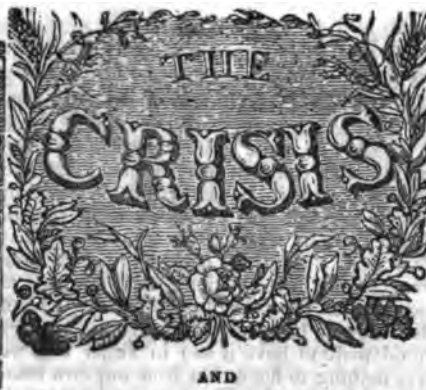
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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—OWEN.

Weekly Proceedings.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, MARCH 9.

Extracts from a SERMON by Mr. SMITH, on the Doctrine of Election.

Mr. Smith, after showing that all other creatures are comparatively happy, and insensible of unjust distinctions, proceeded:

Upon the whole, when we look at nature, there seems to be nothing like partiality or election to be found, except where man is concerned. Men have fought against each other till one party has reduced the other party to slavery and starvation; a few have constituted themselves an election by their power and their riches; their fellow-creatures run with alacrity to serve them; when they eat, they are surrounded by these aides-de-camp of the dinner-table, ready at a hint or a cast of the eye to supply them with what they want. Do they want salt? these yellow, red, and blue satellites hand it with the most respectful silence. Would they have a potato? It is there as if by magic. A glass of wine? It is bubbling out immediately before them in delicious coolness. When one service is over, another instantly appears with new charms to reinvigorate their appetite. The whole machinery moves on as the fabulous repasts of the land of Cockaigne, where all the delicacies which the most pampered appetite can desire start into being as soon as you have wished. Nor have they even the trouble of putting their hands in their pockets to supply the means of conducting this clock-work of luxury; that task is committed to the steward; whilst the elect son of luxury and idleness triumphs in his own importance, whilst he lives at the expense of the labour of the starving poor. Thus we see both heaven and hell, the elected and the reprobate, before our eyes; we do not need to go to the world of spirits to get a peep into the mystery. And well do we know the meaning of the Scriptures, which say that the elect are few in number when compared to the damned; or a small and tyrannical caste of nobility and priests have monopolised salvation and the kingdom of heaven to themselves, and shut out the poor, as reprobates, into outer darkness, where there is weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of

teeth. "Strait is the gate and narrow the way," says Christ, "that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it; but wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth unto destruction, and many there be that walk thereon." The thing is all represented to the life in society; and as it is said of the elect in heaven, that they look down with contempt and indignation on the damned in hell, and refuse even to administer one drop of water to cool their tongues, we find the same spirit pervade our elect upon earth. They see the poor, starving of hunger and cold, covered over with the filth of helpless poverty, and shivering with the weakness of everlasting and pinching want; they hear them crying for bread, and for relief from the grievous burdens of more than Egyptian bondage; yet they are as unfeeling and relentless as father Abraham himself when Dives entreated of him one single drop of water to abate the violence of the scorching pain. The church elect have no pity; they are God's church militant, they delight in vengeance, they rejoice over the damned, they will sing their hallelujahs louder and louder when they hear the screams of the devils and their fellow-sufferers; and they call him a just, a holy, and a merciful God, for he saved the holy warriors of Israel, and burnt the virtuous heathen, and their innocent offspring, into black everlasting cinders. These elect saints call God just and merciful for the most diabolical crimes, and pass condemnation upon man for no trespass whatsoever. And are not our elect nobility and gentry possessed of the same spirit? they are the king's most loyal and humble servants; they have a particular reverence for every thing connected with their own caste, and a special contempt for every thing plebeian. They will take the word of a gentleman for any thing; but every commoner is suspected for a rascal. They are also the church militant, being his majesty's faithful servants; in leading and superintending armies and navies, for shedding human blood, desolating fields and provinces, burning the quiet habitations of harmless peasants, filling the coffers of kings, accumulating the debts and burdens of the people, whilst they themselves reap honours and laurels by their murders, and enjoy pensions for their skill in augmenting human wretchedness. This is the

only species of labour they will condescend to perform; for they are the elect, and they are by nature born to command. As soon as they have learned to "God damn" their mainmas and their sisters, they must have a commission; and the very first step which they take in their profession is one which raises them above many brave and weather-worn veterans of half a century. They rise rapidly to promotion: whilst the down is yet on their cheeks, and they cannot yet sport a whisker or a mustachio, the whiskered veterans of the last generation are bending in abject humiliation before them, content to earn a sixpence by cleaning their boots, or rubbing up the table after an evening's debauch. These elect also are above all fear; they are already saved, the whip has no dominion over them, they are gentlemen, they are governed by the principles of honour alone; but there is no honour below the rank of an ensign. There is only animal sensation in a common soldier, and the scourge produces the same effect on him that a sense of honour produces upon the elect. When an officer disobeys, he feels the punishment in his character or in his commission. When a common soldier disobeys, he feels it on his back; his flesh is peeled off, and his bones laid bare, merely because he is not a gentleman. There is no condemnation to a gentleman; and so says St. Paul of the elect; "there is, therefore," says the apostle, "now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." The common soldier walks after the flesh, and he feels it in his flesh; his superior officer walks after the spirit, that is, the spirit of honour; there is no condemnation to such.

That there is an election in the world is beyond a doubt; it is the grand evil we have to complain of; it is the evil of unequal distribution of property, the evil of monopoly, and hereditary succession of rank and property. All power is lodged in the hands of this chosen few; the sword of justice, as it is called, is put into the hands of this chosen few; the increase of the earth, all the luxuries of life, are theirs; they have their choice of all, and the common herd of mankind must be content with the refuse. Titles of honour are conferred upon these elect and their children for ever; rewards, which were

originally conferred for meritorious services, are now bestowed upon screaming infants as soon as they are born: they are peers of England, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons, as soon as their lungs begin to play; and lest they should by their own folly squander their estates, and alienate the possessions of their fathers, they have these possessions secured to them by law; so that, like the land of promise which God gave unto Israel, it can never be sold for behoof of their creditors; whilst their persons are pronounced sacred, incapable of being arrested or imprisoned for debt, or ground down by the extreme of persecution like one of the vulgar. Yet, what is it that these men do to entitle them to this eminence of station? what virtues do they possess, exclusive of all other men? They do nothing; they have no virtues which other men have not. Their superiority is merely nominal; they produce nothing that is of any benefit to mankind; they dress gaudily, but the vulgar, whom they despise, produce the material and make the clothes; they have splendid ornaments of gold and silver, but they neither find the precious metal themselves, nor work it when found; they have costly furniture and curious specimens of mechanism, which they could neither contrive nor execute; they have beautiful paintings, but they cannot handle the pencil; they have exquisite statues and models, but they want the genius that brings them into being; they have rich and valuable libraries, but they are the productions of the poor,—they were written, they were printed, they were bound by the vulgar. What is it that these elect sons of God do? they fight or take a pension. They will either draw blood or taxation, nothing else. They are sworn servants to tyranny; and there is no useful employment to which they will deign to submit; they have no objections to be slave-drivers and planters; but this is quite in character, it is keeping up the system of inequality, and gratifying the aristocratic pride of conscious superiority.

We shall get no mercy from these elect nobility and clergy. We shall only get what they call justice. The clergy have a peculiar species of justice, different from any thing known amongst men, and such as they would not like to be practised upon their own persons. Such is the justice they ascribe to God, when he makes choice of a number of mankind, and sends them to heaven, leaving the remainder to the devil. No doubt there is a vast collection of parsons, and noblemen, and gentlemen, in the heavenly kingdom; for we always find, at the funeral orations of parsons and grandees of every degree of guilt and devotion, that the holy angels are at hand to take them upwards. Those with whom divines are acquainted are the very best of men, whatever be their public or private character. If it was a bad character, the funeral oration will tell you it was undeserved; if it could not be denied, it will be palliated, and the vice will be represented as a venial peccadillo, forgotten amid the splendour of private virtues. All men send their own friends to heaven; but whosoever gets there, we are told, they are few in number to those that are shut out; and once out, there is no hope of admittance; down you go into the grand kitchen beneath; there is no escape for ever. This is justice, you deserve it all, for Eve stole an apple and ate it; and though she be in heaven, you will be damned for the offence; for God is just, and visits the sins of the fathers on the children for ever.

This distinction is to be kept up for ever: there is a great gulf between the righteous and the wicked, beyond which it is impossible to pass. The same gulf exists between the nobility and common people here; and the nobility regard it as an axiom in political science that this gulf should never be passed. Hence there is no hope from them. One of his majesty's ministers lately told us, that the great burden of taxation, must always of necessity fall upon the people. Either he and his compeers believe this must be so, or they would wish to have it so; in either case we have nothing to hope, but from our own resolution either to rebel, like Satan and his angels in heaven, or establish a new community beneath, which in process of time may vie with the imperial heaven itself. One would suppose that reason and humanity would teach the very opposite doctrine of this which our cabinet legislator has advanced; but it is the doctrine of the Bible, the grand doctrine of election taught by Jesus Christ and his followers, abused and misapplied by selfish, insatiable aristocrats: "To him that hath," says Christ, "shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but from him that hath not shall be taken away, even that which he hath." This is rather a sort of a bull; but the meaning is obvious enough and very expressive. All the good things are given to those who have got plenty already; no poor person can receive a pension from government; these are sent to the parish, and have their miserable pittance doled out in sixpences or halfpence; the rich paupers go to the treasury, and have their allowance told out in gold. The poor are abused, and catechised, and suspected, when they apply for relief; they are told they are idlers and unwilling to work; the rich paupers are invited to a seat, treated with all ceremony and respect; no reproachful word is used, no forbidding look is glanced upon them; they are idlers and unwilling to work, but they are never told so; they can live without the aid of alms, but the bounty is never begrudged them. The poor man's furniture is sold to make up the deficit of his assessment. The widow is deprived of her only table or her bedstead to pay the expenses of a government from which she receives no benefit. The rich man pockets the price of the article, and denies relief to the beggar whom this injustice has brought to ruin. "To him that hath is given, and he has abundance; but from him that hath not is taken away, even that which he hath." This, however, is all right; a parson will prove it to you from the Bible. It is the doctrine of our blessed Lord and Saviour; and God himself, who is a just God and a Saviour, is to continue the practice throughout eternity. There must be a distinction, they say, amongst men; we see it in nature; and if the distinction were removed to day, we should find it revived to-morrow. But because there are distinctions in nature, are we to make laws to force distinctions? If distinctions are natural, let nature alone in the making of them. Some men are strong, others are weak; and the strong will always get the advantage in a conflict. Some men are talented, others are not; genius will ever gain an advantage over mediocrity or inferiority of intellect. But the distinctions which we complain of are not natural, but artificial distinctions. The aristocracy are neither stronger in body, nor more intellectual than the vulgar. They are raised above others, not by nature directly, but by act of parlia-

ment. Many of them are fools, yet they overawe wise men, merely by virtue of a statute in their favour, or the money in their pockets. Is this a system which is calculated to promote the march of intellect? These are distinctions, indeed! They seem as if they were afraid that Nature, after all, would make no distinctions if left to herself, otherwise they would not have made acts of parliament to create artificial distinctions. But observe, it is not simple nature they are following, although they pretend so; it is false religion, it is the Bible; for the same religion which says that God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, says that he has mercy on the elect and their children's children. This is the origin of hereditary succession. You have it in the second commandment. St. Paul also teaches it in the first epistle to the Corinthians, when he advises the elect not to marry with unbelievers, for the sake of their children; "for an unbeliever's children are unclean, but a believer's children are holy." This is the doctrine of election and reprobation, and God knows that, whether the doctrine is believed as an article of religion or not, the spirit of it is put in practice, and there is as great a distinction between the infant child of a nobleman or gentleman and the child of a plebeian as between the elect and the damned. Thus St. Paul informs us that, whilst Esau and Jacob were yet in the womb of their mother, that the doctrine of election might stand, it was said the elder should serve the younger; Jacob was selected, and his offspring ever after preferred to the offspring of Esau, his brother, whose name is all along throughout the Bible used as a synonyme for evil. Thus when God says he will come in the end of the world to destroy corruption, he expresses the idea thus: I will judge the mount of Esau, that is of wickedness, and the kingdom shall be the Lord's.

All our institutions are the spirit of false religion, or superstition, embodied in a visible form; even Paul's celebrated doctrine of justification by faith without works, which is a necessary part of the doctrine of election, is converted into a grand system of iniquity before our eyes. What good works have our nobility and aristocracy done, to entitle them to heaven, whilst other men are cast into hell? "Not of works," says St. Paul, "for if it were of works, then it were no more of grace; and if of grace, then it is no more of works." "We are saved by grace, without good works." This is the doctrine of the church, and verily it is put in force, it is all by grace and favour that one class of men is raised above another: "not the works that we have done," says St. Paul, "but according to his mercy he saved us; for he hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth." There is no salvation by works; hence it follows that the common soldier is a drudge all his life; he works hard and exposes his breast to the heat of other battle, he sheds his blood for the king and other elect number, but there is no salvation for him, there is no promotion; heaven is not to be gained by works. His superior officer rises and ascends into heaven without them; he is saved by grace, he is of the elect family, he is descended of Jacob; the other is a son of Esau. The same may be said of the working classes; they are on the wrong side, they do not follow the orthodox faith, because they work for salvation, and nothing is more contrary to Scripture; they are heretics, and the consequence is, that they are sinking deeper in the mire, labouring hard to prove

St. Paul a liar. But, alas! the apostle's words are too true; there is no salvation by works, it must be by grace. The aristocracy and nobility are the real orthodox, they are the genuine divines, and they keep the secret to themselves; they are genuine disciples of Calvin, and they have found the doctrine a splendid reality.

If the doctrine of election, as taught in the parable of the judgment, be literally true, their election is certainly very like what we see upon earth. We are told that the goats are placed on the left hand, and the sheep on the right; that the former are sent into outer darkness and everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels, and the latter are called unto the kingdom. If this be true as the clergy interpret, it is very bad, no doubt; but the Bible is a riddle, and this very riddle says that mercy is the key to the riddle. Mercy triumphs over judgment; mercy is my darling attribute, and judgment my strange work. Now, this parable of the sheep and the goats, monstrous and tyrannical as it reads, according to the letter of the riddle, appears to me, by applying the key of mercy, instead of judgment, to it, to be a very beautiful thing, the fulfilment of which would be the happiest day that the world ever witnessed. The sheep and the goats are evidently the two sexes. Men are goats, on account of their beards, and their adventurous spirit; women are the sheep, on account of their softer and gentler natures. The women are set on the right hand, the seat of honour, where they ought to be, and the men on the left hand. Then the king says to them on his right hand, the women, "Come ye, blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom; men have inherited it long enough, and desolated the world with war, and all its attendant miseries. Woman is not a warrior; she is prince of peace. Let the world, therefore, be turned upside down, and give the sceptre to woman, and she will patronize the arts of peace, and put an end to bloodshed." Then the king says to them on his left hand, the men, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." The power of the male is to be destroyed, for that is the physical or immoral power—the power of the sword; and the power of the woman must be exalted in its stead, for that is the moral power—the power of persuasion, peace, and goodwill. Hence, with great propriety, it may be said to woman, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you; ye are not the ministers of war, and of violence; ye do not employ the sword to support your dominion; yours are the gentler arts of moral attraction, which shall henceforth supply the place of the sword and the musket." But to man it may with great ruth and propriety be said, "Thou art a tyrant; thou hast desolated the world with blood; thou art weighed in the balances, and found wanting. Henceforth thy kingdom has departed from thee." Thus the curse becomes a blessing, for it removes the evil which afflicts humanity, and leaves a blessing in its stead.

Curses and blessings, however, are merely relative terms. Food is a blessing, if you do not gorge your stomach. Poison is a blessing, if you use it as a medicine. Fire is a blessing, if properly employed. A curse is a blessing, if it is inflicted upon bad habits, upon corruption, upon cruelty, upon vile, ungenerous passions; for then it roots them all out, and annihilates them. And the Scriptures never in one single instance say that the good is to be de-

stroyed for ever; it is only the evil that bears the curse; and God knows that is just what we want; we want the curse to come and destroy the corruption of the state—the corruption of trade and commerce, and the corruption of our own hearts. A curse is all that is necessary; were the evil destroyed, the good would rise spontaneously. Who, then, will deny that the curses of the Bible are blessings, but those who live upon corruption, those who thrive upon human misery, those who pervert judgment, and rob the fatherless, and for a pretence make long prayers?

Good principles are the true election, to which we must do homage at last,—they are predestinated to glory and victory. Bad principles are the true reprobate, and they are doomed to everlasting perdition. Whilst the bad reign, man is a devil, and society and the human heart a hell. When the good predominate, man is an angel, and the human heart and society are heaven on earth. The kingdom of heaven is within you, and so is hell. "Put ye off the old man, therefore, who is 'corrupt,' and put ye on the new man, which is created of God, in righteousness and true holiness."

(For the Evening Lecture see p. 238.)

ON LABOUR AND EXERCISE,

Extracted from a Work on Political, Moral, and Social Economy. By T. R. EDMONDS, A.B., Trinity College, Cambridge.

"Man, like most other animals, appears, from his constitution, to be designed by the Creator to lead a life of bodily activity. His food, the chief necessary of life, whether the produce of the chase or of agriculture, is always the effect of labour. Men who are not by their circumstances compelled to daily labour, are universally disposed to undergo some kind of labour, which is then usually denominated exercise. This instinctive desire of bodily motion is manifestly founded on the constitution of man. Transpiration, secretion, and other functions of the animal economy, are but imperfectly performed by a body constantly at rest: it is on the proper performance of these functions that good health depends. Indolence, or inactivity of body, besides producing a delicate state of health, frequently causes a sluggishness of the spirits, or a want of vivacity, which is generally productive of unhappiness or misery. Labour or exercise, then, is a necessary ingredient in the happiness of man. I now proceed to enquire what quantity of labour is most conducive to the happiness and well-being of man. Those men who are in training for the performance of feats of strength, are usually exercised at running for two hours a-day: during the rest of the day they are subjected to some gentle exercise, which may be deemed equivalent to two hours of hard labour; so that we may conclude, in a general way, that a man will enjoy the most robust health if he be accustomed daily to undergo hard labour, or exercise, for four hours. But as so much labour might be found painful, and as a smaller quantity will suffice to maintain a good stock of health, so much labour is not generally to be recommended. It is probable that easy walking for four hours a-day, which is equivalent to about two hours of hard labour, is the quantity of exercise which would most benefit man.

"Our next object of inquiry will be the number of hours per day a master must make a

slave or labourer work hard, in order that he may reap the greatest profit from the slave's labour for life. It will be readily granted that a man, as well as a horse, may, by excessive labour, have his strength so diminished, and his life so much shortened, that the total effect of his labour will be much less than it would have been if he had been moderately worked. A horse, if his daily task is too great, will gradually lose his strength, and the animal machine will soon be worn out. If we suppose that a horse thus overworked will last five years, and that moderately worked he would last ten years; and if we suppose that the effect of the moderate daily labour of a horse is to that of excessive labour as four to five: then the total effect of a moderately worked horse will be to that of an excessively worked horse, as forty to twenty-five. But as the moderately worked horse will last five years longer than the other, the useful effects will be as the numbers thirty and twenty, or as three and two, respectively (taking the maintenance, or wages, of a horse to amount to the tenth part of the labour of a moderately worked horse). Such calculations do not admit of much precision: the principle is undoubtedly correct, and the above calculations may be considered merely as an illustration of the principle. As the laws which regulate the powers of labour in a horse are probably similar to the like laws in man, what has been just stated may be considered applicable to man. Those who are best acquainted with such matters are of opinion that a horse, to be most useful, ought never to work hard more than six hours a-day. It is also known, that if a horse work hard before he has attained his full growth, the useful effects of his labour will be considerably less than it would have been had he been allowed first to reach his full strength. From the preceding statements we may draw the following conclusions respecting men: a slave, or labourer, ought not to be set at hard work before he has attained his full strength (say about nineteen years of age); and at any hard labour he must not work above six hours a-day, in order that, during his life, he may produce the greatest useful effect for his master.

"It has been shown that, on the supposition of an equal division of labour (the people living on corn), every man would be required to labour for his family one-third of the year, or the third part of every day; that is, two hours a-day; which amount of labour exactly agrees with the quantity of exercise we have considered necessary to preserve a man in good health. The rich would lose nothing by exchanging their voluntary exercise for some settled useful manual occupation; on the contrary, the rich would be great gainers by the exchange, for they would be then compelled to take as much exercise as their bodily health requires; this exercise, when voluntary, being frequently omitted by an indolent man on any trifling pretence: moreover, it is a common and just remark, that a fixed easy occupation tends very materially to increase the tranquillity and happiness of a man. The greater portion of women, in civilized countries, are exempted from hard labour. The division of people into families sufficiently accounts for this circumstance; for, it requires nearly the constant labour of one woman to prepare the food, and keep the house of one family in order; but nearly the whole of this labour might be saved, if men would alter their mode of living and form larger families or societies. Woman

might then divide the hard labour with the men, and take a part proportioned to their strength in the support of the state. Among most animals, the females have generally two-thirds of the strength of the males: a woman will perform two-thirds of the work of a man; but as the woman will not consume more than two-thirds of the food a man will consume, the state is nearly equally benefited by either's labour.

"Children also, of both sexes, might contribute to the general stock of labour. It probably would not be advisable for their education to cease before the age of nineteen. Until the age of nine, they had better not labour at all: from nine to nineteen, they might with safety be made to contribute labour sufficient to meet the greater portion of the expense of their maintenance and education. If the labour of children be less than that of men, they also consume less than men. The strength of most animals is, for the most part, proportional to the food they require.

"In some of the preceding calculations I have considered the annual labour of a horse or man as being made up of the labour of three hundred and sixty-five days. I neglect the consideration of the interspersed days of rest, because they exert little or no influence on the total annual effect. The annual effect of the labour of a horse or man would probably be less, if he worked seven days instead of six days a-week."

MEN AND WOMEN.

(From *Tail's Magazine*.)

After some good remarks on the formation of character, in which the writer maintains that the character is formed for us, and not by us, and that we have no means at present of judging of the sexual differences of character, the writer proceeds thus:—

"Oh, that a new view, equally true and universal, might induce a greater attention to the education of the rising race of women, that the next generation may have mothers qualified and inclined to aid in a work, for which so few of the present day seem disposed, even though acute minds, and kind feelings, eminently fit them for it! Oh, that the next generation of men may have wives willing to unite with them in endeavours to improve the world, and increase the amount of universal happiness! There can be no greater security for the advancement of either, than that the love, which is the cement of society, should be supported and preserved by INTELLECTUAL SYMPATHY. This sympathy, which has formed and fixed the purest, the most delightful friendships, is too rarely found in a union yet more sacred, yet more tender. The deficiency, on the part of woman, arises from no incapacity but such as education creates, or might obviate. Lady Wortley Montague has somewhere said, that if there could be a commonwealth of horses, it would be an established axiom among them that a mare could not pace. Upon much the same ground rests the prejudice that women cannot think. But be it established that female intellect is too quick, and therefore liable to be superficial; that it is disposed to skim the surface, rather than to penetrate the depths of things; then so much the more essential is it that an attention so volatile should not be devoted to utter dissipation, by being confined to frivolous and glittering acquirements; the measures taken to give strength and consist-

ency to the powers of the masculine mind, should be considered yet more necessary to the formation of that of woman. Be it established that female sensibility is peculiarly acute; so much the more occasion is there that it should be associated with a mind rendered capable of true discrimination and judgment regarding persons and circumstances, and of discretion in the direction and indulgence of these abundant affections. If a mother be too fond, she will not form the plastic minds of her children, but rather, like the sun acting on wax, destroy them. As a wife, as a friend, such a quality is scarcely less fatal; since it makes her any but a companion calculated to wake or keep awake the energy of high endeavour, or to discountenance or daunt unworthy views.

"It is the opinion of some, and the practice of many might almost confirm it, that there is a love of variety inherent in human nature, that is inimical to that constancy of attachment, which is very properly assumed as the best base of virtue. But the love of variety in a virtuous mind is very distinct from that in a vitiated one; and these ought never to be regarded as equal offspring of that principle of universal nature which strews the earth with the beautiful and the delightful. In mind rests the power of meeting the constant demand of that principle—the love of variety, which is implanted more or less in every breast. Mind furnishes the only feast at which satiety never ministers. To this source I attribute the superior constancy of women; they have in general more to love in men, than men find to love in them. Man or woman need but associate to a kindly affectionate heart, a truly cultivated mind, to defy all the fiends of temptation and jealousy. Intellectual sympathy holds a wand with which it prescribes a circle that love cannot quit, nor his enemies enter. No being can will to love, any more than to believe; though all may act as duty dictates. Those that would win, and, what is more difficult, preserve attachment, must have in themselves the principle of attraction. Be the magnet what it may, it must be associated with moral and mental power, if it would stand the test of time, as pure gold does the test of fire.

"The injustice that confined woman to inferior cultivation, extended to man superior freedom. No fiend could have devised more productive sources of human misery; for, in their mutual re-action, they have doomed man to degraded intellect—woman to degraded morals. When the subject of the equal education of the sexes is entertained, there are even now not wanting superficial thinkers and shallow sneerers, who talk of female soldiers, female judges and legislators,—thus bringing into a strong light those circumstances which would frequently operate as a bar to the exercise of these functions by women. But I would ask these worthies, what are the constituent principles of the mind of a great soldier, a great judge, a great statesman?—for instance, of a Napoleon? a Jefferson? a La Fayette? a Washington? Are they not foresight, firmness, fortitude, decision, sagacity, knowledge, and many more qualities that will suggest themselves? Let education be directed to the purpose of giving these, as far as possible, to every being—to women as well as men, and let there be no fear but that the world will be the better for it. Every being so endowed will find his fitting vocation. The commonest vocation of woman is that of a mother—one quite sufficient to employ the best part of her

life and her finest faculties. The more she is essentially fit for a good soldier, a good judge, and a good statesman, the more likely is she to give her country brave defenders, able advocates, and true protectors. For those women whom early widowhood, or other causes, consign to celibacy, I see not why civil offices should not be open, especially chairs of science in colleges endowed for the education of their own sex. Why should moral philosophy come with less power from the lips of woman than of man? Why may she not fill a professorship of poetry as well as he? But neither civil nor academic honours, such as they now are, are worth contending for, were the field as open as liberality could desire or policy dictate. Far better, far richer, is the walk of private life, in which the highest moral and mental excellence may be exercised, the purest happiness realized.

"It is one of the worst errors of man, and may well impugn the wisdom he arrogates, that he has left such fair fields fallow, from which he might have reaped rich harvests; left so much wealth buried, of which he might have made large interest. Petty ambition has always led the van in all his movements, and primary advantages have halted in the rear. There is a spirit now shouting from hill and valley, and making mockery of his mistakes. Kings are crouching, and thrones tottering at the sound. A worker of iron has become a worker of wonders. There is a halo of genius around the head of a mechanic, that has rarely consecrated the brow of a monarch. The secret of true power is being revealed; the secret of its proper application will attend it; and real strength and equal justice will soon stand on the ground from which they will push pretension and hypocrisy." M. L. G.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are sorry to say that X. W. has been omitted by oversight.
Justitia in our next.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 14.

THE French government has already begun to show an example to the English government, in the prosecution of literature and knowledge, which our high Conservative press seems extremely impatient to commence amongst ourselves. M. Cabet, the editor of a very spirited journal, the *Populaire*, and member of the Chamber of Deputies, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and a fine of 4000 francs (168*l.*), for two libels on Louis Philippe; and M. Conseil, editor of the *National*, has been sentenced to two months' imprisonment, and a fine of 4000 francs, for publishing a report of the Court of Assizes. And our respectable three-and-six-penny press is now beginning to raise its head aloft, and rail against cheap knowledge most vociferously. The three-and-sixpenny *New Monthly Magazine* for February, has an article, entitled *Penny Press*, which has let out some of the editorial secrets in a very unguarded manner. It speaks with considerable feel-

ing and disapprobation of "the countenance afforded to these cheap publications;" and even carries its resentment far beyond the free press of the people, which it might have been expected would have borne all the burden of reproach and persecution. The *Penny Magazine* is equally offensive as the penny *Pioneer*, to this dying swan of stagnant and obsolete literature; and it has actually entered into a co operative union with the *Literary Gazette*, and other periodicals, to batter the rising system of cheap publications, and restore the good old times of well-paid aristocratic articles, which the people shall not be able to purchase, and in which they shall take no interest. Pray, what objection can this invidious literatus have to cheap knowledge? Some such aversion, we suppose, as certain gentlemen have to learned or intellectual women. He is afraid of being outstripped, eclipsed, and finally supplanted, by the rascally mob, and of having the laurel crown of editorial triumph torn from his temples. It is a prophetic fear, we trow. Such is the doom of the three-and-sixpenny press.

But, like all doomed and predestinated tyrants, whom Justice at length overtakes, or entangles in her meshes, so as to blast every hope of deliverance, there is a fearful spring and a convulsive effort to escape; no matter for the means, so be it that restoration is effected, and fear tranquillized. "Let us use the power we have at our command," says this imperial tutor of the public mind; "we ought to enforce the existing stamp laws with the utmost rigour, and if found guilty, let the offender answer for his offence in person, or in pecuniary damages, or in both, according to the nature of the case."

But whilst the writer of the article was writing in this strain, some good spirit close at hand observed, "Would it not be better to remove the stamps from newspapers, and give all periodicals free circulation through the Post Office, and to facilitate as much as possible the creation of newspapers at the lowest price!" But the spirit was rebuked, and told to get behind. And why? "Because," says this patriotic moralist, and high conservative of original sin, and all its family, relations, &c., "because it is almost a commonplace observation to remark, that *abstinence from active exertion* is the characteristic of the generality of the well-disposed; while there is scarcely an individual among those trained up in vice and discontent, who is not constantly engaged in the propagation of his sentiments either by word or example." This is one of the most powerful arguments for establishments of every kind we ever met. All well-disposed people are idlers! ill-disposed to active exertion; which is the same thing as saying, that if you have

any activity of mind or body, you are an evil-disposed person, and ought to be sharply looked after; but, if you merely loll on a sofa, or an arm-chair, drink your wine and smoke your cigar, read the *Times* or the *Morning Post*, it matters not which, for they are by no means cheap (we wonder the *New Monthly* does not speak more favourably of *Cobbett's Register*, which is fourteen-pence. Perhaps it is afraid of thereby encouraging *Cobbett's Shilling Magazine*, which is a formidable rival to all the other monthlies, more especially the three-and-sixpenny monthlies) then you are a well-disposed person; that is, you are disposed in such a way as to live well, which is quite correct. Hence the propriety of establishments and conservative principles, for preventing the well-disposed from being annoyed while drinking their wine and enjoying their ease, and the great danger of taking the stamp off the press, which would overrun these well-disposed idlers with such a host of argument as would utterly confound them. The *New Monthly* seems to be perfectly aware of this, for it says, "It would be of no use whatever to set about refuting the unstamped is a series of counter-journals." Of no use at all; we perfectly agree with the *New Monthly*. The only way is to lock us all up; to build a prison on purpose for editors, publishers, and compositors, who have not the mark of the beast written on their foreheads or on their hands.

But, perhaps, we may yet teach the great conservative press that, small and contemptible as we are, we are very powerful. It is said that the little-hornets in Abyssinia make the large cattle fly with fury, for days together, seeking rest and finding none. It may be that we shall prove a sort of hornets to the great red-stained ere long. What if our Union should, by-and-by, command the slave press to stand still, and the free press to move? Shall we not soon have power to do so? The gas-men have lately struck, and benighted some parts of the city already. This is the physical type; but the great intellectual anti-type is a-coming, and the glorious Conservatives, and fickle-minded Whigs, and all the other patrons of the slave-trade in literature, shall be astonished one day to find that there are no "news;" that the mails have arrived an hour or two sooner, on account of the lightness of their hearts; but acting merely as heralds to announce the approach of the free stage coaches, loaded inside and out with the virgin press,—the press that is undefiled by the filthy touch of a stamp officer. Then what will be the consequence? No alternative; the Whigs and Tories must either go without news altogether, or listen to the "VIRGIN;" and once they

have heard her sweet voice, they are caught for ever. She has charms sufficient to bewilder a Tory, and also to purify the defiled sisterhood, and restore their chastity. What a general darkness there will be over all the land! Only the morning star to be seen, the brightest star "in a' the cary;" but that virgin star will announce the rising sun; for the whole press will rise the day after, without a spot upon it. What awful times are these! What will become of the *New Monthly*? it will humble itself, and join the general throng; and christen itself anew "The *New Penny Monthly*."

There are some good things in the *New Monthly*; and even the "Penny Press" is not a bad article. There is a great deal of truth in it, but it is like the tree of the knowledge of good and evil—it has both kinds of fruits—some confounded lies as well as truths. Will not the Magazine sell well unless the truth be mixed up with falsehoods? Perhaps not. Error has always sold better than truth. Truth you may get for one penny, or three-halfpence; but error is rated as high as three-and-sixpence. This is quite in character with the old world, and quite in character with Truth, who is very cheap now, but by and by you will have her for nothing.

It would take too much room to enumerate all the "fibs" which the *New Monthly* has told about us: we will mention a few. He says, we "have the grossest contempt for every principle of religion and morality, and advocate the necessity of committing depredations upon every species of property." That is a pretty tolerable sized one. Then again he says, that "celibacy in either sex will be punished by us with severe penalties." This contradicts himself, for he says that "courts of justice, and all the paraphernalia of law, are to be abolished." "Open profligacy and plunder" are our standard principles, he says; "but educated females," he adds, "will see that such a system will deprive them of the honourable station they now hold." What station is that? slaves to their husbands' caprices, whose very name, as well as rights and privileges, are absorbed in the splendour of his. Then again, it says that the "men who teach such a system as ours to the people well know that it is impracticable;" "but they merely want to plunder the rich, and seize the prey for their own use." "If this be not the ultimate design of the union chieftains, why do they proclaim that the present system is fraught with error?" Quite conclusive, you see. Again he says, "women are to exist merely for the gratification of the spoilers." And yet women are to be equal to men—nothing more plain.

Such is a specimen of the peccadilloes of the *New Monthly*; and we take leave of it in great good nature, acknowledging

at the same time, that we have often derived great pleasure from its pages, but are sorry to see that it is so blind to truth, and so insensible to the rights of the great body of mankind, who are now working in the most innocent and legal manner to raise themselves from wretchedness to comfort. The writer of the article has attempted to prove the Unions illegal; but he is evidently no lawyer. If he look to 6 George IV. c. 129, he will see that he has been deceiving himself and his readers. The Unions are perfectly legal.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 9.

Mr. Owen lectured.—He said that, as there were several strangers present, who desired to become acquainted with the principles of the system, he would give a general outline of the fundamental and incontrovertible facts upon which the new system of society shall be established. The old system, he observed, is fast crumbling in the hands of Whig, Tory, and Radical, who were all busily engaged in pulling it to pieces in their fruitless attempts to prop it up, or amend it. But he sincerely hoped that they would not proceed too hastily; that they would not destroy the old, until they had another provided to shelter themselves. Such another system they had not yet found, and therefore it would not be advantageous to the public welfare, if the destructiveness or reckless innovation of some parties had free scope for exercise.

The four fundamental principles of the system are—

1. Infants come into the world without their own knowledge or consent.
2. No two individuals come into the world alike, or under similar circumstances.
3. This difference is not occasioned by the individuals themselves, any more than is their original organization.
4. Children so come are a free gift to society, which society may form to any given character.

These are the four fundamental facts, and the great practical conclusion is this, that since society has the power of training the human being to better or worse, it ought to be the principal endeavour of government to create such circumstances as will form the mind of the rising generation to the best possible character. But is this done? On the contrary, we find in this city, the greatest in the world, that men are surrounded with the greatest number of vicious and degrading circumstances that are to be found in any part of the world; all these circumstances are created by government, and removable by them at pleasure.

The science of society is not understood by any of our legislators, or, indeed, by any portion of the population. Ask a political economist what it is? he would say, he cannot tell; it is too complicated a thing. But society is one of the simplest things imaginable. It is an arrangement of human beings, whose object is four-fold.

1. The production of wealth.
2. The distribution of wealth.
3. The formation of character; and
4. Government. It is a piece of social human mechanism, which, if properly constructed, will make human beings necessarily good, without the aid of preaching.

Hitherto, all these powers have been distributed at random throughout the world, according to the caprice of individuals. Henceforth, they shall be distributed systematically and equally; so that in each portion of the globe there shall be a due portion of the scientific, productive, and educatory power, to supply the wants of the population, and give them all an equal share of advantages.

This change will be consummated by the Trades' Unions. At present they do not understand the system, but they cannot fail to slide into it. When once they have sufficiently organized themselves, and have found that they are in possession of immense power, they will very naturally inquire what is to be done with this power, so that it may be employed to promote the interest of the whole body of the people? and of their own accord they will come to the conclusion, that it is better for men to be industrious than idle, temperate than sober, informed than uninformed, united than disunited, &c. These questions, which they will put to themselves, they cannot answer, otherwise than by coming to the conclusions to which we have already come before them. A grand consolidated national union of the productive classes, upon systematic rules for the production and just distribution of physical and intellectual wealth, is the only result to which they can arrive.

The working classes have become a prey to the higher classes, on account of their division. They have no unity of mind and purpose, no systematic method of producing and distributing. They merely live at random, and produce and distribute at random, and allow the characters of their children to be formed at random. It cannot be otherwise as long as society is so disorganized, and in the hands of a few. The system is in fault; and if any individuals are to be blamed for the system, I would unhesitatingly affirm that these individuals are the Prime Minister and the Archbishop of Canterbury; for these two being at the head of church and state, have also possessed more power of modifying the measures of government to suit the new circumstances of the times, and to meet the inroads of poverty and immorality.

I have always wished, said Mr. Owen, that the great change which is contemplated should be a moral change, and unaccompanied by any violence. It might have been an easy matter to stimulate the people to acts of violence; but this would have only aggravated their misery; it was for this reason that I resolved lately, once more to make application to parliament, to investigate the subject. If they do accede to the prayer of our petition, then the public may have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with our principles; and if they refuse, then the people are justified in taking up their own cause, and endeavouring to effect their own deliverance, by creating wealth for themselves, leaving it to the present non-producers to do the same, and provide themselves with the necessities and luxuries of life.

We cherish no animosity against the non-producing classes; we should all act as they do, had we been subjected to the same temptations. Let any one place himself for a moment in their situation, and say, "if I had been born a peer, a nobleman, or heir to a splendid estate, or did an estate even now descend by hereditary succession or otherwise into my possession, would I not enjoy these

honours, and this estate as others?" Certainly, we should all act as others do; and therefore we are not entitled to blame them, or to punish them for their conduct, but merely to exert our utmost endeavours to change the entire system; which change, we conceive, will tend to promote the interest and happiness of the rich, as well as of the poor.

HATRED; A TALE.

Morgan and Bentley were two school companions, and fortune destined them to meet in London together, after they had formed an attachment in boyhood, and been separated for a number of years. They met unexpectedly in the Strand, and each wondered at the manly change which old time had wrought upon the other.—"Marry!" said Morgan, "I thought it was your father, and was just going to ask if you were alive and well; are you not astonished at your own growth?" "Growth!" said Bentley, "I am not an inch taller than ever I was; you and I were always on a level, and don't you see that the point of my nose is just the same height as your's still?" "Quite demonstrative," said Morgan; "I see you have not forgotten your logic. Do you stay long in London?" "Till Pa sends for me, I suppose; and that won't be soon I dare say, for he was glad to get rid of me; I was getting too logical for him. His books won't balance when I am at home, he thinks there is a spell upon him; but some one has persuaded him to send me from home, as a counter-charm. Egad! I am afraid the counter-charm will succeed. I was just hatching an egg when I met you." "Why! don't your father give you a sufficient allowance?" "These old money-bags," said Bentley, "are confoundedly stingy, and never open an account for chances; they are too arithmetical. My old dad will tell me how much I am to spend to-day, and how much to-morrow, and has it all set down in his book to a very farthing. So much for my breakfast, so much for my dinner; one glass of wine during dinner, one after. So much for candles, calculating from the time that the sun rises by the Almanack (d—n these almanacks), until eleven o'clock at night, when I must undress immediately. He demonstrated to me that his calculation was correct, by making me observe the gradual descent of the candle which burned before us on the eve of my departure. It descended, he said, exactly one inch and one-third an hour—and he told me to get the same sort of candles. By Jove, it has created in me such an abhorrence of arithmetic, book-keeping, cyphering, &c. &c., that I have solemnly vowed, if ever I have a family of my own, to teach them neither one nor t'other, and to keep up a crusade against the multiplication table from this day henceforth, even for ever—so help me, Jove!" "A most novel species of knight errantry," said Morgan, who could not help smiling at the serious and at the same time ludicrous gravity of his friend—the history of whose troubles is as follows:—

Old Bentley was a generous parent upon the whole, but having made his fortune by merchandize, and acquired a habit of extreme accuracy and nicety in the management of affairs whilst in business, he carried this exactness to a vicious excess after retirement from the labours of the counting-house. When no longer engaged with the varied interests of merchandize, and having no relish for any other employment, physical or intellectual, he

applied his arithmetical talents to a purpose entirely original, and, as he thought, calculated to introduce a great national and moral change in the economy of social life. He took an inventory of every article in the house, even including the cook's kitchen utensils; he had the length, breadth, and thickness of each; he counted even the bars of the gridiron, and noted it down, and then made an "entry," as he called it, in his stock account. He went on merrily with this, without interruption. The cook was a little chagrined, and wondered much what the old gentleman was "arter;" but better feelings prevailed, for she knew that upon the whole he was a kind and generous master.

But he soon met with insurmountable obstacles, when he came to the clothing department. He first took an inventory of his own clothes, and made an "entry." Then he applied to Mrs. Bentley; when, for the first time, he met with opposition; but he reasoned calmly with her, showed her the folly of her conduct, reminded her of his own vast experience in business; told her he had most important reasons for it; and, at last, persuaded the old lady to yield in part. But a partial obedience was as bad as none; he must have every stocking, shoe, garter, petticoat, &c. This was too much; the old lady rebelled, retired into another apartment, and slapped the floor in his face. The old man was rather startled, but soon regained his usual composure, and declared that the house was in a state of anarchy, and he was determined on a radical reform, let the cost be what it might be. He then applied to the housekeeper, cook, servant wenches, &c., making the same request; but he met with an obstinate refusal from all. They had no objections to show him part; but he must have all or none, and they unanimously resolved to "strike" if he insisted. "Well," says the old gentleman to himself, "this is just like the women, obstinate, inexperienced fools; they know nothing of management; it is all random and confusion, not a single 'entry' made; but I must retreat for a little, and return to the charge by-and-by." He then went to the outhouses, garden, &c., and made his *entries* undisturbed, noting every article, and allotting it a certain space for itself. "So that," said the old boy, "should any one want a spade or a hoe, a hammer or a nail, I need only turn up my folios, and find its place in a moment." He carried on this species of reform for some time, to give the women time to bethink themselves, as he said; but he found every thing so very different from what he expected; hammers lying in the place which his books had allotted for old bricks alone; spades, hoes, nails, wheelbarrows, all displaced and out of order, that his books were of no use whatever in directing him to the spot. But, he was determined to succeed, and swore that he would withhold the issues of his purse if they did not obey. And he immediately began to put this threat into execution.

It was then that young Bentley, his son, was tempted to plot against the old gentleman. Harry was as much at fault as any, and not a farthing could he get. The old lady was equally at a loss. The old boy became housekeeper himself; he made the markets, superintended the cooking, gave lessons to the cook in order and economy, taught the housekeeper also, and the servant-maids, some useful lessons; and very patiently expressed a hope

that they would soon see the folly of their conduct, and all would be well again.

Harry, in the mean time, was sadly at a loss for "blunt," as he called it. His father told him, however, that it was not proper that he should have it; at present he was under regimen, which was necessary for his own advantage. "Then, by jingo," said Harry to himself, "I must sharpen my wits, and learn to play tricks. I shall soon see whether I can't make the old gentleman's balance-sheet go lame of a leg." Harry was not long in putting his plans in execution, and he found it so very profitable a business, that he began to like it exceedingly. His mother and he, also, went in concert, and the old man, never suspecting any fraud, or possibility of fraud, laboured from noon till eve to detect the errors; but Harry was too cunning for him. At last, however, he said he would send Harry to London, and make a lawyer of him, for he was a devilish clever fellow.

And now that the two young friends had met, they did not seem disposed to part. They agreed to lodge together in the same apartments, and promised to themselves much happiness in each other's company. They were, however, disappointed by causes which were quite perceptible to both, which produced a totally different temper, and habit of mind, and, at last, taught them the necessity of a formal separation. Harry was eternally scheming to deceive his father, and procure a supply of pocket-money. He was often in arrears; but always profuse in expenditure when he met with success. Morgan had a liberal allowance; his father was every thing that a father ought to be, and Morgan treated him and his very name with a sort of reverential worship as well as love. This affection created a prudent temperament of mind; he hated extravagance, because he said his revenue was his father's allowance, and he would not abuse his generosity. Hence Morgan was the very emblem of prudence, duty, and industry in professional studies. He aimed at independence; he wanted to become his own provider, and no longer depend on the generosity of a parent. Harry, on the contrary, hated his father, and of filial affection he had no idea; he spoke of the old boy in terms the most irreverent and contemptuous, and almost everlastingly concluded the trade with the outlines of a scheme of deception, by which to strip the old niggard of a few more feathers. Nothing escaped him; he swore the London candles were quite of a different kind from those in the north-west. He said they burned much quicker, two or three inches an hour: he learnedly ascribed this to the difference of latitude. He got his bills falsely drawn up, giving the *wink* to his landlady and his tradesmen; and he sent them all down to his father to sum up, for he swore he would have nothing to do with the *sum totals*. He only wanted money to settle the bills, and then to pocket the remainder. All this was so disagreeable to Morgan, that he could not endure it. He pitied the condition of his friend, and could not, and did not, reproach him; but the very employment, the habit of mind, the licentiousness of principle which it generated, offended his feelings so much, that, in a short time, the very presence of Bentley became offensive to him. He was happy only when Bentley was from home, and only annoyed at the thought of his return.

This feeling of dislike continually increased;

he was extremely sorry for it; he even wept over it, and the old prejudices of education often taught him to reproach himself for it; but he found upon reflection that it was impossible to prevent it: it was the necessary effect of the delicacy and refinement of moral sentiment, which distinguished his own mind from that of his friend. Harry had discovered the change, and knew the cause; he had the good sense to remove or conceal it, and ceased to speak to Morgan of any of his domestic matters. But Morgan could not be deceived; he knew what engaged the mind of his friend; it had become quite dissipated. Harry was unable to devote himself to any serious occupation; he could not even read a column of a newspaper continuously; he could not confine himself to one employment for more than a few minutes at a time, and his usual employment was lolling on a sofa, or sitting in an arm-chair with his feet upon the hob. This also became insufferable to Morgan; he was studious by nature, and it grieved him much to see a fine mind like Bentley's so utterly lost even to a chance of improvement. It was evident that fortune determined to separate them, for Morgan now actually hated his friend. Yet he swore, and he knew, that he loved him; but for all that he could not bear the sight of him. At last he told him they must separate, for his studies were interrupted by his presence. Bentley complied immediately, and they parted good friends.

Some time after old Bentley was cast upon a sick bed, and obliged to abandon all his projects of reformation for a season. He very prudently entrusted the management of the whole of his affairs to his wife, and she immediately supplied in a very bountiful way the necessities of her son. The effect of this change was immediately perceptible upon Harry; his mind was immediately disengaged from the Gorgon which had hitherto haunted him; he had no longer occasion to plot and scheme for a new supply of the one thing needful; and as he had scrupulously refrained from scheming to the prejudice of any one save the old gentleman himself, the habit was immediately corrected; his mind now began to shoot forth new and finer blossoms, he sought after knowledge, he delighted in laborious meditation and employments, and, above all, he became eager to inform his old friend of the happy change which had been produced upon him. Morgan, however, inwardly shrunk at the sight of him; but by a moral effort he concealed his feelings, and received his friend with great good nature and politeness. Bentley soon introduced the subject of their friendly quarrel; he said that it had made a strong impression upon him, and had contributed greatly to reform and elevate his mind, as soon as his own circumstances had blessed him with that tranquillity which he now enjoyed with respect to pecuniary matters. "I really love you the more," said Bentley, "because you hated me; for now I really hate myself; that is, I hate the character which I then possessed; and my utmost effort now is to remove all those blemishes of mind and morals which lost me your good esteem, upon which I put the highest price. I know that your hatred of me arose from your love of virtue. It was only a virtuous mind that could hate me at that time. A base and unprincipled mind would have embraced me with the warmest affection as one of its own kindred spirits, and would have exerted its own ingenuity to furnish me with the means

of perfecting and accomplishing my fraudulent schemes. Such friends I had, but now I have abandoned them, and I long once more to recover the good graces of my old and most beloved acquaintance." Poor Morgan shed tears of tenderness; he reproached himself, at first, for the harshness and unkindness of his feelings towards so generous and frank a creature as Harry was, and he was afraid that all might not be as he wished: but he was pleased to renew the intercourse, which turned out highly satisfactory to both parties. So much so, that they became co-partners in business, preserved the strictest friendship and mutual affection to the last, and used often jocularly to say to each other that it was HARRY that made them friends.

TO THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

BROTHER CO-OPERATORS.—In accordance with the resolution passed at the Congress held at Huddersfield, in April, 1833, authorising the Barnsley District to call and hold the next Co-operative Congress at Barnsley, on Easter Monday, the 31st of March next, and the following days, until the business of the Congress be concluded,

We, therefore, request you to send a delegate or delegates from among the most intelligent of your members, to assist in the deliberations of so important a meeting. And it is particularly requested that each society or district, sending a delegate or delegates, will give them a written certificate as a proof of their being officially sent. It is very desirable that delegates come prepared to answer the following questions; or, should it not be practicable for some of the societies to send delegates, we hope they will not fail to send a letter giving answers to the said questions, postage paid, directed to Mr. Smith, Co-operative Store, West-end, Barnsley:—

1. When was your society formed?
2. What is the amount of your capital; and how much of it has been raised by subscriptions; have you any borrowed money, and how much?
3. How many members have you in society?
4. Have you any school connected with your society?
5. Have you any library, and what number of books?
6. Do you manufacture any goods; and what kind?
7. How many members do you employ?
8. Do the principles of Co-operation, amongst the working classes, gain any ground in your neighbourhood?
9. Do you do any thing by way of exchange with other Co-operative societies?
10. Have you done any thing by way of making known the principles and practice of Co-operation in your neighbourhood?
11. Have you any new plan to bring before Congress for the furtherance of Co-operation amongst the labouring population?
12. How many Congress Reports would you take, provided they could be printed at not more than three-pence each?

To the Trades' Unions we say, we shall be happy to receive any of their members at Congress as representatives, if properly authorized by their respective Lodges; and shall be ready to hear any plan they may wish to propose for improving the condition of the productive classes.

Also, representatives from the *Regeneration Societies* will meet with the same courtesy.

And the Congress will be happy to see representatives from the Labour Exchanges of London and Birmingham; or if that should not be expedient to them, we hope they will favour us with written documents containing the progress of their Institutions, with their opinion respecting the utility and stability of Labour Exchanges and *Labour Notes*.

On behalf of the Barnsley District,
THOMAS WILSON.

EASTERN INSTITUTION.

A Lecture will be delivered in the above Institution, 12, Portland Street, near Stepney Causeway, Commercial Road East, on Sunday Evening, 10th inst., at 7 o'clock, by a Member of the Social Missionary Union. Subject: The Moral Development of Man.—Also the First Social Festival of the above Institution will be held on Tuesday, the 10th inst. Single Tickets, 1s. 6d.; Double Tickets, admitting a Lady and Gentleman, or two Ladies, 2s. 6d., including Tea and Coffee.

SOCIAL MISSIONARY UNION.

OBJECT.—The Diffusion of the Principles of the Rational System of Society.

GOVERNMENT.—Robert Owen to be Perpetual President, from whom, with the Assistance of a Council of his own Nomination, all the measures of the Union are to originate.

QUALIFICATION OF MEMBERS.—A readiness to act when called upon, according to their leisure and capacity; and a monthly subscription of 6d. or upwards. The names, business, and residence of members to be registered.

COUNCIL.—The Council to consist of the President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, and five others. They are to meet weekly, and their decisions are in all cases to receive the signature of the President (or, in his absence, the Vice-President), before being carried into effect. The Council to waste office every three months, with a capacity for re-nomination if approved by the President; and in special cases, as he may deem advisable, the President is to add to the Council such person or persons whose aid may appear of more than ordinary importance to the object of the Union.

BUSINESS.—To qualify and employ Missionaries; to circulate useful Tracts; and, finally, to forward the establishment of Corporative Academies.

NAMES OF COUNCIL.—Robert Owen, President; S. Austin, Vice-President, and Treasurer; R. Alger, Secretary; Messrs. Simpson, Jeunesson, Horne, Wood, and Harris, five Members of the Council.

The foregoing Constitution having been agreed to in Council and sanctioned by the President, is henceforth the order of the Union, which all the Friends of the Social System are most cordially invited to join.

ROBERT ALGER, Sec.

15, North Street, Upper Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square.

THE FORTY THIRD SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the Association of Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, on Monday Evening next, the 17th instant.

Tickets of Admission, including Tea and Coffee, 1s. 6d., or 1s. and 1-hour note each. Doors to be opened at Seven, and the Concert to commence at a Quarter to Eight precisely.

The Dancing will commence at a quarter to 10, and continue uninterruptedly till One o'clock; Quadrille, Spanish, Medley, and Contré Dances alternating.

Mr. Detrozier will Lecture at the Institution, Charlotte-street, on Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock.

NOTICES.

A GRAND MUSICAL FESTIVAL will take place at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, 14, Charlotte-street, every Friday evening during Lent. Admission to the Corridors, 1s.; Grand Floor, 3d. (For particulars, see bills.)

SOCIAL TEA PARTIES of the Association of the Industrious Classes, 14, Charlotte-street. The Friends and Members are informed that their Social Meetings having given so much satisfaction, it is intended to continue them every Sunday afternoon, until further notice. The next Social Tea Party will take place on the 16th inst. Tickets, 6d. each. Tea served at 4 o'clock.

During Tea, a selection of Vocal and Instrumental Music by the Amuseur Band and Choir of the Institution.

WORCESTER UNION GLOVES

Are on sale at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street; and at the Crisis Office.

PORTBURY'S SCHOOL ROOMS,

31, Crown Street, Oxford Street.

B. PORTBURY informs the friends of the Social System that he has commenced Schooling at the above Rooms, in which all Children will have equal facilities of learning.

DAY SCHOOL.—4d. per week for children under 8 years of age; 6d. ditto above ditto.

EVENING SCHOOL.—6d. per week; French, 6d. per week, on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons; Dancing, 3s. per Quarter, for adults; 5s. per duo for children under 16 years of age; Gymnastics, 6d. per week, twice a week.

Social Festivals will be held every alternate Wednesday. The next will be on Wednesday, March 26th.

Double Tickets 1s. 6d., Single 1s., Children 6d. Refreshments included.

Arrangements are making for Lectures and Discussions, of which due Notice will be given.

A TUTOR WANTED.—A Gentleman, residing in Brighton, having a Son, twelve years of age, and of good disposition, is desirous of obtaining for him a Tutor competent to give him good, plain, sound instruction. It is necessary to state that the strictest investigation will be made into the character of the individual needed; who must be possessed of unimpeachable integrity, high moral worth, the most perfect candour, and be free from religious and other superstitions, being neither a Churchman or sectarian of any kind.—Any Gentlemen of mild, even temper (qualified as above), and whose object is to obtain a comfortable home, with moderate salary, and who will clearly state his qualifications and terms, under cover to Mr. A. H. No. 5, Duke's-row, Pastors-church, New-road, will meet with an early reply thereto.

NOTICE TO THE OPERATIVE CORDWAINERS Of Kensington, Hammersmith, and Finsbury.

A Public Meeting of the Trade will be held on Tuesday, March 16th, at the Nag's Head, Hammersmith, to take every necessary step towards the establishment of a Branch Lodge, on the Principles of the National Consolidated Trades Union. Every individual in the above Trade is particularly requested to attend.

(Adjourned from Monday Evening last.)

N.B. The Chair will be taken at 7 o'clock, precisely.

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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, MARCH 16.

The Rev. Mr. Smith delivered a sermon on Matt. xxii, 40, "On these two commandments" (viz. love of God and man) "hang all the law and the prophets;" of which we give the following extracts:—

The Christian religion is, like property, divided into two great departments, and these two departments may be called public and private; or, perhaps, a much more unexceptionable epithet may be found for each in the two words, *useful and fanciful*. There are certain productions of nature and art, which are essentially necessary to every individual. Even an idiot, or infant of a day old, has need of food, clothing, and shelter; these three things, therefore, may be called public property, or the necessities of life, which cannot be dispensed with without the extirpation of the human race. Other productions of nature and art are merely private; that is to say, capable of communicating pleasure or comfort only to private individuals. The first species of articles are publicly or universally useful; the second species of articles are only partially useful.

The same may be said of Christianity. It is divided into two parts, namely, the morals, and the doctrines; and it will be found that the morals of Christianity are of universal utility, suited to the understanding, and commanding themselves to the admiration of all mankind. The doctrines, on the other hand, are suited only to private individuals, to certain species of organizations, which delight in metaphysical disquisitions, and in breathing the atmosphere of the fairy land of mystery; the one is the department of industry, and the other of idleness, the very same division which distinguishes the two classes of society, the productive and the non-productive. It is evident, also, that the very same kind of fate has befallen the two departments. As a society we find that the productive classes are slighted and oppressed, and the non-productive exercise domination over them, holding possession of the land, the capital, or surplus of labour, and the magisterial power, and by means of the advantages thus procured, appropriating to themselves all the other advantages which are concomitant upon these,

namely, the valuable advantages of education and polish; so we find that the doctrines of Christianity, which are the least useful of the two, have exalted themselves above the morals, have taken the law into their own hands, have appropriated the tenth of the produce of the soil, and many other advantages, whilst the moral is left to itself to find an existence where chance may direct its steps.

Every department of society at present is in disorder; it must all be inverted; that which is first must be last, and that which is last must be first. If we look into the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, which articles are the fundamental principles upon which the church is built, we shall find that they say nothing at all of the moral department, to hold it up as a fundamental principle. It only comes in, as it were, by accident; and when it does come in, it is treated with a species of contempt. There are a great many articles respecting mystical doctrines, which neither the clergy nor their hearers understand, and respecting forms and ceremonies which can have no influence whatever upon the moral conduct of society. Thus, for instance, we have many articles respecting the sacraments, the baptism of children, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the marriage of priests, the consecration of bishops and ministers, original sin, the three creeds, and the descent of Christ into hell. These are merely formalities and notions; the interests of mankind are no way dependant upon them; we may all be comfortable enough without the three creeds—without the ordination of bishops and ministers—without the baptism of water—or the celebration of the Lord's supper. Yet these subjects form the most conspicuous part of the foundation of that superstructure of piety and godliness which we call the Church of England; and the decrees of the church upon these subjects are of such paramount importance, that any deviation from the orthodox path would subject a clergyman to the jealous vigilance of the whole church, and perhaps to censure or excommunication. These, then, are the aristocratic articles of the church, the non-producing articles, the articles by which the country derives no benefit, by which morality is not profited, yet which have attained such paramount superiority over good works, that good

works are treated like the labouring classes or the rascally mob, as an inferior species of duties not worthy to be named in the same list with the others; so much so, that the thirteenth article of the church regards all works, good or bad, generous or unkind, which are done before conversion, as having in them the nature of sin; so that the poor heathen or the Mahometans, or perhaps the Roman Catholics, or any other species of heretics, are everlastingly sinning, even when they are following the bent of their own good dispositions; and this sin arises entirely from their want of faith.

Such an attempt to raise the glorious fabric of social love, is like the attempt of a mason to build a house by beginning at the chimney-top. They began at the wrong end; they began with metaphysical, instead of physical, materials, and now, after eighteen-hundred years, they have seen that their preaching is useless, that their Christianity is no better than heathenism, that it is a mere system of quackery, and that men are quite as good and quite as happy as Pagans or Infidels, as Catholics or Protestants.

Then whose fault is this? Ask a priest, and he will tell you that the fault lies in original sin, which is in man by nature, and is not to be eradicated. But if this evil is not to be eradicated, what is the use of giving us a commandment to love one another? If this commandment is not practicable, why tantalize and mock us with the beau ideal of perfection, to which we never can attain. There can be no doubt of its being impracticable in our present state of society, but it is quite practicable by mending or changing the system. Before we can cure any disease, we must first discover what the disease is, and then treat it accordingly. It would be a very foolish thing to preach a sermon to a man in a fever, and advise him to get well again,—to declaim most pathetically against the evil of being unwell,—to describe, in glowing colours, and in eloquent terms, the happiness of health, and then conclude the pious discourse by an exhortation to the patient to rise and shake off the disease; but this would not be more absurd than the conduct of our clergy every Sabbath-day in preaching good morals to their congregation, pointing out to them the standard of morality, and exhorting them to follow it, without either

showing them how that may be done, or revealing the reason why they have not hitherto done it.

How can men love one another when their interests are at variance? How can the clergy show them an example, when the church livings are so very unequal; one living worth twenty pounds a-year, and another worth twenty thousand, with all the gradations between? Must not self-love teach the twenty-pound incumbent to look upwards with a longing eye to somewhat better, and when he has attained it, to look farther still? And when he has got the promise of a better living, must he not eagerly pray for, or wish at least for the death of the present possessor? Who can banish envy, jealousy, and hatred from such a system? We see them amongst the clergy as well as their pupils. How, then, can they teach love to others, who cannot create love in each other? Nor does this inability arise from want of power only; it arises from want of knowledge. They do not know how to create love. They have no idea of changing the system to beget it. This plan they reject; with them there is no change of system. Nature just remains as she is, and if ever men love each other, it must be by resisting the powerful temptations to hate each other.

We consider that there is no difficulty in reducing Jesus Christ's principles to practice; it is a simple practice, which may be effectually put into operation in a few years. We produce love, by removing the cause which produces hatred, and substituting in its place the cause which produces love; we destroy hatred, by destroying the system of competition in trade and in commerce of every sort, except such competition as results from the mere desire to please and to excel, which species of competition will never fail to contribute richly to the enjoyment of all parties.

There are no sects of Christians in the world who aim at the love of their neighbour; the Dissenters are very zealous at present about the downfall of the establishment; but what is their aim? They only want to see their own petty clergy equal in power and dignity with the lawn-sleeved and silk aproned-bishops; they aim at no more, they propose no new system of society, which will do away with the great cause of evil, namely competition; they never revert to the fundamental principle of their master's doctrine, namely, social love; they never even propose so to link their societies together, that they shall all assist each other in the extremities of want. On the contrary, these sects are composed of rich and poor, the rich rolling in wealth, and enjoying their ease; the poor striving daily against the multiplied reverses of fortune, and groaning under the repeated cruelties and unfeeling rebuffs which they experience from their own party. The green eye of jealousy is for ever amongst them all; they are envious of each other, they are suspicious of each other, they undermine, they circumvent, they defraud, and ruin each other; there is no common interest amongst them; they meet in the same church on a Sunday, but what good results from this? the rich man comes to church with a full belly; he sits in a pew, which is well stuffed and well lined for his own selfish comfort; the poor widow comes, and retires to some hard-bottomed seat, which ill befits her shrivelled frame, whose bones are almost laid bare for want of nourishment. But does the rich man ask her to a better seat? does he inquire after her health, or her means of

support? does he put his hand into his pocket, and relieve her wants out of his own abundance? No; but he joins in the church ceremonial, he stands up or kneels down at prayer, he sings a hymn, and goes home again; and this is what is called being a Christian! this is Dissenters' Christianity; you will get no more from them. This is the utmost stretch of reformation to which their Christian love and theology can reach,—a most pitiful reformation indeed!

Christianity set out with the professed purpose of ameliorating the condition of the poor. It was to the poor that the gospel was preached; and this was the reason why it was called gospel, which means "glad tidings," glad tidings, says the prophet, of great joy, which shall be unto all people. Now, I ask you all what glad tidings of great joy you can hear in any church in Christendom? What single church in London, or any where else, can you enter where you will not perceive the poor widow, the fatherless and the destitute children, the squalid countenance, pale with everlasting care, and lean with everlasting hunger? Where are the joyful news? where is the plenty of provisions that was promised? the corn and the wine in abundance? where is the dance and the song, and the universal harmony? where are these blessings? and where are the signs of their approach? In what church in Christendom can you perceive the sign of the coming of the long-looked for millennium? Can you see it in the Roman church, called the mother of Christendom? can you see it in the English church, the centre and bulwark of Protestantism? can you see it amongst the sectarian churches? can you see it any where in the church of old faith? No; it is not to be found. They are blind as bats, stone blind; they do not understand their own religion, nor the way to establish the system of love.—Nature, whose works are perfect, and all whose ways are judgment, has so ordained it, that these symptoms of the end should not be seen in the church of faith, which foretold it, and boasted too loudly of its own merits; but in the church of what is called infidelity, which pretends to no especial favour of heaven, and has all along been treated with contempt and obloquy. This is quite in character with all the proceedings of Nature, who always brings forth one extreme to balance another, when the other has become too lofty in its pretensions. The millennium is founded by that party which has always been condemned, always evil spoken of, always hated. The first has become the last, and the last has become the first; and the sceptre has gone from them who wielded it with cruel and persecuting spirit to those who shall soon learn to wield it in mercy, and put to shame the boasted favourites of heaven. Thus completely verifying the saying of ancient times, that heaven is no respecter of persons. The two extremes are beginning to meet, and a short time, a very short time, will open to each a door of more intimate union.

When this takes place, both parties will see the use of each other in the great machinery of human society; above all, the old religious world will see the advantage of having had the infidel spirit to lay the foundation of the new system. The foundation is the commercial or trading department, and not the doctrinal department. We can never create love by argumentation, and debates upon dogmas. We may discuss such subjects to eternity, without ever imbibing a single draught more

of the social spirit. On the contrary, such employment has a tendency to create strife, and widen more and more the breaches which the competition and rivalries of life have engendered. But their debates and metaphysical controversies are the only methods which the present race of clergy, or Christians, think of adopting; and so confident are they of success, or rather so blind are they to any other possible scheme of regeneration, that they are now busily engaged in sending out missionaries to all parts of the world, with no other ideas in their head than those paltry quibbles respecting original sin, the fall of man, the atonement of Christ, heaven and hell, &c. With these absurdities, they go among savages, Mahometans, and Hindoos, burning with the zeal of the Lord. But what good can they effect when they have made their converts? None at all; but more frequently they make mischief; for no sooner have they secured a few converts, than a missionary of another society comes and imbues them with some heretical doctrine, which causes a quarrel between the two missionaries, and sets the two parties of converts at enmity with each other. The same scene is repeated there as we see amongst ourselves. But it would be a very different result, if we were to begin with new social arrangements respecting trade and commerce; if we were to remove the causes of individual strife, by great national arrangements, which should secure plenty to all, and for ever silence the fears of poverty, and lighten the burdens of life from the shoulders of all. This would, without controversy, introduce a very great moral change in the world. We do not say that this is all that is necessary; but this is the first step, and before this step is taken all other steps are vain. This is the great public change, the change which affects intimately the condition of all, the utility of which is intelligible to all. The other steps are of a more private nature, inasmuch as all mankind do not concern themselves particularly with them. There never can be perfect harmony until the doctrines of religion are also settled in a satisfactory manner; but all mankind are not fitted to engage in this controversy, or to appreciate its merits. Hence it becomes a subject of secondary consideration only; whereas, hitherto, it has been made a subject of primary consideration, and of paramount importance.

The fundamental principle of Christianity is social love—"Love thy neighbour as thyself." This commandment was taught before the time of Jesus Christ, and has been found in many other religions besides Christianity. It is the dictate of a good heart, and nature will reveal it to every good disposition; but perhaps there is no other religion which has made use of this precept as its fundamental principle. The philosophers of Greece and Rome taught it amongst other good moral maxims; Isocrates has the same precept in his writings, several centuries before Jesus Christ; but Christ has made it the foundation of Christianity, and consequently the grand end to which all Christian institutions ought to aim; but, unfortunately, both Christians and heathens have alike neglected it; and after six thousand years of the world's duration, it is now actually taught as a new doctrine. The priests seem to have become weary of preaching it; their exhortations had no effect upon their hearers; they often repeated the commandment; they often enforced it, and still enforced it occasionally, by many arguments; but their

arguments are useless, both on themselves and others; for their own affections and aversions are not in their own power, and the rivalries of life very soon extinguish all the social and generous emotions which are produced by a sermon. But our system of socialism would be an everlasting sermon—a real practical sermon—a sermon which would not merely excite a temporary feeling in an individual mind, whilst he sat in the pew of a church, which feeling would be obliterated as soon as he mingled in the throng of society; but one which would follow him wherever he went; which would for ever retain its hold, and only bind him firmer and firmer, the more he mingled with the busy crowd of mankind.

THE PUBLIC DEBT.

By V. C. L.

Every individual of the British community is affected, either directly or indirectly, by the operation of the public debt; and as that *evil influence threatens to be perpetual*, it is desirable that every one should be enabled to form a clear conception regarding it.

It is, indeed, not easy to account for the erroneous ideas commonly entertained as to the very nature of this debt by many persons, who consider it rather as a deposit, or treasure, and a sign of national wealth, than as an evidence of poverty. Many among those whose means of political knowledge have been circumscribed, imagine that when they purchase a certain amount of stock, they are adding their mite to a huge store of already accumulated wealth; and when they have "put their money into the Bank," they are far from conceiving that they have in fact only been substituting themselves for others as public creditors, and must depend, for the punctual payment of their dividends, not upon any fund, or heap of treasure that exists, but upon the ability of the nation to continue, from the fruits of individual industry, annually to set apart the amount. The *fund*—the capital really entitled to be so characterized—has long since been swallowed up and lost to the nation, leaving behind it an obligation to arish with an equivalent *PERPETUAL ANNUITY* such individuals, or their *perpetual* representatives, as, from time to time, have parted with proportions of this capital.

The national industry is mortgaged, however, in perpetuity, and the public faith has been pledged for the payment; but as it is stated above, every individual being more or less affected by the operation of the public debt, it is at fair that every individual should be well acquainted with the actual amount of capital lent to government, with the enormous excess of the stock created, (in some instances double the amount of the money paid,) and also with the relative value of the currency in which such capital was advanced, and the currency in which the dividends continue to be paid. All these are important facts, tending to show that a considerable reduction could be made in the amount of taxes raised for the payment of perpetual annuities, without any actual breach of faith to the public creditor.

This funding system, which, amid all the admirers it once could boast, cannot now find one to commend its wisdom, was the principal engine that, for a series of years, was used, and that successfully, in prevailing upon the legislature to go forward in the career by which the amount of our public burthens has been so

swollen. And as the subject is not familiar to every one, its importance to present and future generations requires that we should begin by taking a rapid view of the origin and first cause of a public debt.

1193. So early as the reign of Richard I., money was borrowed, in order to meet the expenses of the *CRUSADES*,* in which he joined the other Christian monarchs of his time, in those grand expeditions where Europe, for the first time, acted as one, and when kings were proud of submitting to religious fanatics. Yet in those early days, and during the four centuries which followed, *funds were assigned for the re-payment of loans. Both principal and interest were discharged; and although property was often legally plundered, neither king nor clergy presumed then to mortgage the individual industry of their subjects† in the wish to satisfy personal ambition, to settle family quarrels, or to restore dethroned cousins, against a nation's true interest.*

1693. OUR *PERPETUAL DEBT*, therefore, can be said to have begun only in the reign of WILLIAM III., when the Bank of England was established, and when loans being made, in anticipation of taxes, for a certain number of years, which did not produce the amount anticipated, the principal and interest not being paid, a debt was incurred by government, and *mis-called the national debt.*

1715. In the reign of George I. the debt amounted to about forty-eight millions, interest paid at the rate of five per cent., but subsequently reduced to four per cent.

In the year 1717 began, what has since been denominated *funding the floating debt*; which meant, that about two millions of *Exchequer bills*, then held by the Bank (as government receipts or tallies for that amount), were converted into *PERPETUAL FIVE PER CENT. ANNUITIES.*

1720. Much inconvenience being found to arise from the necessity of keeping distinct accounts for the different descriptions of debts incurred, it was attempted, in that year, to reduce all the public debts under one head of account, bearing the same interest, and the South Sea Act was passed; but the disgraceful practices by which it was fostered and prosecuted, and the wide-spreading financial disasters which resulted from its failure, left it the memorable name of the *South Sea bubble.*

From that time to 1740, scarcely a session passed without some addition being made to the public debt; annual deficiencies being always made good by the *anticipation of certain duties, by advances obtained from the Bank, and from public lotteries.*

1748. Under George II., the war, which lasted till 1748, increased our National Debt to upwards of seventy-eight millions. *Histo-*

* Mark its origin in error, ignorance, superstition, and priestcraft, when one priest (Peter the Hermit) could so prevail on ignorance as to rouse all Europe for a mystical war. The same spirit is, to this day, upholding superstition against reason and nature; the difference is only in degree; and so long as a church establishment is deemed useful to society, so long as teachers will be allowed to unite the opposite capacities of priest and schoolmaster, no rational education can be so generally diffused as to prevent mankind from being led blindfold, like cattle, by fanatical or interested leaders.

† In those days of church government, the kings may be said to have been no more themselves than the first subject of sacerdotal power.

rical records tell us that it was a Spanish war, for the *Austrian succession*; yet, as it considerably increased the public debt of Great Britain, no doubt *can reasonably be entertained* that our interference was *indispensable* to the preservation of our national wealth and prosperity. Be that as it may, such interference on our part *became a precedent too serious in its consequences to be overlooked, or treated lightly.*

1756. Government had made, however, another reduction of interest on fifty-seven millions, from four to three-and-a-half per cent., and afterwards (1757) a further reduction from three-and-a-half to three per cent.; and thus commenced the account of stock, which has since been continued under the head of three per cent. reduced annuities.*

The other stock, bearing the same rate of interest (three per cent.), which from the time of its creation has always been made the object of public traffic, originated by the Act 25 George II., whereby various perpetual and lottery annuities, which from the time of their creation had borne an interest of three per cent., were brought under one head, on the public account, as *consolidated annuities*, and known since as the *three per cent. consols.*†

So little was effected, during eight or nine years of peace, towards reducing the national debt, notwithstanding the abatement above mentioned in the rate of interest, that in 1756 it amounted still to seventy-five millions; and under George III., at the peace of Paris, after the seven years' war, the debt was nearly doubled, for it exceeded one hundred and thirty-six millions, exclusive of the unfunded debt; the annual charge upon the nation being 4,600,000*l.*

During the twelve years of peace which followed, about ten millions and a half were discharged; so that, when our American colonies resolved and determined to resist our unjust and impolitic pressure, through taxation, our debt was about one hundred and twenty-nine millions, exclusive of large arrears upon the civil list; and yet our vexatious and obstinate differences with our American brothers were suffered to become actual hostilities.

1775. The less we say about the original causes of the American war, which began this year, the better it is for our national pride. First, we despised them as enemies; then we acted as tyrants would; and yet, notwithstanding more than eighty millions of fresh loans, creating an additional debt of one hundred and fifteen millions, we were, after all, compelled to acknowledge American independence.

Reasonable concessions, made in time, would have prevented, not only such unwarrantable expenditure in so bad a cause, but also, and not least in importance, might have prevented altogether the transformation of our American colonies into a republican government, which has now lasted more than half a century, on principles of economy, simplicity, and rational equality, considered before as a Utopian dream, on account of its being without episcopacy, without hereditary privileged classes, and without nobility or titles of any kind; but with most liberal provisions, made for the instruction of all classes of people; the very existence of all which has had long since, and still continues to have, much more INDIRECT INFLUENCE on the political stability, and civil and religious

* Amounting, in 1832, to 124,957,165*l.*

† Amounting, in 1832, to 346,456,016*l.*

orders of modern European societies, than is generally credited.

1786. Four years after we had been compelled to make peace with the United States of America, public debt, funded and unfunded, amounted to no less than two hundred and sixty-eight millions, the yearly interest being 9,512,232*l.*;* and some symptoms of alarm seem to have been felt, for it was then that Mr. Pitt brought forward a new plan for a sinking fund; good, when there might happen to be an actual surplus of revenue over expenditure; but delusive, and worse than bad, when persevered in, although the very reverse was the case; that is, when (and as true as incredible) money was actually borrowed to enable the sinking fund to redeem so much of the national debt. However, from the passing of the Sinking Fund Act (March, 1716), and the first revolutionary war, about ten millions were redeemed; but as, on the other hand, some additions were made to it, the debt was only reduced to about two hundred and sixty millions.

Great as this amount was at that time considered, and grievous as the burthen of the taxes then levied for the payment of the dividends was felt to be, these yet bore no proportion to the further debt that was to be incurred, nor to the further taxes that were to be imposed, when the unconstitutional and partial motives of the ministers of those days, having obtained, through venality and corruption, the command of a majority in both houses of parliament, prepared for another war, upon a scale of profligate expenditure hitherto unknown.

* Now, in 1833, 27,664,586*l.* interest on funded debt; 659,165*l.* ditto on floating debt; total annual charge, 28,323,751*l.*

(To be continued in our next.)

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 22.

ONE of our correspondents, "Julian" by name, seems to think it a piece of contradiction in Mr. Owen to assert that the Trades' Unions at present do not understand his system; but that they will inevitably slide into it. We see no contradiction at all in the assertion. It is merely saying, in other words, that co-operation and union are one and the same thing; and we should like to know from our friend Julian, or any one else, where the difference lies. Perhaps it may be said that co-operation means going hand-and-glove, and union means only walking arm-in-arm. There is here a difference, no doubt, we allow; but when once you have so far reconciled two human beings together, that they go arm-in-arm, don't you think it likely that they will soon go hand-and-glove together? There is an old lady in the story of Humphry Clinker, whose name, if we recollect it right, is Mrs. Jenkins, and she was a Welchwoman by birth and education; but, during the course of her peregrinations in this nether world, she happened to wend her way to the Highlands of

Scotland, where the people don't speak Welsh, but Gaelic. But, Mrs. Jenkins found a very great similarity between the two languages, so much so, that she very soon became acquainted with the Gaelic. In writing home to her friends in the south, she very humourously, but very expressively, says that the two languages are "quite the same, but the words are different." So say we of union and co-operation; they are quite the same thing, only the words are different. If the working men unite, they must co-operate; and if they don't co-operate, then they must dis-unite. But it may be replied, that they may unite in part, without going all the length of co-operation; that is to say, may unite in part without becoming fully united. In that case, they can't be united at all. What is the use of a partial union? a mere society meeting, or lecturing, or subscription union? Of no use at all. As long as subscriptions are necessary, the union is imperfect, for the subscriptions are raised to create an opposing power, to defend them against the enemy. But were their union complete, were they managing their own affairs by their own committees and superintendents, they would have no hostile party to contend against. And what is this but co-operation? We do not see where the Unions can proceed, but straight forward, right into co-operation; there is no other alternative; but that of dissolution and destruction.

Does any man imagine that these Union Societies are for ever to exist as an over-awing power, to keep the masters in order, and prevent them from going to excess? Are the masters and the men to live in everlasting suspicion? What a hell it would make of this world, thus to erect two contrary powers, which look upon each other with the green eye of jealousy for ever! This is impossible. The Unions must bring forth "something"—they are not of themselves deliverance; they are merely the womb, that conceives and organizes a new system; and what other system can mother "UNION" bring forth than co-operation? Will she bring forth competition, think you? This would be a miracle, indeed, a new thing under the sun, and a complete stumbling to modern producers of men, women, or children, who always argue upon the assumed truth of the old proverb, "like mother like son." But should the Unions produce no son nor daughter, then the working men may abandon themselves to despair, for hope is lost.

We do not say that they must come into every individual opinion which Mr. Owen entertains, or that they may not have correct ideas which he has not imbibed. No man is perfect; no man is infallible; and although there were one infallible man to be found in the world, it is not likely that he would get other men

to follow him, unless they were all infallible also. Every individual has his own experience, and that experience forms his opinions; but one individual cannot have all experience, although he may have discovered some general fundamental principles of truth, upon which it would be well for all to build their individual schemes. Men can only agree upon some general principles, and these principles are but few; in the detail they will always differ. Hence there is no necessity for identifying the system of co-operation with all the abstract or metaphysical opinions of any man. Truth and the majority will be sure to conquer at last.

We have received a letter from a correspondent, addressed to Richard Carlile; but we are not disposed to introduce any personal controversy of the kind into the *Crisis*. The letter is good, and we only object to it from reasons of policy. The *Gauntlet*, of late, has been attacking the principle of the Union, and his chief objection is its want of a moral foundation. We do not well understand his meaning; but, for ourselves, we do not believe that any system can have a moral foundation. Morality is the superstructure, and not the basis; morality is the perfection of human nature and human society; it is the manhood, and not the infancy of a system. Our object is not to begin with the moral, and then create something else; but to begin with something else, and create the moral. All men agree that what is called morality is good; but it is upon the means of creating the moral, as our correspondent justly observes, that they differ. In respect to what the *Gauntlet* says of the want of moral, we see nothing to object to it. The working men are yet to be made moral and intelligent; hitherto they have been degraded by the irresistible necessity of poverty and servitude, and are very defective in many of the features which constitute a good character. But how is this defect to be removed? How are they to clothe themselves with this doubted "moral"? Where are they to find it? Is it to be taken by force from the bishops, or dug out of a coal-pit? or is it to be got by fasting and hard labour? We trow not. Then how is it to be got? We give the following recipe for making "morality":

In the first place, get good food, clothing, and lodging, and secure these to yourselves in such a way that you shall have little occasion to fear want; then, after having made provision for the physical, as they call it, (a very bad word, for every thing is physical,) afterwards proceed to the moral, by reading, amusement, social conversation, dancing, singing, and any thing else you have a liking to, provided it contributes to the happiness of some, and gives offence to none. There

is no other morality than this. But, according to the *Gauntlet*, we must begin with the moral, and then proceed to the physical; that is, first refine and purify the mind, cheer it up with exhilarating sentiments, and afterwards proceed at leisure to the physical department of feeding and clothing it. Perhaps we misunderstand the *Gauntlet*. One is very apt to misinterpret a mere sentence or two; but we have been unavoidably led to this train of reasoning from his complaint of the want of moral to begin with. Some little moral, we allow, is necessary at the commencement. When you want to raise wheat, you must sow wheat; but you sow a little, in order to raise more. And is there not some little moral in the Unions? Is there not something good in the very idea of unity, something friendly and social in the thought of association? We think so; and we also think that unity is the most perfect definition of pure morality that can be given; and that commercial unity will of itself bring forth moral unity.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 16.

Mr. Owen lectured.—“A few days ago,” said Mr. Owen, “I opened a chapel in the Commercial-road, Limehouse; on which occasion a very intelligent magistrate was present, who listened attentively to my discourse, and seemed to take a deep interest in the subject. The subject was, no doubt, new to him; it was of a different nature from the ordinary preaching of the world; it was a species of preaching which is more likely than ever to attract public attention. The days of preaching for mere preaching’s sake are nearly over. Men are now at last resolved to have something beneficial, something practically useful; and it shall always be my aim, whenever I address the public, to address them for practical purposes.

“This gentleman to whom I allude, afterwards wrote me a letter, of which the following is a copy:—

To Robert Owen, Esq.

“SIR,—I listened very attentively to your lecture last night, at Stepney, where you developed a new plan to ameliorate the miseries and promote the happiness of society. If my impressions were correct, you admit the fact that man is in a state of wretchedness; that this arises solely from errors in education and the imitating bad examples. The remedy you propose is, new-birth or regeneration. The means—to teach truth unmixed with error. By truth, I understand you to mean that which can be proved by mathematical demonstration. The result which you anticipate is, that four hours’ labour is not only sufficient to produce the necessities of life, but such a surplus as to give comforts, without the fear of poverty. Is this your plan? If so, my fear is that it is Utopian; and even that, if realized, it would not produce that happiness which you perhaps so fondly anticipate.

“I am, like you, a freethinker, but with a most decided veneration for the Scriptures; and consequently, as decided an aversion to a meddling priesthood, creeds, confessions, anathemas, &c. &c. Christianity calls on all to

“search,” and believe on the evidence resulting from the enquiry; consequently, belief cannot and is not considered meritorious, nor unbelief sinful. I speak of Christianity simply as revealed in the New Testament, and not as distorted by human ingenuity.

“My object in writing is to request your answer to the following queries, not put for the purpose of puzzling, but for the purpose of satisfying many enquiring minds.

‘1. Do you in the system of education direct any attention to the invisible world? God, angels, devils, a future state of rewards or punishments; or is it confined solely to this matter of fact state of existence?’

‘2. How do you account for the different and sometimes opposite effects, arising in families among children from the same education and objects of imitation?’

‘3. How do you propose to employ the time of the producers, if three or four hours’ labour is sufficient to produce all the comforts of life? Idleness is the hot-bed of misery. Are three or four hours’ labour sufficient to keep up health and spirits? Would not eight hours’ labour be more beneficial?’

‘4. (I speak as an active magistrate)—May not your system lead to much dissatisfaction among the productive classes, as it regards the consumers? Never let the question, put after the lecture by a young man be forgotten—“Can these delightful objects be obtained without resorting to physical force?” How guarded ought you to be in such developments! A healthy, convenient house, and all the comforts of life, the result of three or four hours’ daily labour; and that it is the duty of government to provide such employment, and guide them to this labour!’

“I make no apologies for trespassing upon your time: we are both public men: my object is improvement in the great duty of contributing to the happiness of my fellow-creatures, March 5, 1834. ‘I am, Sir, &c.’”

Mr. Owen made remarks upon this letter as he went on with the reading of it, the substance of which we shall give as nearly as possible.

He said that the power of this country to produce wealth, was greater than any power it had ever hitherto enjoyed. Yet notwithstanding the great resources of the country, arising from the great progress which has been made in the cultivation of the arts and sciences, a great proportion of the well-disposed, and of those who were the real producers of wealth, were starving for want of the necessities of life. This deprivation was of itself a sufficient cause why the working classes were unable to enjoy that happiness to which their industry entitled them. And no good man amongst the rich themselves could tranquilly look around upon the wretchedness of the poor, nor fail to have his feelings lacerated by the infinite variety of distress which surrounds him.

This arises from the errors of education; were men properly trained, were they instructed in the true principles of the science of society and morals, they would be able to create a vast deal more wealth than they are able to consume, and would delight to contribute to the promotion of the happiness of the whole species. For the accomplishment of this desirable end, a new birth must take place; and what is this new birth so much talked of, but never heretofore witnessed or experienced? It is a new foundation of truth, instead of the old foundation of error. In no single individual has this foundation yet been laid; they

have all been brought forth, all reared and educated, and lived during the whole course of their lives in circumstances which are the result of the most erroneous principles. All our public teaching, as well as the principles and maxims of public opinion, is false. We are taught that belief and unbelief are in our own power, that it is meritorious to entertain this opinion; and sinful to maintain that; and we are even requested to believe, as if belief was somewhat which men could put on and off as they do their clothes. As long as men are instructed thus they must be irrational.

Send a Christian round the world, and ask him what he has seen in foreign lands; he will tell you he has seen the most strange and fantastic beings imaginable; men who entertained the most monstrous opinions, and practised the most unmeaning ceremonies. “Surely, such men must be irrational!” will be his natural exclamation. Send a Mahometan or a Hindoo into this country; he will say the same thing; he will inform his countrymen that the Christians have most ridiculous opinions, and attach immense importance to what appears to him a mere mystical absurdity. Each of these individuals is trained according to the machinery existing in his own country. Each country has adopted a standard, and it forms all the rising generations after that model, which is acknowledged, for want of better knowledge, to be the most perfect model in existence.

I am about to follow the same example, and make a machine for human character; and in doing so I also follow the example of these sects, and say as each says of the other, that they are all wrong together. No man is born with a power to believe or disbelieve.* He must follow the strongest convictions. Here are four lamps behind me; you know them to be four in number, you have the evidence of your senses for the truth of it; no man could persuade you, you could not force yourselves to believe, that there are only three, or that there are more than four; the conviction is forced upon you by the evidence of your senses, and it is irresistible: then there is no merit in believing there are four—it is an irresistible impression. You cannot love that which is disagreeable, nor hate that which is pleasing; then how can there be merit in loving or not loving?†

But how is the new birth to take place? Why, all the errors of education must be removed, and not a vestige left, and another foundation must be laid in its stead. We must become as little children; our minds must become as the minds of babes; they must be divested of all former impressions, and ready to receive every new truth that presents itself, and to receive a new character from the cir-

* This is the doctrine of the Scriptures, “Ye are saved by faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God,” or Providence, or circumstances—what is the difference?—Ed.

† The Calvinists hold all this doctrine; there is not a sentence here that is not pure Calvinism; but though they recognise the premises, they run into a very different conclusion, for after acknowledging that the grace of God is irresistible, and that the absence of grace infallibly leaves you a prey to moral evil, they maintain that you will be damned for want of the faith which you yourself could not create. Thus we find that it is not so much a foundation of good facts or premises that we want as a good judgment to draw conclusions.

circumstances that surround us. We must clothe ourselves with charity; such charity as will enable us to look even with a degree of satisfaction upon those who differ in opinion from us, saying to ourselves, "Oh! here is an individual whose experience is different from mine, and has come to different conclusions. I will be sure to learn something from him." Were all men imbued with such liberal principles as these, truth would rapidly progress; men would be eager to find it; but hitherto they have rather endeavoured to suppress it, by the operation of a contentious and rivalrous spirit of sectarianism, which is not willing to receive instruction from an opponent.

There is a standard for truth in morals as well as in mathematics; and there is such a unity in truth, that no two truths can ever be found in opposition to each other. When our minds are born again, and we receive the new foundation, then all the truths which we receive shall first be compared with this standard or fundamental principle, and be received or not received according as they agree or disagree with it. All ideas which do not coincide with the fundamental truth must be rejected; and such is the change which will be effected upon men, when the new principle is acknowledged, that a child of six years, reared in the doctrines of the new system, will surpass in intelligence and accuracy of reasoning the most eminent philosophers of the old world. Such men as Bacon, Newton, and others, were, no doubt, men of learning and of powerful minds in their own department or mode of reasoning; but still they were men full of all the prejudices of the old world, and guilty of drawing the most absurd conclusions respecting society and morals. They had not the true foundation of morals and society. Hence all the superstructure they raised upon it was false. They might be acute and correct on other subjects of science, but they were only right upon those departments which were of no immediate use to mankind, in alleviating the distresses of the poor, or reforming the moral character.

Mr. Owen then made remarks upon that part of the letter which relates to hours of labour. He said that men were not yet qualified to live happily with four hours labour alone. It requires a certain polish of mind to spend the time well, when not engaged in active labour; and such mental refinement the working classes had not yet attained to. He thought, therefore, that eight hours' labour was essential to begin with, devoting two hours to the improvement of the mind, and lessening the hours of labour as the improvement progressed. But, in respect to the fears of the worthy magistrate respecting idleness, they were quite groundless. "If idleness be the mother of all wretchedness, then how very miserable must those men be who have nothing to do! How ought we to pity our men of wealth and title, who are idlers all their lives, and produce neither wealth nor knowledge!" There is much to be done before the plan can be completed,—old prejudices to be removed, and preparations to be made for the new state. It is impossible to regenerate mankind in such a state as this, I am not at all surprised at the worthy magistrate calling the scheme Utopian, if he imagines that I contemplate a change of the character of man in such a system of society as that we live in. Such a scheme would certainly be the most visionary of all schemes, quite impracticable. We can only change human nature

by changing the circumstances in which man lives, and this change we shall make so complete, that man will become a totally different being. At present we live in a most artificial state, we cannot give vent to the feelings of our nature; which of us can go into society and speak the plain, simple truth, express the mere feelings of our minds? none of us. We should be declared madmen or fools, and compelled to resort to our old falsehood and hypocrisy once more. We are all of us artificial beings, the creatures of the society in which we live; all our language is conventional and all our actions: there is a restraint upon us in every thing we do. But certainly it is a great step in advance, and one of the favourable signs of the times, when a magistrate publicly states it as his conviction that faith is not meritorious, and unbelief not culpable.

Mr. Owen then proceeded to answer the four questions in the letter; but as he did not finish the questions, but promised to return to them, we shall give all the answers at once.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—It has been frequently objected to the Indefatigable Propounder of the New Views of Society, advocated in the pages of the *Crisis*, that he has not made the emancipation of woman a leading object in his designs for the amelioration of mankind; or placed its necessity so prominently before the public mind as its importance would appear to demand, or as would become the advocate of the rights of the whole human race.

The St. Simonians, resident in this metropolis, have been some of the foremost upon this point in their reproaches of a man, of whose fundamental principles, and consequently of the whole of whose practical measures, they are totally ignorant; and, while writing these lines, the *Crisis* of this week furnishes me with the erroneous ideas entertained by the thinking women of Paris, the supporters of the "Tribune des Femmes."

But these errors are maintained, not only by those who *professedly* build upon another foundation, but even among those calling themselves the *adherents* of our great social reformer. Even among them, I say, we find some putting forward the emancipation of woman as a *fundamental principle*. Now, I ask, Mr. Editor, in what does the slavery of woman consist? Does it not consist in being subjected to laws which she has been carefully excluded from all participation in forming; to laws, which fall with extreme severity upon her, and which having been framed in utter ignorance of the principles of human nature, have made man himself a partaker of the positive miseries they inflict, and have withheld from him pleasures, which but for their intervention he would enjoy? Does not her slavery consist in having been systematically excluded from an education, which, however miserably defective it may be, has been an additional weapon in the hands of her tyrant? Excuse the strength of the expression. I blame him not; but the truth must be conceded. Man has been trained to be the tyrant of woman; and it must be allowed that, in this respect, at least, his education has not been thrown away. In what, then, must the emancipation of woman consist? In equal education, and in equal participation in the formation of those laws by which she, in common with every member of the community, is

to be guided; and this emancipation we shall find provided for in the fourteenth and twenty-first articles of the Constitution proposed by Robert Owen.

"14. Both sexes shall have equal education, rights, privileges, and personal liberty; their associations will arise from the general sympathies of their nature, uninfluenced by artificial distinctions."

"21. Each community shall be governed by a general council, composed of *all its members* between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five; and each department shall be under the immediate direction of a committee, formed of members of the general council, chosen by the latter in the order to be determined upon."—*See Crisis*, 8th Feb., vol. iii., page 194.

Now, I think it will be found that it is only from the principles contained in these two articles that the emancipation of woman can proceed; and if she shall have an education equal to man, and *that* education greatly superior to any yet given to any individual; if she have an equal share in the government of the community, I think she must, in every case of the term, be emancipated; and until arrangements can be made to give her an equal participation in these two essential privileges, I am at a loss to imagine in what her emancipation can consist. In the sentiment expressed by our amiable Parisiennes, when they exclaim "You did not know, nor do you comprehend woman," I am strongly inclined to sympathise. That the affections are far stronger in women than in man, and not only stronger, but more equable and lasting, the experience of every day appears to me to confirm. The phrenologists also have discovered, that in the organs of adhesiveness, or attachment are more developed. How far these differences may be modified by circumstances so directly opposed to those under which every individual, from the beginning of time, has hitherto been trained, it is impossible for us to form an idea. But, in any case, what better can woman do than take her place in those assemblies in which her own nature, as well as that of man, is to be regulated?

One word more to our French coadjutors in the cause of freedom and happiness. I know not how Mr. Charles Fourier may be engaged; but, certain it is, that Mr. Robert Owen is occupied in far more extensive concerns than that of building *boudoirs*, into which to banish the ladies to mourn over their insignificance. He is engaged in developing plans for the erection of edifices far more extensive, splendid, and luxurious than any of the palaces of Europe; edifices, in which every human resident will be called upon to exercise not merely "taste and sentiment," but of every faculty of the mind, for the well-being not only of a particular community, but that of the whole of the human race; edifices which though "built with hands," shall be "eternal," in which health, and peace, and love, shall dwell for ever.

March 8th.

JUSTITIA.

COMBINATION THE ONLY HOPE OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—In the letter which I addressed to you on the 9th instant, I stated "that I would have proved that nothing short of universal combination on the part of the working classes could ever emancipate them from their degraded situation, if I had not encroached on

your limits." With your leave, I will do this now; but, as the political economists assert "that combinations can never ultimately succeed," and as they have forced upon the public schemes of their own, I deem it necessary to prove the truly visionary nature of these schemes, before I prove the necessity for universal combination.

The public has had laid before them many plans for the purpose of curing national evils; but there are two of them which more particularly attract public notice. To these I shall confine myself. The first is emanating from the political economists, who assert "that the supply of labour is greater than the demand;" which is very true. But their schemes to cure this are twofold; viz.—That of Mr. Malthus, who advised persons not to marry till they were more than thirty years of age; and the emigration scheme, which proposes to carry a portion of the surplus labour to places where the demand is greater than the supply. The next is that of the politicians, who assert that a repeal of the corn laws, a reduction of taxation, &c., would remedy the national distress. Let us enquire into these two schemes. The first is the offspring of the, no doubt, well-intentioned, but certainly much-mistaken, Mr. Malthus, who found out that nature had implanted in man a principle, which if unchecked by vice and poverty, would cause population to increase faster than the means of subsistence. His remedy is, however, as wise as his fancied evil, for it is only fancied. Who would have thought of proposing a plan that should suppress the sexual laws of human nature? which laws are as immutable as that law by which we are compelled to eat and drink to sustain life. Visionary, indeed! Has Mr. Owen proposed any thing half so visionary? Have any of the "maniacs" of Charlotte-street advised the people to act in opposition to the laws of their nature? I think not: we are not so visionary.

[We do not choose to follow our correspondent in his remarks upon *physical* checks, falsely called *moral* checks.—Ed.]

The second scheme is that of emigration; I will waive for the present the question of the absurdity of sending away large numbers of the working classes, whose labour, if properly directed, would prove a never-ending source of national wealth; and also the injustice of sending away the working bees, because the aristocracy, and other classes of society, can, by means of machinery, do with less of the labour of these bees; and I will show that this scheme is as visionary as the last. For, let us look at facts: our population, in 1811, was 17,108,864, and, in 1831, it was 24,271,758, making an increase of 7,161,894, or an average increase each year of 353,094. The number of persons who emigrated to the British colonies and the United States for six years, from 1827 to 1832, inclusive was 333,400; or an average for each year of 55,543; which number being added to the aforesaid increase in our population of 353,094, makes 408,637 persons who must emigrate each year to keep our population at its present point. But how are these 408,637 persons to emigrate? They cannot walk to Canada; and as for Australia, it would be a good day's sail in an open boat. The expense of conveying convicts, as granted by the House of Commons, in a vote on the navy estimates, on Monday night last, is 15*l.* a-head. But allowing that we could convey emigrants for 5*l.* a-head, as a large portion would go to Canada, the expense would be 2,043,185*l.* ster-

ling every year; a pretty tidy sum to carry off a "surplus population!" This will never be submitted to by Englishmen, I am confident. But mark the result in the colonies of this wholesale emigration. In twenty years the population of the colonies would be increased eight millions, or seven times their present population. Would not the colonies have a "surplus population" then? Would not the supply of labour outstretch the demand? Certainly it would. So much for emigration and its advocates!

But the Sheffield memorialists, and other parties, are crying out for a repeal of the corn laws, a reduction of taxation, and an abolition of tithes, as the means of restoring national prosperity. The answer of Mr. Owen to these parties is most conclusive; and were it not for prejudice, I am sure that Mr. Owen would strike conviction to their minds when he says, "that a repeal of the corn laws and a reduction of taxation would be no benefit to the working classes, so long as their labour was to be exposed to the competition of machinery." This, I conceive, would strike conviction to an unprejudiced mind. But as many persons are not satisfied, I will illustrate the position of Mr. Owen. Suppose a certain set of mechanics, say carpenters, receive now 1*l.* per week; and supposing in a month's time the corn laws were to be repealed, tithes to be abolished, and such a reduction in taxation, national, county, and parochial, as to lower the price of the necessities of life twenty per cent., or one-fifth; it is plain that sixteen shillings a-week would go as far as twenty do now. If the carpenters' wages continued to be twenty shillings, it would be as good to him as a rise of four shillings in his wages. But, mark! there are great numbers that would be glad to take his 1*l.* a-week as things are now; they would be equally glad to take sixteen shillings when that went as far as twenty will now. Thus the carpenter must consent to receive the sixteen shillings, or else let his competitor (heaven save the term!) have his work. Where would be the benefit to the workman in this case? None whatever. Would Mr. Owen, or the Sheffield seceders be right?

But I am to show that nothing short of universal combination can ever substantially benefit the working classes. Labour, like every other commodity, has been regulated by the laws of supply and demand. When the supply is greater than the demand, the price of labour falls; when its supply is less than the demand, the price rises. Unfortunately, the working classes have met with a powerful competitor, machinery, which has superseded to a great extent manual labour; thus its price has fallen. But I have met with a passage, in the 47th page of vol. i. of the *Penny Magazine*, which contains so much "Useful Knowledge," that I cannot forbear quoting it in this place.

"Suppose that in a parish, the quantity of employment that can be given bears such a proportion to the number of labourers that each of them receives two shillings and sixpence a-day for wages, the arrival even of a single new labourer might operate a reduction of wages all over the parish; for rather than want employment altogether, this supernumerary will be willing to work for something less than the others receive; he will offer his labour, we shall say, at two shillings a-day. This will be at once temptation enough for some one to employ him, and, in order to make room for him, dismiss another man, to whom he had been paying the higher rate of wages. But the evil will not thus be removed. The

person who had been dismissed finds himself in the same situation in which the new comer was; he is now a supernumerary. In order, therefore, to obtain employment and bread, he must do as the other did: offer to work at a reduced rate of wages. This offer is of course accepted, and another of the high paid men is displaced, who again resorts to a similar method of recovering employment at the expense of somebody else; and thus the process goes on, till all the labourers in the parish are obliged to work for two shillings a-day. But the depreciation might not end here. After the reduction had been made, the one supernumerary labourer would remain as at first; and by offering to work for something less than the current rate of wages, might effect another general reduction. And these things would proceed, until, the competition among the labourers, and consequent declension in their wages, were put a stop to together, either by a diminution in the cost of production, which the latter circumstance has occasioned, enabling the master to employ more hands, or by the gains of the men being ground down to so low a point, as just to sustain existence."

There, Sir, there is a picture of competition for you! Its destructive influence not to stop till it had "ground down the gains of the men to so low a point, as just to sustain existence!" Well, Sir, this is frightful enough. And that this is the present condition of the working classes we too well know. What can put a stop to it? Nothing short of a universal combination among the men; and which combination shall regulate the number of hours to be employed, to be such as to give moderate employment to ALL their numbers, and such wages as will procure them comfortable subsistence. As long as the labouring men allow their labour to be exposed to "the wholesome breezes of competition," as Mr. Poulett Thomson said in the House of Commons, so long will they be the victims of the capitalists and machinery. Competition's breezes "wholesome," too! The appearance of working men show how "wholesome" those breezes have been; the dim sorrowful eye; the care-worn, thin, pale cheek; the sorrow bespeaking countenance; the trembling, feeble limbs; the awkward, unmanly gait; the worn-out dress; the empty, hungry stomachs of too many of the producers of wealth and knowledge, too plainly show how very "wholesome" the breezes of competition are. By combination, however, we shall put a stop to these "wholesome breezes." How are we to accomplish this object? the working men ask. Why, by union you may do any thing. Were the producers to stop creating wealth, they would have the aristocracy, and other non-producers of society, bowing before them in humble supplication. The capitalist would find out that his gold was too hard to eat; harder than sea-biscuit; his silver would not digest; his bank notes would, like Adam's fig-leaf apron, afford him a frail dress, and Exchequer bills would not build him a house. Your power is immense; you can carry society before you, if you be united. But I have the admission of political economists that combination in one trade has succeeded; and that combination very partial too. Mr. Chambers, in an article on political economy, quotes the following from Mr. Wade's "History of the Middle and Working Classes." "Some of the trades of London, particularly tailors, are in clubs for mutual support during want of work; such a society has one drawback in operating as a

combination to keep up wages; and so far has this been successful, that no reduction in the wages of tailors has taken place since 1815, notwithstanding the reduction in the price of every article of life." There, working men, there are the effects of thrice-glorious, heaven-born, sacred union! By union you will bind hand and foot that political demon, Competition, which has ground you down to poverty and misery; by disunion it will continue its dreadful ravages until you are reduced to the condition of the sea-weed-eating population of Ireland, or the garbage-subsisting people of the Celestial Empire. That the workmen may be firm, wise, and determined; yet moderate, just, and charitable, is the earnest wish, the ardent desire, the sincere prayer, of him, who, though not a producer, is a working distributor, and who subscribes himself as yours truly, to serve in the cause of oppressed and enslaved industry,

X. W.

Feb. 19th, 1834.

PETITION TO PARLIAMENT.

On Tuesday, March 11, in the House of Commons, Mr. Tooke said he had to present a petition, of which, could the allegations be realised, all taxation would be at an end. The petition in question emanated from a public meeting, at which, he (Mr. Tooke) was informed, for he was not there, nearly 3,000 persons assisted. It was signed by Mr. Robert Owen, and about 600 others, styling themselves producers of wealth and knowledge. As persons of such high pretensions, without doubt, must be better able to state their own case than he could pretend to do, he would only so far encroach on the attention of the house as to read two or three of the allegations of the petition, concluding with its prayer;—before, however, he would move that the petition should lie upon the table, he would mention that about fifteen years ago, he had, under the auspices of his late royal highness the Duke of Kent, and in co-operation with the honourable members for Buckinghamshire, Bolton, and Ipswich, and the late Mr. Ricardo and others, endeavoured so to investigate the system successfully adopted by Mr. Owen, at New Larnark, as to adapt it to workhouses or pauper establishments on an extended scale in this country: after much time and labour bestowed by all parties, the object failed, chiefly owing to a disinclination on the part of Mr. Owen to abate or compromise any portion of his plan in favour of the finite and imperfect views of his otherwise willing coadjutors. The investigation, however, terminated as it began, with sentiments of unabated respect for the integrity of purpose and benevolence of motive by which Mr. Owen was actuated on the occasion, sentiments which he (Mr. Tooke) still retained; and, without entering further into the subject of the petition, he certainly considered Mr. Owen entitled to credit for calling public attention to the superiority of the principle of co-operation as compared with competition; the one eliciting all the better feelings and charities of our nature, and the other exciting all its most hateful passions. He would now conclude, and point the moral of his observations by venturing to suggest that even in the conduct of that house no small improvement would be effected by a greater disposition to act on the co-operative, rather than on the competitive system.—The petition was ordered to lie upon the table.

REFLECTIONS

Upon the soothing influence of Nature's Charms.

If we desire peace and repose, let us contemplate the variegated earth ever new, and ever beautiful. Let us listen to the music of the sky, when the boughs are agitated by the wind, and the birds are serenading one another—or surrender ourselves to that more pleasing sensation, when the serenity of Nature's silence imparts a congenial balm and tranquillity to the heart.

Gazing upon the face of Nature, we shall encounter no human passions, no distrust, no jealousy, no intermission of friendship! Even her frowns are sublime, and we need not fear that death shall tear her from us; we look upon an immortal countenance. An hour thus dedicated is an act of the purest piety; it is offering to the great Creator a heart made happy by the contemplation of his works; and can I prevail upon a single fellow-being to detach himself for a time from crowds and enthrallments, and betake himself to the sunny meadows, or the green twilight of the woods, I shall felicitate myself on not having quite unprofitably employed the morning of — "To-day."

TRADES' DELEGATES' MEETING.

The old Trades' Delegates' Meetings at the Institution have been revived: they have been suspended for some time on account of the new field which has been opened up in the great national organization of the working classes; but this organization having been accomplished, and presenting every appearance of a safe and unobstructed movement towards the great end of the emancipation of labour from the autocratical control of capital, the members have thought proper to renew their useful labours in a branch of experimental science, which will no doubt be the means of throwing considerable light upon the great National Unions, who are not as yet so much advanced in the study of political economy, as to see the necessity of a complete inversion of the old system of society.

On Thursday, the 17th inst., a preliminary weekly public meeting of the delegates and members of the trades connected with the Exchange took place at the Institution, in accordance with the resolutions passed, Feb. 26th; when the following gentlemen were received as members of the Committee of Supervision:—Mr. Blake, Cabinet department; Mr. Parker, Tailors'; Mr. Hoare, Shoemakers'.

The members for the building and for the milliners' departments were not officially appointed.

Resolved, that the conductors of the several departments furnish a report next Thursday.

Mr. Peel reported from the grocery department, which was shown to be of considerable advantage to the establishment.

UPSIDE DOWN.—"In the discussion upon the case of the coopers, in the House of Commons, Sir J. Graham, in defence of the government, mentioned the case of a master who had taken an extra apprentice. It was at the period when he had a heavy contract to fulfil, but the men struck, and he was unable to fulfil the obligation he had entered into. He could get no fresh supply of hands; he was powerless and at their feet. He was compelled to succumb and bend to their terms; and what were

those terms? The immediate dismissal of his apprentice, the payment of their wages, amounting to 30*l.*, although they had not worked, and the humiliating necessity of begging their pardon in his own yard. He submitted. He begged the pardon of the men he paid on the very ground he called his own. Honourable gentlemen might talk of tyranny under absolute governments, but he knew of no such severe and unmitigated despotism as this."

On Sunday evening, the 23rd, Mr. Smith will Lecture at the Eastern Institution, 12, Portland-street, Commercial-road.

A GRAND MUSICAL FESTIVAL will take place at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, 14, Charlotte-street, every Friday evening during Lent. Admission to the Corridors, 1*s.*; Grand Floor, 3*d.* (For particulars, see bills.)

Mr. Detrosier will Lecture at the Institution, Charlotte-street, on Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock.

THE FORTY-FOURTH SOCIAL FESTIVAL of the Association of Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, on Monday Evening next, the 24th instant.

Tickets of Admission, including Tea and Coffee, 1*s.* 6*d.*, or 1*s.* and 1-hour note each. Doors to be opened at Seven, and the Concert to commence at a Quarter to Eight precisely.

The Dancing will commence at a quarter to 10, and continue uninterruptedly till One o'clock; Quadrille, Spanish, Medley, and Contré Dances alternating.

The New-Christians (St. Simonian) School for Children under twelve years of age, of both sexes and of all persuasions, will be open at No. 36, Castle-street East, Oxford Market, on Wednesday, 2nd April next, at Nine o'clock in the Forenoon. A Public Lecture, explanatory of the principles and objects of the School, will be delivered at the above Rooms, on Wednesday, 26th March, at Two o'clock in the Afternoon. Admission free, by Ticket only.

St. Simonian Lectures and Discussions at the same place, every Monday and Thursday, at Eight o'clock, in the Evening. Admission, front seats, 6*d.*; back seats, 2*d.*

On Sundays, St. Simonian Service at Eleven before noon. Admission free.

On Easter Monday, the 31st of March, at Barnley, Yorkshire, meets the Congress of the Grand National Moral Union of the Working Classes, announced in our last. The different Societies throughout the country are requested to send their Delegates; and the Trades' Unions are also informed that their Delegates will be kindly received as Brethren and Members of Congress. This is the substance of the announcement which we gave in our last, signed by

THOMAS WILSON, Sec.

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NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 23.

Mr. Owen lectured.

My friends, in my discourse on Sunday evening last, I read to you a letter which had been addressed to me by a respectable magistrate at the east end of London, in which he had stated four questions, which he requested me to answer. On three of these questions I then made some remarks; and I now proceed to notice the fourth question, which commences thus:—

"4. (I speak as an active magistrate.) May not your system lead to much dissatisfaction among the productive classes, as it regards the consumers? Never let the question put after the lecture by a young man be forgotten: 'Can these delightful objects be obtained without resorting to physical force?' How guarded ought you to be in such developments! A healthy, convenient house, and all the comforts of life, the result of three or four hours' daily labour; and that it is the duty of government to provide such employment, and guide them to this labour!" In answer to this question, my friends, I do not hesitate to say that the system which I have advocated so long must, and will, create dissatisfaction among the producers, when they shall discover that they do produce all the wealth which the world possesses, and that those alone enjoy this wealth who really produce nothing; nay, further, my friends, I say that this knowledge ought, and I sincerely hope it will, cause great dissatisfaction among the producing classes; because I believe that this dissatisfaction will lead to the happiest results: it will cause justice to be done to them; it will give them full remuneration for their labour, and leave none unprofitably employed. But, it is asked, can these delightful objects be obtained without resorting to physical force? yes; they will be obtained by moral force, and by moral force alone, for they never can be obtained by physical force; and this great change, which we now confidently anticipate will speedily be effected, will be produced by physical force giving place to moral force.

But our friend thinks we ought to be guarded in our developments, and take care how we represent that a healthy, convenient

house, and all the comforts of life, may result from three or four hours' daily labour, and that it is the duty of government to provide such employment, and guide them to this labour. It is my firm conviction, derived from long experience, that three or four hours' agreeable exercise by the whole population, would produce abundance for all, and with the aid of science and machinery, would saturate the world with wealth. And I do affirm that it is the duty of government to provide this employment, and that this duty is second only to that still higher and most important of the duties of all governments, which is, to give the best education within its power to every child that is born; this is the first duty of every government, and its second duty is to provide the best employment for all. We know that hitherto our government has not understood these things. They have talked about national education, but never yet about national employment; but if they were really acquainted with these subjects, they would know that employment is a necessary and most important part of education.

I feel much obliged to the worthy magistrate who addressed this letter to me, for having adopted this mode of obtaining information, and satisfying himself with respect to the system which we advocate. I replied to his questions at a meeting at which he was present, and from the conversation which I subsequently had with him, I have reason to believe that he was perfectly satisfied with the answers which were given; and I much wish that all magistrates and all other persons would act in this way, and make themselves well acquainted with the views and objects of our system, instead of determining to oppose these views, even without taking the trouble to understand them. But, my friends, we have this week been called upon to notice very different proceedings from those adopted by this worthy magistrate. You are all, I dare say, aware of the proceedings which have taken place in a distant part of the country, where six honest, hard-working, well-intentioned individuals have been confined, tried, convicted, and sentenced to seven years' transportation, for uniting to obtain remuneration for their labour. I sincerely hope that this will be for good, and I feel certain that it will greatly tend to bring

the affairs of the working classes to a crisis. I have foreseen this period for thirty years or more; and I have told all the governments, and particularly our own government, that this crisis would certainly come; and I have advised them, instead of waiting for it, that they should place the people in such a state as would have effectually avoided this crisis.

I plainly perceive that the time is come when all must make up their minds as to the course they will take, and I have written that which I am now about to read, for the purpose of bringing the two states of society into actual collision; for the old system must now continue under the most grievous despotism, or it must give way to the establishment of the new principles, which I have so long endeavoured to bring into practice.

Mr. Owen then read the paper, and at that part of it which refers to the obligation entered into by the Unions, he said, "But, my friends, secrecy is no longer necessary to your success; it was absolutely so at the beginning, but it has now ceased to be so; fear not, therefore, to make your future proceedings as open as the day. Truth and justice are yours, and you may now pursue your glorious plan to the fullest extent, without the slightest danger that you shall ultimately succeed in establishing their perfect equality."

THE LEGACY OF ROBERT OWEN,
TO THE POPULATION OF THE WORLD.

"Sacred to Truth, without Mystery, Mixture of Error, or Fear of Man."

More than half a century ago I discovered that there was some grievous error deep in the foundations of society, which created evil, and prevented the good which man by his nature was evidently destined, in some stage of his progress, to attain and permanently to enjoy.

From that period to the present, I have never ceased honestly and fearlessly to search for that truth which should enable me to detect the error, remove the evil, and for ever establish the good.

Having found this truth, and proved it to be such by the only criterion of truth known to man,—that is, by its undeviating consistency, with all ascertained facts, I now give it to you, that through its influence you may be regenerated, your minds born again, and your posterity be made partakers of the endless ble

ings which this truth, and this truth alone, can insure permanently for the human race.

This great truth which I have now to declare to you, is, that—the system on which all the nations of the world are acting is founded in gross deception, in the deepest ignorance, or in a mixture of both. That, under no possible modification of the principles on which it is based, can it ever produce good to man; but that, on the contrary, its practical results must ever be to produce evil continually,—and consequently, that no really intelligent and truly honest individual can any longer support it; for, by the constitution of this system, it unavoidably encourages and upholds, as it ever has encouraged and upheld, hypocrisy and deception of every description, and discouraged and opposed truth and sincerity, whenever truth and sincerity were applied permanently to improve the condition of the human race. It encourages and upholds national vice and corruption to an unlimited extent; whilst to an equal degree it discourages national virtue and honesty. The whole system has not one redeeming quality; its very virtues, as they are termed, are vices of great magnitude. Its charities, so called, are gross acts of injustice and deception. Its instructions are to rivet ignorance in the mind, and, if possible, to render it perpetual. It supports, in all manner of extravagance, idleness, presumption, and uselessness; and oppresses, in almost every mode which ingenuity can devise, industry, integrity, and usefulness. It encourages superstition, bigotry, and fanaticism; and discourages truth, common sense, and rationality. It generates and cultivates every inferior quality and base passion that human nature can be made to receive; and has so disordered all the human intellects, that they have become universally perplexed and confused, so that man has no just title to be called a reasonable or rational being. It generates violence, robbery, and murder, and extols and rewards these vices as the highest of all virtues. Its laws are founded in gross ignorance of individual man and of human society; they are cruel and unjust in the extreme, and, united with all the superstitions of the world, are calculated only to teach men to call that which is pre-eminently true and good, false and bad; and that which is glaringly false and bad, true and good. In short, to cultivate with great care all that leads to permanent vice and misery in the mass, and to exclude from them, with equal care, all that would direct them to true knowledge and real happiness, which alone, combined, deserve the name of virtue.

In consequence of the dire effects of this wretched system upon the whole of the human race, the population of Great Britain,—the most advanced of modern nations in the acquirement of the means to create riches, power, and happiness,—has created and supports a theory and practice of government which is directly opposed to the real well-being and true interest of every individual member of the empire, whatever may be his station, rank, or condition,—whether sovereign or subject. And so enormous are the increasing errors of this system now become, that, to uphold it, the government is compelled, day by day, to commit acts of the grossest cruelty and injustice, and to call such proceedings laws of justice and of Christian mercy.

Under this system, the idle, the useless, and the vicious govern the population of the world; whilst the useful, and the truly virtuous, as

they are, are by them degraded and oppressed.

Under this system, those who daily and hourly practise the art of poisoning the body, degrading the intellects, and reducing individuals to the lowest stage of human existence, are openly fostered and encouraged, until they build palaces of temptations, to excite to every conceivable vice and crime, and at the same time to teach almost a continued language of the vilest and most demoralizing oaths; while those who, to protect themselves and their helpless families, by their industry and good conduct, from these dire effects, meet together to aid and encourage each other in their wise and virtuous proceedings, and engage to do so by righteous oath, taken solely with a view to unite these, the producers of all good to society, in a virtuous bond of brotherhood and sisterhood, are hunted like beasts of prey, incarcerated in demoralising prisons, subjected to a much worse than farcical trial, found guilty by ignorant and prejudiced individuals, and sentenced to a cruel, ignominious, and grossly unjust punishment.

Men of industry, and of good and virtuous habits: this is the last state to which you ought to submit; nor would I advise you to allow the ignorant, the idle, the presumptuous, and the vicious, any longer to lord it over the well-being, the lives and happiness, of yourselves and families, when, by three days of such idleness as constitutes the whole of their lives, you would for ever convince each one of these mistaken individuals that you now possess the power to compel them at once to become the abject slaves, and the oppressed portion of society which they have hitherto made you.

But all the individuals now living are the suffering victims of this accursed system, and all are objects of pity: you will, therefore, effect this great and glorious revolution without, if possible, inflicting individual evil. You can easily accomplish this most-to-be-desired object. Proceed with your Union on the principles which you have latterly adopted; they are wise and just, and wisdom and justice, combined with your Union, will be sure to render it for ever legal.

Men of industry, producers of wealth and knowledge, and of all that is truly valuable in society! unite your powers now to create a wise and righteous state of human existence,—a state in which the only contest shall be, who shall produce the greatest amount of permanent happiness for the human race. You have all the requisite materials awaiting your proper application of them to effect this change, and circumstances have arisen within the last week to render delay a dereliction of the highest duty which you have to perform to yourselves, to your families, and to the population of the world.

Men of industrious habits, you who are the most honest, useful, and valuable part of society, by producing for it all its wealth and knowledge, you have formed and established the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and it will prove the palladium of the world. All the intelligent, well-disposed, and superior minds among all classes of society, male and female, will now rally round the Consolidated Union and become members of it; and, if the irrationality of the present degraded and degrading system should render it necessary, you will discover the reasons why you should willingly sacrifice all you hold dear in the world, and life itself,

rather than submit to its dissipation or slightest depression.

For your sakes, I have become a member of your Consolidated Union, and while it shall be directed with the same wisdom and justice that it has been from its commencement, and its proceedings shall be made known to the public as you intend them to be, my resolve is to stand by our order, and support the Union to the utmost of my power. It is this Consolidated Union that can alone save the British Empire from greater confusion, anarchy, and misery than it has ever yet experienced. It is, it will become daily more and more, the real conservative power of society; for its example will be speedily followed by all nations, and through its beneficial example the greatest revolution ever effected in the history of the human race will be commenced, rapidly carried on, and completed over the world, without bloodshed, violence, or evil of any kind, merely by an overwhelming moral influence, which influence individuals and nations will speedily perceive the folly and uselessness of attempting to resist.

Experience has forced these important truths into my mind, and I give them now to the population of the world as the most valuable legacy that man can give to man.

THE PUBLIC DEBT.

(Continued from page 244.—See also p. 157.)

1792. Aristocratic hatred to French liberalism prevailed against true national interests. We were not yet wise enough to understand all the advantages of non-interference; on the contrary, the demon of interference presided unfortunately over all our councils, and as if, through spite at its failure against our American brethren, we had resolved, "costs what costs," to annihilate republicanism in Europe, war was declared against the French people; and we entered with more extravagance and profligacy than ever into the system of borrowing, funding, and stock creating, of the baneful plan of perpetual annuities, to perpetuate on our own people the system of unlimited, indirect taxation, in order to subsidize despotism abroad against France and freedom.

In July, 1792, the French aristocracy, dispersed by emigration, were collected at Coblenz by the Duke of Brunswick. The most injudicious measures, remarkable also for their presumption, were promulgated; and then were sown the first seeds of that political *upas tree*, the branches of which, united under the odd name of *holy alliance*, are withering away ever since the three days' hurricane of July, 1830, tore it up by the roots, to preserve modern society from the effects of its deadly shade. But then, will it not be asked, were there in those days no true patriots in the land able to protest against, and finally oppose, such aristocratic dictators as were leading the nation towards that jobbing and funding vortex which has whirled it into the abyss of perpetual embarrassment, under the tyranny of a financial pressure, beyond the hope of relief? The answer is, that there were; but venality and corruption forced them back into a powerless minority.

Were, then, all Britons equally blind to the effects of the evil INDIRECT INFLUENCE of a system, which, affecting every member of the community, would become tantamount to a perpetual mortgage upon individual industry? Far from it, is the answer. February 18, 1793, Mr. Fox brought forward his motion, wherein he declared, that to make war against France was neither for the honour nor policy of Great Britain. But in the Commons the proposition was lost by two hundred and seventy against a powerful aristocracy, against forty-four freely elected repre-

representatives. Soon after, the members of the society called the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE, unanimously signed the memorable petition for a reform in parliament, which Charles Grey, Esq., presented in the Commons of England on the 6th of May following; and as no hope could ever be entertained of the voice of the people being heard by the legislature. Without first annihilating the usurped power of the House of Lords over the Commons, the Friends of the People, after complaining of all the anomalies and corruptions of our representative system, (partly corrected by the late reform bill,) concluded their patriotic petition by stating that the increase of taxes, establishments, and their influence, also the increase of laws found necessary to repel the increasing attacks upon the purity and freedom of election, made it high time to inquire into the premises, which, however well adapted to the past, could never satisfy the present. After all, the changes brought on by time,

in the restricted distribution, increased accumulation of wealth, and monopoly, had transformed the natural blessings of a fast-increasing population into a national curse.

1793. Such were, then, the efforts made to ward off the threatening calamity of more loans and more funding, on the baneful principle of perpetual annuities, and consequently of perpetual taxation; but all those efforts were made in vain: their petition was rejected. Infatuation and partial interests triumphed over prudence and wisdom; and although the great and distinguished patriot, who, after forty years of exertion in the cause of reform, lived to be the liberal-minded premier, by whom its ultimate success was partly secured in 1832; yet, may it not prove too late for time alone can show, whether all the national good intended to be accomplished at the opening of his political career, can actually be realized at its close, after so many intervening years

have but too unfortunately developed the withering, indirect influence of an exclusive jobbing system, which the sole aim of his patriotic efforts was to have adverted in time.

It is only by perusing attentively the list of all sums borrowed each year from our monied men, for the anti-liberal service of a faction, that any correct idea can be formed of the persevering extravagance with which our mistaken aristocracy carried on the war during a period of no less than twenty-two years, directed first against the emancipation of mankind, subsequently against French military ascendancy.

Separating, in two distinct columns, the sums actually borrowed, and the nominal stock created each year, we find (according to Cohen's *Compendium of Finance*) that ninety-seven millions and a half, borrowed in the five years from 1793 to 1797, created about one hundred and thirty millions stock.

Years.	Amount of capital borrowed	Amount of nominal Stock created.	Increasing amount of Perpetual Annuities.	Bills passed each year for inclosure of Common Lands.	Highest price of 3 per cent. Stock.	Increasing amount of Poor and County Rates.	Price of Quarters Loaf.	Conviction for forgery of Bank Notes.
1793	£4,500,000	£6,250,000	£8,921,885	60	...	£3,399,000	7½d	...
1794	11,000,000	13,812,790	9,226,247	74	...	3,588,000	10½	...
1795	22,800,000	28,148,835	9,871,826	77	...	3,807,000	8½	...
1796	23,600,000	36,968,000	10,856,632	72	...	4,027,000	9½	...
1797	34,120,000	44,862,800	12,923,263	85	52½	4,248,000	6½	1
Total in 5 years	£97,720,000	£130,042,425						

The average interest being about four and three-quarters per cent. upon the sum actually borrowed, the rate of interest on each loan bearing of course on the nominal amount of stock created, and not upon the sum actually borrowed.

1797. We had reached only the fifth year of that long war, when the draining of specie, occasioned by the subsidies or loans to the Emperor of Germany (that obstinate enemy to all amelioration), had already caused a great scarcity of the precious metals.

The bullion in the Bank was reduced to nearly one million, whilst their notes in circulation amounted to more than eight millions; and the memorable order was passed by the Privy Council, requiring the Bank of England to suspend their cash payments, as the last resource left to support public credit; or, in other words, government having spent the greatest proportion of the disposable real capital of the country, but not having yet exhausted all their animosity and rage against French liberalism, resolved, rather than to give up interfering, that there should no longer be any real value in stocks, nor in

any other kind of property in the United Kingdom. The one and two-pound notes were then prepared for the circulating medium. The long continuance of the restriction caused the exportation of nearly all the specie in circulation during the war (estimated at from twenty-five to thirty millions),—all the coin flowing naturally from this country, where it was no longer deemed necessary, to all other countries, where it could be more profitably employed.

The subsequent effect of this measure was naturally a considerable rise in the fictitious price of all public funds; and bullion having left the country, all other property naturally became also fictitious in value. Land, manufactures, commerce, navigation, industry, skill, labour, stock created, and dividends, all increased in fictitious value. Taxes themselves became also fictitious, and were considerably increased.* The influence of this system on the price of land may be seen by the number of inclosure bills passed in each year; and the increase of poor and county rates are evident proofs of the baneful effects of indirect taxation upon the profit of industry.

The assessed taxes were then trebled. A tax was imposed on income, and government was enabled to continue vigorously (with a depreciated paper currency) the jobbing system of borrowing, from our most loyal monied men, on terms still more prodigal and extravagant, as may be seen by the following statement of loans made and of stock created for the next five years, exhibiting a much greater difference between the sums advanced for the public service and the nominal amount funded, from 1798 to 1802, than that previously to the Bank restriction.

The first loan made after the Bank restriction is one of the most remarkable, as exhibiting the danger to which our capitalists considered themselves exposed, since it was made under fifty per cent.,—upwards of thirty-four millions being funded for only seventeen millions actually advanced to government;† the average interest being above five-and-a-half per cent. upon the capital advanced, without taking into account the facility granted of paying by instalments, although the interest upon the whole began from the day the loans were taken.

Years.	Real amount of Loans.	Amount of nominal Stock created.	Increasing amount of Perpetual Annuities.	Bills passed each year for Inclosure of Common Lands.	Highest price of 3 per cent. Stock.	Increasing amount of Poor and County Rates.	Price of the Quarters Loaf.	Convictions for Forgery in each year.	Amount due by Government to Bank at end of each year.
1798	£17,000,000	£34,041,490	£15,251,184	48	51½	£4,248,000	8½d	11	£9,444,976
1799	18,500,000	32,767,250	15,689,143	63	53½	4,470,000	18½	12	8,986,439
Floating Funded	13,029,400	22,612,825	15,888,263	80	65½	4,693,000	16½d	29	12,899,239
1800	20,500,000	32,135,000							
1801	28,000,000	49,210,000	17,139,720	122	61	4,917,000	11d	33	11,948,359
Floating Funded	8,000,000	11,138,060							
1802	26,000,000	32,990,625	18,144,873	96	69½	5,142,000	10½d	44	13,552,339†
Total in 5 years	£130,029,400	£214,895,550							

* Since the resumption of cash payments by the Bank, the fictitious high rate of taxes continued however to be paid in a currency worth about thirty-five per cent. more than that in which they had been originally imposed.

† Yet the fundholder claims, as a right, his dividends in a gold currency!

‡ Exclusive of the permanent debt of 14,666,800l.

In the years from 1793 to 1797, the ninety-seven millions borrowed had created new stock to the amount of one hundred and thirty millions in round numbers, *previous to the Bank Restriction Act.*

In the next five years, from 1798 to 1802, the one hundred and thirty millions borrowed, created stock to the amount of two hundred and fifteen millions, round numbers (*subsequent to the Bank Restriction*); thus showing an excess in the proportion of stock created (during the first and second series of five years, as compared with the amount actually borrowed during each period) of no less than forty-one millions against the public, *in consequence of the suspension of cash payments*, and thereby creating an additional ANNUAL CHARGE of no less than 1,435,000*l.* over and above that which the same amount borrowed (had the Bank paid in cash) would have imposed upon future generations!

It must further be remarked here, that, from 1793 to 1802, the average rate at which the three per cent. stock above detailed was created by the terms on which the various sums were borrowed, being about fifty-seven and three-eighths per cent., the average market price of the same stock during that period being sixty-one and seven-eighths per cent., and the purchases made by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund during these ten years amounting to 49,655,530*l.*; the loss consequently sustained by the public must be the difference between fifty-seven three-eighths and sixty-one seven-eighths, or four and a half per cent. In the stock thus re-purchased, amounting to 2,234,500*l.* To form correct ideas on the indirect evil influence of a funding system, supported by indirect taxation, it is necessary to compile under one view the moral and financial statistics of the country.

The increase in the funded debt, since the year 1793, was no less than three hundred and sixty millions and a-half, the total amount of the national debt being (midsummer 1802) 622,593,554*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, exclusive of 15,580,000*l.* floating debt.

The increasing amount of perpetual taxation on the people, resulting naturally from such unwarrantable profligacy, seems to have been a subject beneath the legislature of those days: borrowing and spending, to borrow and spend again, without being restrained by the necessity of cash payments, was then for their insatiable minds an inexhaustible source of wealth and power.

Arrogance and aristocratic pride towards the enemy were mistaken for patriotism and loyalty,—peace with France was deemed neither safe nor honourable,—warlike measures were continued, and, for the purpose of fomenting a national war spirit, most of the presses of the kingdom were employed by the agents of ministers in printing libels against Buonaparte; thousands of the most absurd tales and incredible anecdotes were, in consequence, disseminated during several years, which fully answered the intent purposed by government.

(To be continued.)

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"To marry or not to marry" is a goodly parody; but we are afraid of handling such subjects. We cannot discourage marriage.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 29.

SINCE last week a new subject of excitement has presented itself, in the trial and condemnation of six agricultural unionists, for the alleged crime of administering an illegal oath. The 37 George III. has been

perverted, for the purpose of persecuting these men as a warning to others, no doubt, with the intent of putting a stop to the great national combination of the working classes. But the Whigs may just as well attempt to drink the Thames dry, as to stop the everlasting resources of labour. Whether they construe the law correctly or incorrectly, it matters not: if correctly, the law is unjust; and if incorrectly, then they are unjust; and what is the difference to us? But it is very evident that they are more desirous to put an unmerciful, than a merciful construction upon the law; for it is by no means so definite and intelligible as to render it possible even for a lawyer to determine how far the law will permit him to go. The 37 George III. cap. 70, was made to prevent mutiny amongst soldiers and sailors; and in cap. 123, "It is enacted that whoever shall administer, or cause to be administered, or shall be present at and consenting to the administering of, or shall take, any oath or engagement intended to bind any person to any mutinous or seditious purpose, or to belong to any seditious society or confederacy, or to obey any committee, or any person not having legal authority for that purpose, or not to give evidence against any confederate or other person, or not to discover any unlawful combination or any illegal act or any illegal oath or engagement, shall be guilty of felony, and may be transported for seven years."

Compare this with the 6 George IV. c. 120, which permits any persons "to meet together for the sole purpose of consulting upon and determining the rate of wages or prices, or the hours of time for which they shall work, and to enter into any agreement, verbal or written, among themselves for the purpose of fixing the rate of wages or prices, or the hours of time, for which they shall work;" and it is evident that the objects of the Union (see the regulations in another page) are perfectly legal; and the whole question turns upon the authority of the individuals to administer the oath. The oath itself is legal, inasmuch as it is not seditious and mutinous; and the secrecy is not more illegal than the secrecy of tradesmen and apprentices in different departments of industry, who are bound by oath to keep the secrets of their master. Why should the master have legal authority to bind an apprentice to keep his secrets, yet the workmen themselves must have no secrets? But the individuals who administered the oath were not legally entitled to do so; they were not magistrates. Here is all the evil; these poor agriculturists are to be torn from their wives and families for ever, merely for acting the part of "justices of the peace," and that, too, in the most peaceful and innocent manner.

But the united voices of a nation, we hope, will deliver them, or consign the present arbitrary system of government to everlasting execration. The event is highly important in every respect. It cannot fail to be productive of public good. It has awakened the slumbering listlessness of many, and called with a loud and imperious voice for an investigation of the popular claims. That voice cannot fail to be heard, and speedily answered, for now it is becoming too powerful to wait long for a reply. This trial, we trust, will also have the effect of refining or removing much of the foolish ceremonial which consecrates the members of the Unions. The oath, especially, is objectionable. It is immoral, highly immoral. An oath is required only from those who are supposed to be so inconstant or unfaithful as not to be trusted upon a bare declaration or promise. It presumes that you are a liar; that your word is of no value; and that only the fear of hell-fire, the devil and his angels, can sufficiently overawe you, so as to preserve your fidelity. This makes an artificial distinction between a promise and an oath, which renders the former in some respects nugatory, because it gives it only a secondary importance. A promise ought to be held sacred, equally sacred as an oath; and this can never be done until oaths are abolished. Jesus Christ taught the true and perfect doctrine of morality when he said, "Swear not at all; but let your communications be YEA, YEA, and NAY, NAY; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." But Jesus Christ has made no disciples hitherto—his morals are too good even for Quakers to imitate. The oath should be for ever abandoned; and if any promise be required, let it be given in this form—"I pledge my word, which I consider more binding than any oath."

By this method we shall escape from the talons of the law in a quiet and honourable manner. It is better to escape than to resist; more especially when, by resistance, we gain nothing but an immoral victory, a victory which entitles us to continue a barbarous practice, which must soon fly before the intelligence and morality of the age. Let us make the Unions as unobjectionable as possible, so that our enemies may not have a single handle to use against us. It is better to work our way in like a screw, than to go bolt in like a nail; for the screw, when drawn, draws out the cork along with it; but the nail has no hold. Yet the lives or liberties of our brethren are vital points; these we must defend to the last; and we hope we shall raise such a clamour in England, as shall either immediately liberate the six victims at Dorchester, or make the oligarchy tremble at their approaching fate.

THE DORCHESTER CONVICTS.

A Grand Meeting of the Working-classes, to consult upon the best means of effecting the liberation of those victims of legislative infatuation, who have been condemned, at the Dorchester Assizes, to seven years' transportation for administering the oath of the Unions, took place at the Institution, Charlotte-street, on Monday last; Dr. Wade in the chair.

The Rev. Doctor expressed, in the most determined, and at the same time loyal manner, his disapprobation of the violent proceedings of his Majesty's ministers and judges against the combination of the working-classes. He stated that it was his opinion that the poor had as much right to associate together, and to form laws for their own protection and the promotion of their own interest, as had the rich; and even supposing the law of the land was just which prohibited such industrious associations, still there was such ambiguity, such a want of accuracy in defining it, that it was not possible for plain men to understand it, since lawyers themselves had very opposite opinions respecting it. This law, which was wielded against the six unfortunate men of Dorchester, was a law which was framed for soldiers, and sailors, and mutineers; but it appears, from the decision of the judge, that the law is capable of being stretched to any extent; it is like a net, which may be cast over all the land, and involve in its meshes any individual who may be obnoxious to the party in power; or, like shoemakers' leather, it may be stretched out to any extent.

The policy of the government, the Doctor observed, was, in this case, as in almost every other interference with the liberties of the people, extremely faulty. If ministers want to prevent confusion in the country, instead of providing transportation for the unfortunate poor, they ought to provide measures for securing the full support of the people. Let them remove the burthens of the nation; let them listen to the cries of distress, which assail them on every side; let them take the burthen from off the backs of the industrious, and lay it upon the broad shoulders of the rich; let them, in fine, impose a property-tax, and not persist in this foolish scheme of extorting by violence from the pockets of the labourers those extravagant supplies which are deemed necessary to enable them to preserve their power and govern the population of the country. The people have a right to all they demand—food, health, recreation, and education; and, if these are not freely granted them, the Trades' Unions will lead the great question of the rights of industry, and, by their importunity, and the power of their union, force the question upon parliament for discussion, or give vent to a flood of discontentment and indignation. Justice must be administered; the people will not be content with the present system of iniquity.

We are obliged to dispense with much of the humour and pathos of the rev. gentleman's opening address, which was received with immense cheering.

Mr. Owen then appeared, to move the first resolution.

He held in his hand an official document, to which were appended the names of some of the most respectable individuals in the country, which demonstrated that a great proportion of the population of this country had been living for a long time past upon 2½d. per day. These

men were men of industry, the men who produced all the wealth of the country, without whose labours the aristocracy would be mere paupers. On the other hand, there were individuals in this country, who themselves had never worked; nor had their forefathers for many generations worked. Men, who neither produced wealth nor knowledge; yet who were in the yearly receipt of 100,000*l.*, and some 300,000*l.* These latter individuals have combined to promote their own interests, and their union is not only accounted legal, but it is the grand source from which legality proceeds. Now, if the working classes are not also legally entitled to combine for their individual advantage, they are in a worse condition than any species of slaves in this or any other age. Your meeting to-day, however, convinces me that the day of your redemption is near at hand; you have now discovered the great strength of the principle of union, that your chief hope of deliverance depends upon your combination and mutual co-operation. We are here to-day to create a new right for those who make all the wealth.

You have heard of the three estates of king, lords, and commons. We must either have a share in this third estate, or this day we shall create a fourth estate for ourselves. (Immense and long-continued cheering.) And this fourth estate, either united to or separated from the other three, will be the most powerful of the whole. For how can the other three be supported without you?—how can they provide themselves with power?—how can the armies be fed, be clothed, or provided with ammunition and armour, without you? But we shall strengthen ourselves without such offensive weapons, which are only requisite for an unjust cause; we must unite, and that without any respect to sect, party, country, or colour.

Mr. Owen also spoke of the necessity of diminishing hours of labour; eight hours are accounted by our legislature sufficient for the black slaves of our colonies; and why should more be exacted of the freemen of Britain?

There are two great objects to be accomplished, he observed, and these would be accomplished by the Trades' Unions.

1. Every industrious individual must be employed; 2. All must receive a good education, and be provided with the means of improving their minds.

These two objects must be accomplished by the trades, or they are not fit for the task of legislating for themselves.

Above all, he said, a spirit of unity must prevail; all dissension and causes of dissension must be avoided. The man who sows division amongst the Unions, is their greatest enemy.

Mr. Owen then moved the first resolution:

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the late law proceedings at Dorchester, relative to the trial and sentence of the six individuals, members of the Trades' Union, appear of a character not to be defended upon any principles of common justice; but to be cruel and severe against plain, honest, industrious men, whose proceedings both judge and jury seem to have totally misconceived."

Mr. Savage, after several spirited observations, said he held in his hand a letter from Dorchester, which he would read, of which we give the following extract from the *True Sun*:

"This is a complete government scheme, to victimise a few innocent and persevering men, as examples to others, in order to crush the Unions in the bud. On Sunday, care was

taken to ascertain the minds of men who were favourable or unfavourable to the cause; and on Monday a jury was selected, as also the two men who are believed to have acted as tools for the magistrates, by coming forward to be initiated, in order to make discoveries to act as witnesses. Such a thing was never before heard in a court. They could not remember two words of their former depositions. The judge connected their broken sentences together, and made out something like the obligation of an oath. The jury returned a verdict of guilty. The counsel interfered, and objected to the verdict, on the ground that a case had not been made out, and intimated his intention of taking the sense of the twelve judges on the subject. But on making application to Mr. Frampton (the magistrate) for the necessary papers he replied, that he did not feel at liberty to give them up, as he had had some communications with Lord Melbourne on the subject.

The sentence of transportation for the term of seven years was then pronounced; thus taking advantage of a law intended for rebels, and applying it to the case of innocent men, solely with a view to enable an unjust government to crush union. Good character amounted to nothing, so determined were they to punish for example."

The letter gave great credit to the prisoners' counsel, and the conduct of the prisoners themselves, into whose character Mr. Savage said he had made diligent inquiry, of which the following was the result: They were all natives of Toll-puttle. George Loveless was 40 years old—a labourer, working for 7*s.* a-week, with a wife and three children, the oldest nine years old, and the youngest seven; James Loveless, aged 36, also a labourer, at 7*s.* a-week, with a wife and one, or (perhaps now) two children. These men were both born in the village of Toll-puttle, where they lived with unblemished characters up to the day of their arrest; Thomas Stanfield, 45 years old, born also at Toll-puttle, earning 7*s.* a-week, with a family of eight children, of whom seven were at home. His son John Stanfield, 20 years old, earning 5*s.* a-week; James Brine, 20 years old, also born at Toll-puttle; James Hammet, 50 years old, having six children, all born in Toll-puttle. Now, those six men were all sober, steady men—living from their birth in the village where they were born—and not one crime had ever been alleged against one of them. These were the men marked out for transportation! They were all Dissenters upon principle; four of them were Methodists, and strict members of the congregation—which, perhaps, was the cause of their being singled out. For, if they had not been men of such exemplary character, their joining a Union would not have given so much alarm. Had they been men of dissolute habits and covered with vice, the oppressors of the people would have seen nothing to dread in their example. The alleged offence was the taking of an unlawful oath. Now, for his part, he had an objection to oath-taking. He thought oaths useless, for the good man needed no such bond to keep him to his word and engagement, and the wicked man would not regard the obligation. He called on the meeting to stand fast in the liberty which they were in the way of obtaining; and to give their enemies no opportunity of throwing reproach upon their conduct. If there was any man in that large assembly who felt the poor-rates to be an oppressive burthen, let him encourage

Trades' Unions, which, by securing for the labourer a fair remuneration, would remove pauperism. And it was in that view of the question that he, as a vestryman of Marylebone, felt that he was consulting the interests of his constituents when he supported the Unions. He concluded by exhorting the meeting not to cease in their exertions, until they obtained a remission of the sentence on the men of Dorchester.

Mr. Cleave proposed, as an amendment, the substitution of the word "misconstrued," instead of "misconceived."

Mr. Dwyer opposed the amendment, because it cast a reflection upon the judge; and since it was the object of the meeting to interpose between his majesty and his majesty's executors, it was as well for them to express themselves within the law, as beyond it.

Mr. Duffay also opposed the amendment, and said it would be better to inquire how far the parties condemned were aware that they were offending against the law. He would implore the legislature to consider whether it would not be better for them to retrace their steps, than to irritate still further the already exasperated feelings of the greatest proportion of the people, who were kept in such thralldom and ignorance, that they never knew the law until they broke it, and felt the punishment.

Mr. Cleave withdrew his amendment, and the resolution was carried.

Mr. Carpenter came forward to move the second resolution. He felt, with those who had before addressed the meeting, that good results would follow from the passing of this sentence; he said the passing of it, for it could not, it must not, be carried into effect. They might depend upon it, that when all the circumstances of this conviction were brought to light, it would be found that the whole proceeding was intended to strike terror into the hearts of the industrious classes, and to stay the progress of that change in the state of society which they were on the eve of effecting. But he believed that nothing could more effectually advance the cause of the industrious classes than this atrocious act. Mr. Owen had said the meeting that the House of Commons was ignorant of the causes of the distress of the working classes. But he (Mr. Carpenter) would say further, that the House of Commons was either ignorant, or pretended to be ignorant, that any distress existed. The reports of the speeches and conversations in the house—the reports of the committees of the house—all expressed an opinion that the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country were flourishing, and that the men who were employed on wages, in manufactures, were never in a more prosperous condition than at present. He was, therefore, satisfied that it was only by taking their affairs into their own hands, quietly, peaceably, and deliberately, (and then alone, wisely,) that the working classes could ever be raised from the degradation and poverty in which so many of them were now sunk. But suppose that the members of the House of Commons were not ignorant that a large portion of the people had no more than 2½d. per day each, for food, raiment, shelter, and fire, was there any reason to suppose that they would alter that wretched state of things? He believed that there was not; for a committee of that house had, after the examination of a very large number of the most intelligent and best informed men, come to the conclusion, that the agricultural interest

was almost in a state of bankruptcy, and that every thing connected with it was in the worst state imaginable. But what then? What would the meeting suppose was the remedy which they recommended? They actually stated in their report, that the wisest thing that could be done was to cease to attempt doing any thing at all. The meeting knew what the government of France was now about to do with the Unions, and associations of every description. That government was indebted to the Parisian press for its existence; and what was it now doing in reference to the paper which, above all others, contributed to put the present king upon the throne? That paper was the *National*; and it had been prosecuted ninety-six times, because it had contained matter personally offensive to the king. And what was that government doing in reference to the Trades' Unions, which were flourishing in France, as well as in England? In republican France, the republican government of Louis Philippe had obtained a law for proscribing all meetings. His predecessor had proscribed all meetings of more than twenty persons; but the new law rendered it impossible, as it was in Ireland, for three or four men to meet at a breakfast table, to discuss any thing connected with their political condition. His firm belief was, that when the law should have passed in that country, where it might be supposed the experiment would be made with more peril than in England, our government would try it here. The resolution which he proposed was—

"That this meeting therefore petition both houses of parliament for an address to the king, praying his majesty to remit the punishment of these men, and also to appoint a committee to investigate fully the principles and objects of the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland."

Mr. Abraham seconded the resolution because it concerned him, and them, and all the working-men of England. He came forward to call on the meeting not only to petition, but to do something else if it should be necessary. If the petition should not have the desired effect, then it would be high time to look for some other remedy. It appeared to him that Baron Williams wanted to give himself plenty of work. What would be the consequence if those men should be transported? Would not the children (unless they were supported by their fellow-labourers of the Unions) turn out thieves and rogues? And in less than seven years, would not Baron Williams, when he went to Dorchester, have to transport them after their fathers? He would not, however, recommend that they should have recourse to physical force for redress; but they could say to the different branches of the legislature, "We will no longer work for you, neither will we prevent you from working for yourselves." If the address to the king should not succeed, then they must hold a parliament of their own. The delegates from the different lodges should meet and devise the means of doing justice to themselves without injury to any one.

Mr. Morrison supported the resolution. He recommended that, if the address should not be effective, the whole of the working people should take a week's holiday, and go to the gates of the palace. They would then see what the effect would be of showing to his majesty that the transportation of six of their body had so affected the feelings of one million of his subjects (for that was the number

of the Trades' Union) that they could not pursue their usual avocations. He also recommended an abolition of the oath and all the secrecy of the lodges. They were now in a condition which enabled them to take a bold stand, and frankly to avow their purpose.

The question having been put, Mr. Adams opposed that part of it which related to a parliamentary inquiry.

After a protracted discussion, the resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority, not more than seven hands being held up against it.

On the motion of Mr. Owen, the following petition was adopted:—

"The petition of the friends of the productive classes, and especially of the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland,

"Sheweth, That your petitioners have deeply reflected upon the trial and sentence of the six members of the Trades' Union, as stated in the public newspapers to have taken place last week in Dorchester, and your petitioners are convinced the whole proceedings have been either unadvised; or, if advised, that the parties advising have not had the information before them relative to the principles and objects of the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland. That, in consequence, your petitioners request that your honourable House will address his Majesty, praying his Majesty to be pleased to suspend the execution of the sentence, and all further measures against the six members of the Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers, and against all Trades' Unions, until the information shall be given to your honourable house, to enable it to have this most important of all subjects before it.

"That, for this purpose your petitioners request your honourable house to appoint a committee, of such of its members as are the most likely to come unprejudiced to the subject, to examine fully and fairly the principles and objects of the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and report thereon; that your honourable House, the country, and the world, may know that their proceedings are not only strictly just, but most praiseworthy; and that they offer the only means to prevent anarchy, confusion, plunder, and murder throughout these realms; and that your petitioners deem this apparent untoward event a providential occurrence to the producers and non-producers of wealth and knowledge, placing them in such a position as will enable both parties to acquire an accurate knowledge of those great national measures, which are the best calculated to insure their permanent interests.

"That your petitioners are most desirous that their petition may be granted in the spirit in which it is asked, that a permanent good understanding may be speedily established between the great leading parties of the state, comprising the landed, monied, and industrial interests; your petitioners being convinced that, by proper measures being now adopted by the government and the legislature, a friendly union of these three interests may now be formed, highly beneficial to each of these parties. And your petitioners shall for ever pray.

The following resolution was then passed—
"That this meeting recommend to all the Trades' Unions in the kingdom to follow the same course which has been adopted by the meeting."

Several other gentlemen, delegates from different Unions, addressed the meeting.

Three cheers were then given, heartily, for Dr. Wade, at the suggestion of Mr. Owen.

Three hearty cheers were also given for the *True Sun*, and three more for the unstamped press, upon the motion of Dr. Wade; after which the meeting was adjourned to Saturday next, at eight o'clock.

The petition was presented, on Tuesday, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Cobbett, and supported by Mr. O'Connell. Ordered to lie on the table.

GENERAL LAWS OF THE AGRICULTURAL UNION.

1. That this society be called the Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers.

2. That there be appointed a general or grand committee of management, not less than seven, and to that body shall be confided the affairs of the whole order, and nothing shall be legal or binding which does not proceed from them, or receive their sanction. One of the committee to be appointed corresponding secretary; one half of the committee to be elected every three months.

3. That the grand lodge shall be held at Toll-puddle.

4. That there shall be a lodge appointed in every parish, and a local committee, in order to assure regularity in the payment of allowances to families who may be standing out, and to prevent any kind of disappointment, to act under the general committee.

5. That at their grand lodge all remittances shall be made of all money and contributions, after deducting the necessary expenses of each lodge. And a return of the names of the members from all lodges in the different parishes once a quarter, on the first lodge night in January, April, July, and October; and in case of emergency, the managing committee shall have the power to require the remittances to be made monthly, weekly, or as they think proper or necessary.

6. That the contributions be fixed at one penny per week; but in case of any emergency, the committee shall have the power to raise them to any amount they think necessary to meet the emergency of the case.

7. That the contribution be paid up and the books be cleared off once a month; and any member neglecting to do so shall be subject to a fine of threepence.

8. That if any member neglects to pay up his contribution, and so incur the fine according to the last law, and shall further neglect to clear off his book on the following lodge night, then, before the lodge closes, the secretary shall inquire whether such person or member be in the lodge, if if not, whether any person present will pay him; and if none answer for him, the secretary shall give notice of the same to the committee, that they may take such steps as they may think proper.

9. That no member shall be required to pay contributions during the time he may be sick or of employ.

10. That every person, on his initiation into order, shall pay 1s. as entrance money.

1. That in all lodges there shall be a president, president, secretary, treasurer, conductor, den, outside and inside guardian.

2. That the officers of all lodges be elected at end of every quarter, and take their respective oaths on the next lodge night after the election.

3. The General or Grand Committee of Management shall be elected from five of the local committees—viz., three at the place of the grand lodge, the president, vice-president, and secretary; and one from each of the four parishes next to the grand lodge.

14. That all lodges be opened once a fortnight, for the transaction of business.

15. That there shall be one pass-word into all lodges after this order, to be changed, once a quarter, and to proceed from the grand lodge.

16. That no obscenity shall be tolerated in either songs or toasts, and that no political or religious subjects be introduced during lodge hours.

17. That these laws be read in all lodges every lodge night, at such time as the president shall think fit.

18. That if any lodge be guilty of any irregularity or transgression of the general laws, or any dereliction of duty, the grand lodge shall have the power to dissolve the same, or to inflict such penalty as shall appear to it sufficient to satisfy justice.

19. That no place shall turn out for an advance of wages without the consent of the grand lodge.

20. That if any master attempts to reduce the wages of his workmen, if they are members of this order, they shall instantly communicate the same to the corresponding secretary, in order that they may receive the support of the grand lodge; and in the mean time they shall use their utmost endeavours to finish the work they have in hand, if any, and shall assist each other so that they may all leave the place together, and with as much promptitude as possible.

21. That if any member of this society renders himself obnoxious to his employer solely on account of taking an active part in the affairs of this order, and if guilty of no violation or insult to his master, and shall be discharged from his employment solely in consequence thereof, either before or after the turn out, then the whole body of men at that place shall instantly leave the place, and no member of this society shall be allowed to take work at that place until such member be reinstated in his situation.

22. That if any member of this order shall divulge any of the secrets or violate the obligations of the same, his name and a description of his person and crime shall immediately be communicated to all lodges throughout the county; and if such person gets work at any place where a lodge is established, or where men belonging to this order are working, they shall decline to work with such an individual, and instantly leave the place, and shall receive the support of the grand lodge as if they were turned out against the reduction of wages.

23. That the object of this society can never be promoted by any act or acts of violence; but, on the contrary, all such proceedings must tend to injure the cause and destroy the society itself. This order, therefore, will not countenance any violation of the laws.

24. That any by-laws which any lodge may make for its own internal government shall not set aside, or in any way invalidate, these general laws of this order.

BY LAWS.

1. That this lodge shall be opened from March the 21st to September the 21st, at half-past eight o'clock, and from September 21st to March 21st, at seven o'clock, all officers to attend, find a substitute, or be fined threepence.

2. That previous to the opening of the lodge, the warden shall go round and ascertain if any improper person be present.

3. That the outside and inside guardian shall admit no member without the pass-word, nor any member who may be intoxicated.

4. That as soon as a member enters the lodge he must give the inward sign, and attend the secretary if he intends to pay that night.

5. That if any member disobey the President after being twice called to order, he shall be rejected from the lodge that night.

6. That no member be allowed to smoke, or go in or out of the lodge during the making of a member.

7. That no member be allowed to eat, read, sleep, swear, bet wagers, or use any obscene language during lodge hours.

8. That if any member divulge the name of any brother who votes for or against any candidate for any office in the lodge, he shall be fined the sum of sixpence.

9. That the word "brother" shall be used only during lodge hours.

10. That a committee, to consist of five persons, be chosen at the end of every quarter, which, together with the secretary, president, and treasurer of the lodge, shall inspect the books, and add up the accounts, and make a report of the state of the fund on the following lodge night.

11. That a box of three keys shall be kept wherein shall be deposited the cash, books, regalia, &c., of the lodge. The keys to be kept by the president, vice-president, and warden.

12. That when any member has to make any observation at the lodge, he shall be upstanding, and address first the president and then brethren all, and no other brother shall be allowed to speak until he has finished his observations.

UNION FUNERAL.

Nothing is calculated to give more exalted feelings, both to the minds of relatives and spectators, than to witness a respectable and numerous attendance at the last rites of a deceased brother. Notice was given on Saturday morning, the 1st inst., to the officers of the Lincolns Operatives' Union in Barnsley, that a brother had a day or two before been called to his last home, and that his friends wished him to be taken to his mother earth by his much-esteemed friends in union. The hint was taken, and in the evening it was in lodge proclaimed that all that could were to attend the funeral. They all agreed without dissent; and instantly ribbons were sent for, till scarcely a yard was to be procured in the town suitable for the purpose of making a rosette. Next morning (Sunday) was ushered in with all the charms of nature for the season, and seemed to say in town, we were behind in time a month. But suddenly the clouds gathered and lowered, the sun withdrew its splendid beams, and rain was threatened all around; every vestige of the rich gilt sky disappeared. This change took place from eight till nine o'clock, which was the time each lodge was called to be in attendance; and as by a wish they did appear at the place from whence the corpse was to be removed, headed by their several respective officers. The men then cast off right and left, leaving space for the procession to move through the centre. When all the officers had taken their several appointed positions, and the time arrived to lift the corpse, which was about twenty minutes after nine, the sun, as if anxious to witness such a scene, burst forth with all its powerful effulgence, dispersed the watery clouds, and added tenfold brilliancy to all around. The procession began to move with a slow, but steady pace, led first by a band of music, followed by two mutes; next to them were the principal officers, with black sashes, and black and white rosettes on the left breast; after them two supporters, with white rods and crape, followed by members of the choir from different places of public worship, four a breast, who sang an appropriate hymn. Next came the body, carried by three officers on each side, with white gowns; the pall was also borne by three on each side, attired in the same manner, with two reliefs of officers, one on each side, all in white. After the body fell

lowed the mourners, supported by brothers right and left. Next came the two principal officers of the deceased's lodge, supported by a brother on each side, with the secretary immediately behind, carrying the Bible on a black velvet cushion, and supported on each side by two officers carrying white rods and black crape, followed by the members of their own lodge four deep, wearing black and white rosettes on the left breast; behind came the several respective lodges in succession, all wearing white rosettes, headed by two officers with white rods and black crape. By the time the rear had fallen into their ranks, the head of the procession had gone upwards of one-fourth of a mile. After the first hymn was sung, the band played with a solemn tune, and when done, another hymn was gone through; and so on alternately, till the procession had reached the church. How elated did every spectator appear, and with what amazement did they gaze upon the whole movement! every window that could command a view was crowded; the tops of houses, where they could be conveniently gained, were clad with spectators. The steeple of the church was also beset with men and boys, eager to snatch a glance at the imposing scene. The chime commenced as soon as the corpse, with the mourners and the deceased's own lodge, had got into the church; the other lodges formed themselves round the sacred edifice, facing the walls, till the service was done inside, which, when over, the body was moved to the burial-ground in the same order as above described. By this time the grave was surrounded, and every eminence that could be gained was clad with spectators, eager to witness the last duties of the Union to a deceased brother. After the burial service was gone through, and the minister had retired, the secretary read the 133rd psalm, and then gave out an appropriate "Lodge verse," beginning with "Hail, universal Lord!" air, God save the King! and it was sung as if ten thousand voices had joined in chorus. After the verse was gone through, the procession then moved back, split on each side the grave, and each brother, in passing, deposited a sprig of laurel therein: before this ceremony was gone through, the coffin was literally covered with it. The procession, which was about 1500 (with 3000 spectators), then moved off, conducted the mourners home, and broke up with the purest order and decorum. What man, that has a rational feeling for himself, his family, and his country, would not be a unionist, and endeavour to live as he ought, and as if he wished all to be surrounded with laurels in life, and when dead to be clad with them! "Yes," some were heard to say, "if this be union, I will be made a member next Saturday night;" and some that had got the name of being black, did promise to become white. What man on earth could wish a nobler funeral? R.

"On Monday, the 3d of March instant, a splendid silver cup, value one hundred guineas, was presented to John Rose, Esq., the highly respected conductor of the Coalport China Manufactory, by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, in testimony of their admiration of his spirited resistance to the dictates of the 'Potters' Union,' under whose mandate about one-half of his workmen have for the last four months continued to abstain from their employment, without, however, the least probability of obtaining the ends proposed by

them. An entertainment was at the same time given to the whole of the persons now in employ at the manufactory." — *Birmingham Journal*.

[The cup was rather too hastily presented, if they meant it as the expression of their gratitude for the success which they had purchased through the valuable services of Mr. Rose, for this success has not yet been experienced; but the impatience of Mr. Rose to possess the cup, as well as that of the inhabitants to have some demonstration of the triumph inserted in the public papers, has, no doubt, been the cause of this barbarous ceremony, a ceremony which must be degrading to every honourable mind, inasmuch as it conveys the idea of meretricious services. There is something heartless and cruel in the whole circumstance. It is the exultation of pampered idleness, over starving poverty; but we are glad to say that the exultation is premature, and we believe that the joy of these nabobs will soon be converted into lamentation and howling, "for Competition, their favourite child, is dying of a consumption."]]

A TASTE FOR THE MARVELLOUS.

"The largest impressions of any single book were those of Moore's Almanack; a proof of the prevalence of superstition. For many years during the late wars, when political excitement was excessive, the Stationers' Company sold from 430,000 to 460,000 copies per annum of Moore's Astrological Propheying Almanack. About fifty years since, the Company resolved no longer to administer to this gross credulity, and for two or three years omitted the predictions, when the sale fell off one half; while a prognosticator, one Wright, of Eaton, near Woolstrop, published another, and sold 60 or 60,000. To save their property, the Company engaged one Andrews, of Royston, also a native of Woolstrop, to predict for them, and their sale rose again as above. The Company have three or four Propheying Almanacks, and three or four of a rational or scientific character—but the sale of the former is to that of the latter as twenty to one." — Sir R. PHILLIPS.

AN EXAMPLE FOR THE WHITES.—The Grand Council of Berne, in its sitting of February 28, abolished all the stamp duties on the journals, and every other species of periodical publications; and further decreed, that such journals and writings should be conveyed by the post throughout the Canton without any charge whatever for postage.

MYSTERY.—Were we not somewhat better acquainted with the secret machinery of government than we were a few years ago, we should have thought it impossible for the ingenuity, even of a minister, to make so simple an affair (speaking of the Irish Tithe Bill) so complicated. But this is a device constantly resorted to for the purpose of appearing very profound, scrupulously just, and perfect master of the subject, by affecting to see clearly what no person can even understand. If a speech be full of difficulties and unintelligibilities, it is sure to be pronounced a masterly piece of financial skill; because persons are unwilling to confess that they cannot understand it; and praise can be bestowed without knowledge, while criticism requires at least investigation. It reminds us of the story told of an old, and no doubt very pious lady, in Scotland, who

returning from hearing some very powerful preacher, whose great charm lay in the obliqueness of his words, and the involved and intricate construction of his sentences, was pouring out her admiration on all sides; when being asked whether she understood the drift of his discourse, she frankly said: "Oh dear, no; it was far too sublime for such poor simple bodies as myself to understand; I don't pretend to that; but I admire it the more, because it was so truly divine as to surpass all human understanding." — *Parliamentary Review*.

To the Secretary of the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Charlotte-street.

SIR,—By the request of our committee, I take this opportunity of forwarding to you, and every person engaged at the period of our late benefit, a sincere and unanimous vote of thanks; assuring you, that the arrangements of every description met with their decided approbation; and that, in consequence of your excellent arrangements, we shall have the gratification, in about three or four weeks, of again availing ourselves of your agreeable accommodation.—With respect, your humble servant,

BENJAMIN WEST, Sec.

Universal Philanthropist, Sir Isaac Newton, York-street.

We are sorry we are obliged, for want of space, to postpone the report of last Thursday week's meeting at the Institution.

Mr. Detrozier will Lecture at the Institution, Charlotte-street, on Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock.

WORCESTER UNION GLOVES

Are on sale at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street; and at the Crisis Office.

THE EASTER SOCIAL FESTIVALS of the Association of Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, on Monday Evening next, the 31st instant; on Friday, April 4; and on Monday, April 7.

Tickets of Admission, including Tea and Coffee, 1s. 6d., or 1s. and 1-hour notes each. Doors to be opened at Seven, and the Concert to commence at Eight precisely.

The Dancing will commence at Half-past Nine, and continue uninterrupted till One o'clock; Quadrille, Spanish, Medley, and Contré Dance alternating.

ST. SIMONISM.

This Day is published,

NEW CHRISTIANITY, by HENRI DE ST. SIMON. Translated from the French by the Rev. J. E. SMITH. Embellished with a coloured Engraving of the St. Simonian Female Costume.

B. D. COUSINS, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn. Of whom may be had, just published, A SERMON, by the Rev. G. KENDRICK, A.M., of Angel-street Chapel, Worcester, on the doctrine of ROBERT OWEN, &c.; to which is appended a REPLY, by the Rev. J. E. SMITH, A.M., of London. Price 1s.

This Day is published, price One Penny. **THE CHARTER of the RIGHTS of HUMANITY of the PRODUCTIVE CLASSES.** Passed at a great Public Meeting of the Producers of Wealth and Knowledge, held in the Metropolitan on 12th Feb., 1834.

Published for the Social Missionary Union by

B. D. COUSINS,

Of whom may be had,

A few complete Copies of the **PIONEER**, a Trades' Union Magazine.

Printed and published by B. D. COUSINS, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn-fields; and at 378, Strand



NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION AND EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

TO ROBERT OWEN, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,—Since my arrival at this place, my time and thoughts have been so entirely occupied with unexpected events, that, though I have not forgotten the wish you expressed to hear of our friends, I have not till to-day felt at liberty to send you a proof of either my good memory or goodwill. You will recollect that we could not tell why no tidings from hence had lately been received; but the cause was painfully evident to me upon landing, as I found a most distressing epidemic prevailing almost universally through this lovely island; and so terrible are its effects upon the inhabitants, that, had it not been for a very strong desire and expectation of being useful, I know not that I should have prolonged my stay a single week. Great alarm was, two years ago, excited in our country by the appearance of the cholera; but fatal as that proved in many instances, the results are weak when compared with the consequences that invariably and inevitably follow an attack of this, to me, novel disease. The former destroys at once, the latter spares life, but lays waste all that renders life desirable; it undermines the intellectual powers, weakens or distorts the moral perceptions, confounds the ideas of truth and falsehood, induces a callous indifference to general advantage, and renders a blind and ignorant selfishness the spring of all actions. It is called *COMPETITION*; and though I shall certainly fail to convey to you any adequate idea of its widely-spread ravages, a few particular cases may faintly portray the ruin it has caused. I hastened to visit my excellent friend, Mr. Honesty, who used to take so active a part in all commercial transactions, but found that, though as active and willing as ever, he has been induced to believe that his voice is affected by this strange disorder, for he can never succeed now in making himself heard at the public meetings he once so regularly attended. I am, however, of opinion that the cause lies rather in an occasional deafness, which affects most men of business, and which indeed is one symptom of the disease, as I have remarked that many whom I addressed, though professing to agree entirely with me, acted in direct opposition to my suggestions.

Upon inquiring after the Socials, with whom I had promised myself the pleasure of remaining some time, I found that, with the exception of a few members of the family, who are staying with a view to effect some good, they had, by the advice of their medical friend, Dr. Verity, gone to the neighbouring island of "Community," whither he strongly recommends

every one to remove, as he professes himself capable of proving to all who can lend their attention that, from the nature of the soil, situation, &c., it is impossible for this formidable scourge to prevail there. His proposal has, however, been met with open scorn by the infatuated multitude, many of whom declare that there is no disease, and that they never were better; while those who cannot deny that they are ill and suffering, call him a visionary speculator, and ironically ask, whether men are like *Constantia* vines, that a few leagues will completely change their constitution? In fact, some weeks ago they actually forced him by their conduct to quit the city; but so convinced am I that, without his aid, nothing effectual and permanent can be done, that I have written to entreat his immediate return, and my request has been seconded by those parties most likely to influence him.

I need scarcely ask whether you remember my relative, Miss Love, who was so generally admired during her stay in our village; you would hardly expect that here she attracts very little attention from those "lords of the creation" whom ladies govern; when I inquired the reason, she smiled, and said that it must be ascribed to the superior influence of her rival, Miss Money, who, before the prevalence of competition, used to be treated with neglect on account of her quarrelsome temper and worthless reputation; and I laughed most merrily when she added, that this disorder had so affected the sight of all the young men, that they talk of nothing but the beauty of Miss M.; and, above all things, absolutely rave of the delicacy of her complexion, which you once remarked was as yellow as gold. You will now have some idea of the Proteus-like nature of this plague, for not contented with inflicting partial darkness and blindness, with, in most cases, insensibility to danger, or unconsciousness of attack, almost every one has some *mono-mania*, that baffles the prescriptions of the most fashionable physicians. A sad change has also taken place in all the universities. Dr. Fact has been displaced from the general superintendence, and this with so much discourtesy, that I hear he has not since been seen in public. The principal charge is now committed to Professor Vacuo and the Rev. Mr. Cram; both of whom, it is now but too evident, must have been attacked with competition before their appointment, each having manifested several of the most distressing symptoms.

I write from the hospitable mansion of the lively and valuable Mrs. Hope, who

has publicly declared, that she will not quit the place while there is any good to be done, and who, in spite of the pertinacity with which the majority have hitherto rejected all remedy, entertains the most sanguine expectations of ultimate recovery when our good doctor shall arrive. She assumes for her motto *Nil desperandum*, which she resolves not to disgrace.

I had written thus far, when Dr. Verity was announced; I therefore delayed my letter till I could give you some account of his proceedings. He has been engaged every moment since his arrival, till this late hour, in attending to some of the most distressing cases, every one of which he, without hesitation, promises to cure, provided his prescriptions be punctually attended to. His remedy is very easy, though he candidly says he expects that it will be found disagreeable so long as the least taint of the malady may remain; after which, he assures his patients, they will readily take it as the only means of strengthening the constitution and preventing a relapse: it is nothing more than draughts of co-operation, taken frequently during the day; a medicine, the virtues of which have been acknowledged by the most learned physicians in all ages, though perhaps few have attempted to administer it so pure, or to recommend it as so universal a catholicon as Dr. Verity, who, however, in conjunction with it, insists upon a residence in Community Isle as necessary to perfect and secure the remedy. When my merry hostess heard that only the desperately invalided had taken advice, she said that the kindest wish she could utter was, that *all* might speedily be very bad; a wish, the doctor replied, which must be fulfilled; it being the nature of the disease to become progressively worse, unless the only remedy were tried. He takes up his headquarters here during his stay, which he is willing to prolong while he can be useful. He begs me to say every thing friendly from him to you, and to assure you that Mr. Honesty's lungs were as sound as ever, but that the atmosphere of the mercantile assemblies is bad, and the epidemic injurious to all the senses; though, as to the optical nerves of our blind youths, he will soon make them as ready to see beauty in Miss Love, and deformity in her rival, as you are. To-morrow I have promised to accompany him to one of the schools, where the most terrible discord has arisen between the principals respecting the method of instruction; one declaring most vehemently for teaching words, the other *forms*; and already there are antagonist factions, calling themselves

verbalists and formalists. Both plans appear to me the result of delirium, in which opinion I am joined by the doctor; but as my interference has been requested, I shall go and endeavour to convince them of the superior importance of learning the nature of things, and a knowledge of facts. I trust that the expectation of final recovery which the conclusion of my letter warrants you to indulge, will in some measure compensate for the melancholy beginning. I am commissioned to offer kind wishes and affectionate remembrances from all our friends. Farewell! CONCORDIA.

Mrs. Hope insists upon having my letter opened to send you her especial love. "But your husband?" "Nonsense, my dear; do you mistake the man with queer eyes and yellow slippers for Mr. Hope? Pray, do as you are desired."

Iale of ———, March, 1834.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—A writer in a late number of the *Crisis*, signing himself "Justitia," appears to be under some mistake as to the origin of the opinions he cites as coming from "the enlightened women of Paris."

"Justitia" may not be aware that those women who assert their sex's claims to equal justice with men, in the well-written pages of *La Femme Nouvelle*, only echo back opinions similar to those which appeared in the *Crisis* some time back, signed "Concordia," whose letter, addressed to Mr. Owen, reappears, translated into French, in a late number of the *Tribune des Femmes*. Those opinions of "Concordia" were lauded and approved by a large majority of Mr. Owen's disciples, male and female for their just discrimination in female character. Nevertheless, the doctrine of a special legislation for woman and by woman appeared to some (to say the least) not very sound; and as mystery is ever fruitful of conjecture, and as such opinions cut directly against the interests of woman, the letter of "Concordia" has been supposed by some to come from a male pen. Be this the case or not, it is an error to imagine that a perfect knowledge of the female character, such as it has been made by barbarous, or, as they are called, civilized institutions, is worth the attention of a wise and just legislator, who frames a constitution which asserts the equal rights of both sexes.

The distinction between the male and female of the human race has hitherto been impiously and ignorantly defined, according to the good pleasure of barbarous legislators, and to the ruin, demoralization, and confusion of all society. The question is not special, but large and general; one of philosophy and common sense; it resolves itself into this: Can man cease to be the oppressor of his fellow-man, while he holds a legal right, and is trained in accordance with this legal right, to be the tyrant and oppressor of woman? Reason, science, and philosophy answer, no! The despotic inclinations fostered in man by his unjust and cruel laws and vicious education, for the express purpose of being exercised on woman only, will fall indiscriminately on either sex, whenever occasion is favourable, and impulse or inclination is strong.

What magic influence is it that has ever held the many in subjection to the few, and compelled spell-bound man to writhe under the galling yoke of his fellow-man? Is it not the lust of power, the strong propensity in all to

crush and play the tyrant, that has doomed all mankind to slavery? The cunning of the ruling party has been able to stifle the ardent passion of liberty in man's breast, only by administering to one still more imperious of his mere animal nature, the love of domination.

To this appetite (for it has nothing to do with reason or reflection) our barbarous rulers have sacrificed half the human race! Woman was thrown a sop to the chained and howling human curs, who took the bribe, resigned their birth-right, liberty, and became appeased by sharing with their oppressors the privilege of oppressing!! Thus has civilized man proceeded,

"In wretched interchange of wrong for wrong;
"Midst a contentious world, striving where none are strong."

The women of Paris are excusable, in their hasty adoption of erroneous opinions, which the novelty of meeting sympathy from their sex (and on a question of social interest) would naturally hurry them into. Accustomed as women have been to feel, rather than reflect or examine, the slightest semblance of sympathy coming from their own sex must be delightful to beings struggling as they are for the happiness of all, surrounded by enemies in both sexes, their own too frequently, in our present social arrangements, the willing agents and faithful executors of man's systematic cruelty. Besides these, women can have but a very imperfect knowledge of the views and opinions of our great social reformer, whose "science of society" well merits the conjunct epithet of *optimus maximus*.

I hope, with the women of Paris, that our own are advancing; or at least that "Apathy—this last state of reprobate mind"—(long our melancholy condition) is fast yielding to more generous and social affections. "Justitia" is surprised to find any persons "calling themselves adherents of Mr. Owen, putting forward the emancipation of women as a fundamental principle." Such persons may not be very wide of the truth, as relates to the moral regeneration of man, as has been shown above. But the followers of Mr. Owen cannot be accused of this implied heresy! Those who understand the new views of society must be perfectly content with the written law; but as no practical good can take place till the public mind is weeded of its gross errors and abominable prejudices respecting woman; as man cannot be free, but on condition of his ceasing to be a chartered tyrant over the other sex, and maintaining to the utmost of his natural disposition his little domestic inquisition; till his opinions undergo a thorough purifying of the foul pollution, engendered by his present legislative and educational morals—association is a vain term, and all attempts for bettering even their physical condition a delusion. Some, therefore, are of opinion that public instructors should develop the broad principles to be found in articles 19 and 21 of the new code of the human race, that these regenerative principles may not always remain a dead letter, but become a living law in men's hearts; the more necessary, as we have heard lately, from high legislative authority, "that a law may be easily evaded." As to the organ of adhesiveness being more developed in women than in men, there appear no facts to warrant this opinion. Adhesiveness is pretty nearly equal in both, though forced to take different directions; man clings fast to power, wealth, authority, and

self-interest; woman adheres to the slavish prejudices taught her, and to those depressing affections which, meeting no return, recoil upon herself. "What better can woman do," says Justitia, "than take her place in those assemblies in which her own nature, as well as that of man, is to be regulated?" Dunces, they say, cannot learn out of any book but their own. Be it so. But in holding to that which is good, we need not refuse ourselves to further enquiry. The moral, like the physical world, is inexhaustible! Sectarianism of any kind, as all experience shows, leads to stagnation of mind—and bigotry arises from believing that we possess all the truth the world contains! Woman's place in these societies is certainly a concession; and where man is wise enough to feel that she has an equal right with himself—she will find not only her place, but her happiness in joining them. The education of woman is doubtless of primary importance in perfecting social regeneration; but so is that of man. While we remain like buckets in a well, man first and woman after—we have no chance of advancing; man requires to know himself, to renounce his stupid, arrogant assumption of divine authority to render miserable the existence of a being, without whom he could not exist, and, therefore, could not enjoy.

PHILIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

DEAR SIR,—I have translated a few lines from M. Gay to Mr. Stains, which, I think, may be put in the *Crisis* with much advantage to the "New Views of Society." It is pleasant to see that the French only wait for a solid basis on which to erect a new social edifice: Mr. Owen's is indubitably the best, and, honour to the French *national intelligence*, they are prepared for it. The other systems mentioned by M. Gay will lose nothing of their value with an enlightened people: there is good in all of them, if we know how to apply them. This is your doctrine; it is mine. My correspondent, however, adds that, after consulting with the best-informed persons at Paris as to the propriety of Mr. Owen's proceeding to Paris, the late manifestations of the government against popular meetings make it inexpedient for Mr. Owen, at present, to proceed to Paris. Nevertheless, it may be of use to insert the translation I send in the *Crisis*.—With great respect and esteem, I am sincerely yours,

A. D. WHEELER.

March 25.

Extract of a Letter from M. Gay of Paris.

"I feel extremely grateful to Mr. Owen for the obliging things he says to me in his letter, for which I mean to thank him myself in a few days, and to repeat my efforts to induce him to come and establish his doctrines at Paris. His not being a Frenchman, so far from being a disadvantage, will, on the contrary, be the very reverse; Napoleon, for example, was in the same position. It is not necessary that he should speak himself; Fourier, or *Enfantin*, never spoke in public, but were always present to give unity to the efforts of others, and to explain to those who wished to address them some particular points in their doctrines. I have shown to M. ——— what justly merited ridicule is thrown upon Fourier, and how much the equality of rights, so dear to the French, is absent from his doctrine, therefore, how little hope he has of uniting the people. But the partisans of

Fourier will be the very first to unite with Mr. Owen. He will immediately be surrounded by a strong and enlightened party, and from our government no obstacle need be feared from the moment their sanction is applied for. The government have never taken offence at the St. Simonians or the Fourieristes. "Pray, offer my most profound respects to Mr. Owen."

"J. GAY."

THE PUBLIC DEBT.

(Continued from page 252.)

1802. The first and second coalition had failed, however, in reducing the French; on the contrary, at the peace of Amiens, our enemies were left more powerful, more ambitious, more war-like, and by far more dangerous, than we had found them to be at our first and too hasty aggression, ten years before.

That short peace terminated what is usually

called the first revolutionary war, during which the most important measures in our preposterous financial history had been adopted, such as—1. The suspension of cash payments; a greater stretch of power than any single despot would have dared to venture on. 2. A new modification of the mis-called sinking fund; and 3. The levying of an income tax.

Yet the anxiety for more slices in the anticipated loans manifested itself among our *ever loyal* moneyed men. Five hundred persons, who met on the Royal Exchange, (25th June, 1832,) unanimously agreed to support government in its warlike preparations, and a *voluntary subscription* of 150,000*l.* was speedily collected.* Such even was the delusion in those days, that most, if not all, the subscribers, far from suspecting the partial motives of the *faction* to whom they were giving their money, believed conscientiously that they were fostering and strengthening true national interests.

In short, the peace of Amiens lasted hardly

twelve months; war was again declared against France; and, mark here the want of discrimination and the political blundering of our proud and obstinate aristocracy! leading the country from most expensive war of extermination *against republicanism*, into a still more ruinous war (which, by the by, soon became defensive) against military despotism, itself the natural consequence of our intervention in 1793.

Had then the right and number of the borough votes in the Commons been inquired into by the voice of the country, such a waste of national wealth could never have been sanctioned. But no; nothing was altered from the plan of raising money by loans, and of funding on the principle of perpetual taxation, resting upon the supposition of perpetual loyalty, *happen what will*; still harping on faterity upon such terms as our *weak loyal* and ever-ready moneyed men would condescend to allow. Thus, in the five years from 1803 to 1807 the following sums were again borrowed.

Years.	Real amount of Loans.	Amount of nominal Stock created.	Increasing amount of Perpetual Annuities.	Bills passed year for year for Inclosure of Commons.	Highest price of 3 per cent. Stock.	Increasing amount of Poor and Cnty. Rates.	Price of the Quatern Loaf.	Convictions for Forgery Bank notes	Persons com. for crime in each yr.	Persons convicted of crime each year	Amount due by Governmt. to Bank at end of each year
1803	£12,000,000	£19,900,000	£17,728,945	104	71½	£5,348,204	10½d.	8	...	...	£13,635,239
1804	15,500,000	26,390,000	18,925,797	52	57½	5,708,000	13½d.	21	...	...	15,304,439
1805	22,500,000	38,700,000	19,598,306	71	58½	6,069,000	13½d.	24	4605	2860	11,745,339
Ireland	1,500,000	{ 1,713,000 }									
1806	20,000,000	{ 33,200,000 }	20,410,716	76	63½	6,431,000	13½d.	9	4346	2875	14,445,239
1807	14,200,000	21,385,200	20,701,232	91	63½	6,794,000	11d.	40	4446	2700	†18,665,390
Total	£84,700,000	£141,288,200									

The average interest being about *six per cent.* on the capital borrowed.

The amount of stock thus again created, showing a further excess of new stock as compared with the amount borrowed and funded, during the five years from 1793 to 1797, of about twenty-nine millions against the public, and thereby creating another additional annual charge of 1,015,000*l.* over and above *that* which the same amount borrowed (when the Bank paid in cash) would have imposed upon future generations, had it been possible to continue so profligate an expenditure without a paper currency of nominal value; and will the nation consent to be taxed in perpetuity to realise the financial dreams of political maniacs? Where shall we look for national advantages in compensation for such arbitrary restrictions and wasteful expenditure? so where do we see any, but in the temporary support of partial interests and aristocratic ascendancy. From June, 1803 the country was at war against Holland; December, 1804, war against Spain; in 1805 the successive defeat of all our allies by Napoleon; April, 1806, war against Prussia; and finally, war against Russia in November, 1807. Thus in the five years from 1803 to 1807, during which our debt was increased by about one hundred and sixty millions to agitate and arm Europe against Buonaparte, the peace of Presbourg, reconciling France with Austria; the Berlin decree, after the annihilation of Prussia by France; and the peace of Tilsit, uniting France and Russia; had, on the contrary, armed all Europe against us, under the control of a military genius, the wonder of the age, who had obtained the imperial crown in contending against three hundred and sixty millions of our money.

Our repeated efforts, our subsidies abroad to excite and agitate the Continent, our public debt, increased by four hundred and fifty millions

since 1793, all, all, had recoiled as it were against us, by transforming a rising republic, occupied in the violent but necessary reforms of corrupted and venal institutions, into a gigantic empire threatening our own shores;—*Vienna and Berlin* had been captured by Napoleon, whose troops occupied Europe from Rome to Hamburg; and three of his brothers had been elevated to the thrones of *Naples, Holland, and Westphalia*; and all this in consequence of the island of Malta not having been given up to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, according to the treaty of Amiens! Was justice then on our side? If not, was justice reconciled by our bombarding Copenhagen? by capturing the whole Danish fleet? or by sinking and plundering at sea the Spanish galleons? all without any previous declaration of war. *So many acts which bred and nursed up retribution.* No! the cause was not that of the people of England, and, in the true acceptation of the word, will never be remembered as a national cause.

1807. The great, yet far over-rated William Pitt was no more; but the spirit of his eloquence and the blind obstinacy of his master had so saturated the minds of both Houses of Parliament, that of all the administrations that followed *none had the will or power* to abandon the system of interference abroad, nor the prodigal system of expenditure he had established; and although begun with despotism against liberty and anarchy, war was continued against a formidable despotic power with increasing extravagance.

It was proposed in that year (1807) to fix the amount which was to be borrowed for 1808 and 1809, at twelve millions each year; for 1810, at fourteen millions; and for each of the ten ensuing years, at sixteen millions; but still *pledging the taxes of years to come for the interest and supposed sinking fund.* The next year it was proposed to purchase annuities by the transfer of

stock to the sinking fund, thus redeeming stock at the price of the day the transfer was made. This plan passed into a law, and an office was opened for the business connected with it: and the plan was good, for it must be a source of regret and lamentation, that all loans were not made on the plan of *life annuities* only, as then by this time half the debt would probably have died away.

But as ultimately the stock thus transferred to the commissioners of the sinking fund was borrowed from that fund, it was only adding the amount of the life annuities paid to those who made such transfers; it was still tending to drain the specie, and to perpetuate taxation on the people, and *that in a cause without any sound object.* No longer against anarchy and liberalism—not yet (if ever) for legitimacy; but against an increasing power, sprung from the most justifiable resistance to a worse than useless interference and aggression—and we speak in moderate terms.

1807-8. Yet the third and fourth coalitions against France had failed like the first and second. Saxony, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, had made their separate peace. Why not England? Because the church and the aristocracy well knew that, in their own partial combined interests, better spend the last shilling and drain the last drop of blood from the people, *than to allow them time to discriminate their true from their false friends.*

Because the Commons had not yet been able to say to the Peers of the Realm, "we will no longer be your slaves under the name of *representatives of the people*, nor will we any longer merit the reproaches of our countrymen, for squandering their money in support of a public faith, which has been pledged for anti liberal, anti-national and partial motives."

V. C. L.

* Thus began the *financial tyranny* of capitalists, which has been, and still is to this day, the curse of the European people. Before the fund system, the capitalist of Europe had no other resource than to create labour; now, on the contrary, the fundholder's only resource is taxation upon industry, to insure the payment of his dividend; hence all our present difficulties. † Exclusive of the permanent debt 14,686,800*l.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Edmund Langshaw's complaints are just, but we don't think he points out the method of curing the evils. Competitors can never be either upright or social; men will never be different from what they now are till the whole system be changed, and all experiments on a small scale must come to nothing. The change must be simultaneous and national. Vesta next week.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 5.

BIRMINGHAM GRAND MEETING OF THE TRADES' UNIONS.

THE Trades' Unions assembled at Birmingham, on Monday last, on a waste piece of ground in Broad-street, and walked in procession down to Beardsworth's Repository; which not being capacious enough to contain the vast assembly, they walked in procession back to Newhall Hill.

Mr. Douthwaite, grand master of the Bradford Union, took the chair; and the meeting was addressed by Messrs. Hanson, Morrison, and others; amongst whom were delegates from Ireland and Scotland. The resolutions which were passed were strongly condemnatory of the harshness of the sentence which was passed upon the Dorchester Unionists, and one of them expressed a determination to petition his Majesty to dismiss Baron Williams from his service. The petition to both Houses of Parliament in behalf of the six convicts was signed by thousands upon the spot. The utmost propriety and decorum were preserved, and altogether the assembly presented a splendid array of moral power, which must strike terror into the hearts of the advocates of old and corrupt systems.

Mr. Morrison acquainted the meeting with the result of the deputation to Lord Melbourne, which was received with loud acclamations.

DORCHESTER UNIONISTS.

On Saturday evening last, a large public meeting was held at the Institution, Charlotte-street, in behalf of the six unfortunate men; Dr. Wade, in the Chair.

Much spirit was displayed by the different individuals who addressed the meeting; but as the purport of the addresses was much the same as those of the preceding week, we shall only insert the additional information procured by Mr. Savage, respecting the Unionists and their Judges.

Mr. Savage read the following letter, which he had received from the neighbourhood of Dorchester:—

"March 26, 1834.

"I feel happy to furnish you with the particulars that I am now in possession of. I am sorry that I cannot at present furnish you with the names and business of the jurors, they all being strangers to me. I made some inquiries at the time; but all I could learn respecting them was that they were chiefly yeomanry of

the neighbourhood. As to their being packed, it was too evident on the morning of the trial; as to the characters of the prisoners, they are without a stain. One of the principal farmers in the village, on the day that they were committed, observed to me, in the hall at Dorchester, that the two Lovelesses were the last men in the parish that he ever should have believed would have been guilty of wrong. Previous to the trial the minister of the parish (a very worthy gentleman) wrote to the chief magistrate his testimony to the good character of the prisoners. This being treated with disregard, the minister wrote a second testimony to the court at Dorchester, purporting that he had known the prisoners for the last twenty years to be honest, industrious, hard-working men; that he had never known a charge against them but the present. This testimony was handed to Judge Williams, who threw it aside with apparent contempt, observing that he could not attend to it, as it had not been given in sooner. George and James Loveless have been for many years consistent members of the Wesleyan Society, and for sixteen years George has been a useful local preacher, and James eight years propagating the principles of honesty and religion in the Wesleyan connection with much success. In the neighbourhood where they lived numerous signatures can be obtained to corroborate this statement. The character of the witnesses, Legg and Lock, are, I am informed, of the very worst description. The magistrates are acting a most cruel part in the business. The prisoners' wives have repeatedly applied to the parish officers for relief, who have refused to afford them any in any shape whatever, without a magistrate's order. They applied to Mr. Frampton, the magistrate who committed the men; but he not only refuses to give an order, but commands the officers not to give the families relief. Learning this, and hearing the complaints of the poor wives and mothers, on Wednesday, the 19th, being in Dorchester, I wrote a note by a friend to Mr. Wollaston, the chief magistrate, complaining of the severity of Mr. Frampton, and stating the distress of the families of the unfortunate men, who were under sentence of transportation, and begging him to make out an order for their relief. But this was disregarded.

"The poor creatures have repeatedly applied to parish officers since, but with no better success. On Saturday, the 22d, the poor women waited on Mr. Wollaston for an order, but he sternly refused; and wringing his fist in the direction of James Stanfield's wife, said, 'You shall suffer want—you shall have no mercy—because you ought to have known better than to have allowed such meetings to have been holden in your house.' Other magistrates have been applied to, but there appears to be something like a cruel combination, not only to afflict honest men, but to starve their families. When the magistrates are applied to by the sufferers, their general reply is 'Go to your Union Club—and see if they will assist you now.' Now, the regular scale of wages, at Tol-puddle and its neighbourhood, is from seven to eight shillings per week—house-rent and firing the labourer has to find himself out of this poor pittance.—When the last reduction from eight to seven shillings per week was made, it was accompanied by a threat, that it would be lower before it would be higher. So that from necessity the labourers were driven to unite,

to save, if possible, their seven shillings per week. Access to the prisoners is very difficult, as there is no admission without an order from a magistrate, and the greatest difficulty is found in obtaining a magistrate's order. On Saturday, the 22d, Thomas Stanfield's wife obtained an order to see her husband, but was not allowed to see her son and two brothers. On the same day George Loveless's wife was refused to see her husband; and on the same day, Mrs. Brine was refused to see her son, James Brine."

The meeting resolved to present a memorial to the throne, beseeching the king to exercise his prerogative of mercy, and remit the sentence. Dr. Wade, Mr. Carpenter, and others were appointed as a deputation to wait upon Lord Melbourne on the following morning. Accordingly a very large assembly collected again on Sunday, at an early hour, with the intention of accompanying the deputation in procession; but it was thought prudent that the deputation should proceed alone, lest the procession should create any popular disturbance, or give offence to the public authorities. The meeting therefore remained in *status quo*, and preserved the utmost order and decorum until the deputation returned, about half-past eleven, A. M., when Mr. Carpenter announced that Lord Melbourne had received them in the most affable manner, told them he should take an early opportunity of presenting the memorial to his majesty, and promised that the execution of the sentence should be stayed until his majesty's pleasure were known respecting them. He also made several enquiries respecting the objects of the unionists, and seemed very much affected at the circumstance of 12,000 persons, met to attend the deputation, being dissuaded from doing so that they might not be guilty of a breach of the peace.

There seems to be a general suspicion abroad that the Trades' Unions are disposed to use violence for the attainment of their object. Rich men cannot conceive that poor men can be actuated by any other motives than motives of plunder; a very unfortunate acknowledgment on their part, and a proof of the incontrovertible truth of the usual doctrine that poverty is the cause of all civil offences. Why are they afraid of the combinations of the poor and not of the combinations of the rich, if poverty is not the cause of crime? Then, if this proposition be true, the only way to suppress crime is to remove poverty. Do justice to the men of industry, and society will be thoroughly tranquilized.

We hope, however, that the peaceful spirit of the Unions will be so clearly demonstrated to the public and the government, that the latter will be ashamed to use any physical violence against men who are determined to employ none other than moral weapons. In fact, the present contest between the productive and non-productive powers of the country is a fair game, if each party only employ commercial skill and political policy against the other, without the aid of any physical power; but if the one attempts to intimidate or force the others it will then be like a game at chess, in which the one party swears that he will knock his adversary down if he do not yield the game. We are happy to say that the people are showing none of this spirit, though they have just provoked, and that all the intimidation and violence is on the side of the government, who have no reason to complain of unjust treatment.

REGENERATING FABLES.

FABLE II.

THE TWO HORSES.

That all men of one blood are made,
St. Paul and common sense have said;
For Gospel truths not mystified,
Are incompatible with pride;
But in each separate man-machine
Some powers peculiar may be seen;
They act as if propelled by springs,
Just to accomplish certain things;
In which not much unlike they seem
Those often engines moved by steam;
Some which are made for large, some small work;
And some are well prepared for all work.
Men and steam-engines both are sailors,
And both, like Boreas, "blustering railers."
The daily Journals, both they make up,
And both the mud and dirt can rake up.
Men, too, according to their fate,
Are poor or rich—humble or great.
Fortune to some, as birthday boon,
Pops in their mouth a silver spoon;
Others must eat their soup without,
Or always keep them—up the spout!
Like Holborn, life is high and low,
And it has got its Middle Row.
As Fortune's wheel is going round,
Some spokes must always touch the ground,
While other spokes must upwards fly:
Thus some are low, and others high.
Nor does life's lucky lottery-prize
Fall only to the good and wise;
The arrant knave thrives quite as well
As those in virtue who excel;
And proverbs all lay down the rule,
That Fortune's favourite is the fool;
Though this, I think, is but a jest,
For fools not often come off best.
How all this unfair distribution,
This luxury and destitution,
Began to be the rule on earth,
(Poetical—who gave it birth?)
I cannot say, nor yet can you;
There is a veil we see not through.
But thus far, I can truly tell,—
It came when vice first burst its shell;
And will continue to perplex us,
As long as its base brood can vex us;
But when the truth shines fairly out,
It puts all vermin to the rout.
Those skill'd in antiquarian lore,
Say that in Middlesex of yore
The hungry wolves so proud'd about,
It was not safe to venture out;
By evidence we can depend on,
Cockneys could not even go to Hendon;
To "fetch a walk," or "take a drive,"
Lest wolves should eat them up alive;
At monkish cells they oft would pay
For prayers, to drive the wolves away.
In Middlesex no searching eye
Can now a wolf or monk descry;
Some greedy priests there are, 'tis true,
And, now and then, a fox or two;
But every Englishman must know
They are already on the go,
Oxen, et cetera, wait their day;
And thus shall end all boasts of prey.
This anecdote I mention here,
To show how evil disappears;
And thus, it may be understood,
How moral evil yields to good.
Even inequality of state
Halt cease, with envy, pride, and hate;
Life is in sterile chillness kept,
g drifting wealth in snowy heaps,
ut genial love the snow shall melt,
r make its coldness not be felt.

* For some curious facts on the state of the
west of Middlesex referred to, see Park's *His-
tory of the Parishes of Hampshire*.

Two vices all the world divide,
One envy, and the other pride;
And both our blest unequal state,
As sure results, must generate.
Both vices, likewise, it is sure
That Christian charity would cure.
Nothing appears to me so mad,
Or rather, I might say, so bad,
As a contemptuous altercation
Between two men of different station.
No man should boast about himself;
Still less should he be proud of self.
One has it—twas his parents gave it;
One earn'd, and had the sense to save it.
Of that, we say, that he *inherits*;
Of this, he got it, by his *merits*.
Now, what are merits?—let us see.
If on this point we can agree;
Pray, put your spectacles on nose,
And I the mystery will disclose.
That Delia has two bright black eyes,
No man with half a one denies.
Are those such merits as you mean?
"Yes—have you any brighter seen?"
No doubt then, when poor Delia dies,
Heaven she will gain for her black eyes?
"O, no!—now, that is quite absurd;
Merit, I see, is not the word.
Her eyes God gave;—merit, alas
Means some real virtue of her own.
Indeed, to speak like sound logician,
Merit, you know, involves volition."
But Delia well employs her eyes;
She constantly her "needle plies;"
Shirts she can make, nor thinks it shocking,
When 'tis required, to darn a stocking.
Poor girl! her parents both are dead,
And with her needle, it is said,
She earns her little brothers' bread.
"Ah! these are merits all must chase;
Who but must doat on such a lass!"
People all say, when young, her mother
Was in her conduct such a blot;
In features they were very like,
The close resemblance all must strike;
From infancy her mother taught her;
She was, I learn, an only daughter,
And every one, who knows them, says
She has got all her mother's ways.
"O yes—her nature she inherits."
Ah! then, my friend—where are her merits?
I thought her merit was alone,
Some virtue she might call her own;
And that, to speak like a logician,
It always must involve volition.
"And so it must; did you not tell
That she had always acted well?
Whatever be your definition,
That, surely, was her own volition."
You bend the bow,—the string it flies,
You see the arrow swiftly rise;
The cause by which the arrow rose,
Was it your merit, or the bow's?
Had Della been, what she was not,
Poor Polly Flareup's chance-begot;
In brick-field born, St. Giles's bred,
And not a place to lay her head,
Except some school for thieves, or nest
Where jaded vice can find a rest:
Would she her virtues have display'd,
Or proved so notable a maid?
"I'll talk no more—I see your gist:
A necessarian atheist!
Perhaps too, a materialist;
(Or with some other kind of twist,
To lead man's intellects astray
From the safe, lawful, good old way."
No!—I am Christian and theist,
And see as far quite as thou seest.
I deem it all mere idle chatter,
About your matter and no-matter.
In some respects a necessarian,
I likewise am a free-willarian;
Although to reconcile the two

I shall not even attempt to do;
Nor crack my brain, by an extension
Beyond its natural comprehension.
But to my subject: it is plain,
No man that reasons can be vain.
All our attainments,—all our worth—
Corporeal powers, and even health,
All, may be traced to accident:
We never caused, none could prevent;
For of the mud, I firmly held,
That circumstances form the mould.

Yet some there are, as all must know,
Who like cocks on a dunghill crow;
Who look with pride on all around,
As if not fit to tread their ground;
Who nothing do, except coo-oo-oo,
Or others stint of standing-room;
And, as a good, could only yield
Their bones to fertilise a field.

But the mere idle nothing-doer,
Is as a saint,—in manners pure,
Compared with that vain Tory class,
Whose pride and mischief none surpass;
Who, not content themselves to eat,
Communion shun at nature's treat;
Whose harpy claws would devastate
Even what was on another's plate;
Who ignore and busily patronize,
And would begrudge men had two eyes,
Except so far as they suffice
To make them useful slaves,—more able
To furnish dainties for their table,
Such proudly strut about at court,
And make of poverty their sport.

Fear, noise, and pomp form their defence,—
Three modes of stultifying sense;
And public robbers, on that plan,
Have always strove to juggle man.
Thieves beat a drum and raise a fire
When they would steal what they desire;
They stun and dazzle at one time,
And in confusion do their crime.
What so destructive as gunpowder!
What flashes more, or bounces louder?
A score or two of lordlings still
Aspire to check the public will;
Still think to frighten by display,
And rule with, "Stand by, clear the way!"
But, this is not the time of day!
The state is now well understood
Of drinking-fish, or rotten wood.
If any one might fairly boast,
'Tis he who can produce the most
Of what is useful to his neighbours,
And make them profit by his labours:
The man who can the grape produce,
Not he who lives to quaff its juice.
"From station, shame nor honour rise:
Act well your part—there honour lies."
This brings me to that brief narration,
To which has grown this illustration;
A preface it so far exceeds,
I must refer to my rhyming steeds.

"Your steeds!" I hear some reader say;
"I think your steeds have run away."
Well, then, this wandering to restrain,
My horses shall start fair again;
And, that you may not tire too soon,
I'll screw my pegs, and change my tune.
I sing of horses, Muse, assist the song,
And, at full gallop, drive my verse along.
Of horses, what can a verse-maker know?
He surely cannot teach the art to guide one;
For poets, like their verse, on feet must go,
And seldom, very seldom, get astride one.
Yet poets sometimes mount, it is agreed;
Some mount, 'tis said, the garret stair;
While others mount imagination's steed,
And ride like witches through the air.
Now, I intend not here to mount at all;
And yet too low I would not wish to fall,
The bump-up art I mean not to disclose,
Nor lead my gentle readers to the stable;
I mean to tell, in verse, or rhyming prose,

A FABLE.

A race-horse, much renowned for speed,
And of a most illustrious breed;
Though here to tell it matters not
Who out of, or by whom begot;
Returning home, with jay elate,
Just after having won the plate,
Chanced on the way a horse to meet,
Oppressed with labour and with heat;
For he was toiling at the plough,
And bore the marks upon his brow.
Soon as our smart Newmarket blade
Poor honest Clodhopper survey'd,
He pranced about, he rear'd his mane,
And thus with insolent disdain
He said, "Dull, stupid rustic, when, I pray,
Will you thus learn to prance and caper?
When such a matchless shape display?
So long a neck, and legs so taper?"
"Vain fool," the useful beast replied,
"Abate your insolence and pride;
Your empty boasting pry'these eyes,
And let me labour on in peace.
These labours you so much despise
Are meant this field to fertilise;
And if I fall these labours to complete,
Where, vaunting fool, will you get corn to eat?"
"Ye kings! ye peers! ye unproductive great,
Who strut upon the 'battlements of state,'
And with contempt your fellow-mortals treat,
Because what they have labour'd for, you eat,
Attend my tale, and from it learn to know,
True dignity from useful acts must flow."
March, 1834. L. P. S.

Literature.

HAMPDEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

We have been reading this very elegant and classical work, by the Author of the "Revolt of the Bees," and other publications on the New System of Society. The manner in which this work is got up renders it inaccessible to the working classes; but, we do not on that account disapprove of its elegance. There are other classes to instruct besides the working-classes, and these can only be approached by such works as shall please their more delicate appetites, and attract their attention by all the refinements of taste and of learning. Such a work is that of Hampden; a work which is likely to find its way into the highest circles, even by its appearance, and a work also well qualified when there to maintain its respectability by the elegance of its language, the beauty of its sentiments, and the evident symptoms it possesses of being the production of a mind which is embellished by a superior education, and stored by extensive reading with a vast variety of useful learning. The author is evidently very metaphysically disposed; his reading in that department of science has been very extensive, and thus he is enabled to compare the new doctrines of society with many varieties of doctrine with which society abounds. This is of material importance. When people cry out "for practical men, practical measures," they are very apt to instil into the minds of others (if not cautious to explain themselves), the idea that abstract and metaphysical enquiries are useless. But nothing can be more practical than the tendency of metaphysical inquiries. Indeed, practical measures, especially in the moral department of society, must all commence with metaphysical theory, and be perfected by it.

But we do not mean to convey the idea to our readers that this work is too refined for the people at large. On the contrary, its simplicity is such as to make it very light and attractive reading. This attraction is very

artfully enhanced by the introduction of a variety of character, which presents a picture of the prevailing prejudices and obstacles against reformation and innovation, as they exhibit themselves in the different grades and professions of society. The three heroes are Fitzosborne (the author), Hampden, and Bertrand. Hampden is a thorough sceptic, or perhaps infidel; Bertrand has faith, but approves of the policy of the New System; and Fitzosborne seems to be in *medius res* between the two, hanging in suspense like Mahomet's coffin between heaven and earth; admiring the beauty of Christian morality, but detesting the bigotry of priestly tuition and domination.

These characters, in their zeal to promote the New Views, and in their deep conviction of their truth and practical utility, like all other novices, are at first quite sanguine in their expectations of converting both lords and commons, great and small, learned and unlearned. This is quite in character with human nature; and the missionary excursions of Fitzosborne are delineated with such symptoms of truth that we are inclined to suppose that many of them are real. Whether real or not, however, as actual occurrences, they are quite true; that is, true to human nature, and they illustrate what we conceive to be a law as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians: that blindness is the destiny of the higher classes, until the poor have made such advances in the work of renovation, as to rouse the non-producers from their slumber of infatuation, and convulse like a shock of electricity the whole oligarchy of Europe.

It is in vain to address either rich men or learned men for some time to come; they wear a thick veil, which the light of truth is not yet strong enough to penetrate; and the reason is obvious: self-love is the ruling passion of mankind; and self-love in the great and the learned most frequently directs their thoughts to the lofty towers of ambition, either political or literary. It is the poor man only who, being at present beneath mediocrity, and not vain enough to aspire to superiority, either literary, scientific, or magisterial, who is likely to ruminate upon the most effectual means of effecting an amelioration in the social system by the equalization of all. We do not say there may not be exceptions in both parties; but from analogy we may conclude that the higher classes cannot be prompted to investigate this subject before the working classes, far less to adopt the social views, or reduce them to practice. Neither do we feel any desire to see the non-producers take the lead of the producers. They are not qualified by education and habits for laying the material foundation; when the foundation is laid, and the union of workmen organized, then the great and the learned, with all the superior qualifications of mind and manners which they possess, will be exceedingly useful in rearing the superstructure of intellectual and moral refinement, which will soon arise upon the basis of productive union.

Fitzosborne calls upon several of the principal characters in the country, and endeavours zealously, by all means in his power, to propagate the New Views; he has interviews with Dr. Howley, Bishop of London, Mr. Malthus, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Eldon, &c., upon all of whom, as must be expected, his arguments alight, like blunted arrows, without even piercing the skin.

(To be continued.)

ON WEDNESDAY, the 9th of April, at 8 o'clock in the evening, Mr. GUTHRIE will deliver his Fourth and Concluding Lecture on SCHOLASTIC EDUCATION, at his Establishment, 21, New Road, corner of Gower-street; on which occasion he will submit the First and Second Parts of an Original Grammar. He will also deliver Courses of Lectures upon History, Civilization, Astronomy, Pneumatics, Mineralogy, Natural History, Geology, &c., for the instruction of his Pupils, in connection with their present Studies; to which the Public are respectfully invited. Free admission. Terms of the School, One Shilling per week. One Penny for the support of the Library.

A Discussion will be held at the Eastern Institution, 12, Portland-street, Commercial-road East, on Tuesday, April 8, at Eight o'clock, between the Disciples of the Social System and several Christian Friends, on "the Usefulness and Practicability of Mr. Owen's New Views of Society for Emancipating Mankind." Several eminent Ministers are invited to attend. Admission free.

A public Lecture will be delivered, gratis, at the New Christian St. Simonian School, 36, Castle-street East, Oxford-market, on Monday, the 7th of April, at Eight o'clock in the Evening, on which occasion a Mechanic's Wife will address her Country-women. Sunday, the 6th of April, at Eleven o'clock, A.M., St. Simonian Service, admission free. St. Simonian Lectures and Discussions every Thursday and Monday, as usual. Admission, 6d. front seats; 2d. back seats.

FUNERAL OF HILTON.

Sunday, 30th.

This was the greatest funeral procession, perhaps, ever witnessed in this country. More than one hundred thousand spectators were collected in Whitechapel alone, and other parts of the city were crowded by people in waiting. Probably, nearly half a million of individuals witnessed the procession. The wardens of the bricklayers' lodge presided;—afterwards came the trade committee, with white wands surmounted with black crape; the corresponding secretary, with the bible and cushion; the chief treasurer, with the treasurers and dispensation; the corpse, with three pall-bearers on each side; chief mourners; the presidents, &c., of the bricklayers' lodge; the secretary, with scrolls. The other trades followed in order; and all seemed to be subject to the most perfect discipline.

The members walked six deep; upwards of twenty thousand members walked in procession. The corpse was attended by six men and six women in deep mourning. Most of the members wore black and white rosettes: a great many females accompanied. The procession was more than a mile in length, and proceeded, with great solemnity, through Leadenhall-street, Bishopsgate, Sun-street, and Finsbury-square, to Bunhill-fields, where the body was deposited. The ceremony had an imposing effect. It has already reconciled many of the operatives to the Union. The sublimity has completely overwhelmed their objections, and accomplished what mere dry reasoning never could effect. There is nothing like ceremony, after all. There is a passion for it in human nature, and it must be gratified, only let the purpose be generous.

There was a collection of forty pounds, we understand, made for Hilton's widow. So much for the moral effect. Surely Sir Andrew Agnew will not be offended at the forty pounds being collected on the Sunday for a poor widow? A few more such scenes as this will establish the Union for ever.

THE
C R I S I S.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—OWEN.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

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THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 1, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1834.

[Price 1d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 30.

Mr. Smith lectured on "THE PROSPECTS OF SOCIETY."

There is at present a universal shaking of nations. We are not the only people who are in distress, and working out our deliverance. The spirit of innovation exists in every part of the world; it is not in Britain and Ireland alone that poor men are oppressed; Tyranny has spread her wings over the world, and enveloped the whole race of mankind in the same mystery of iniquity. And now, as if by one common feeling, a movement is begun in the people, which is making every inheritor of a throne to anticipate his speedy downfall. The people have been driven to discontentment and rebellion by the uninterrupted succession of miseries inflicted by those who call themselves their protectors. The people of China, we are told, are now in such a miserable plight that they are selling their own children for slaves, to support themselves in being; and some are even using the little infants as food; famine has overspread the land. The rich, however, have plenty: there is never a famine for men of property. The poor bear all the misfortune of a season of scarcity; and when plenty comes to the nation, it is never enjoyed by the poor as a recompense for their sufferings. There is always a famine for industry and poverty; but idleness and wealth are always luxuriating in the midst of plenty.

What can be the cause of this evil? There is abundance of food reared for the inhabitants of the earth; there is apparently more than can be used without a surfeit. Our granaries are filled with corn, and it is even rotting on the floors; huge quantities of food of every description are thrown into the river for want of purchasers, and clothes are moth-eaten for want of wearers; our houses are too numerous for the inhabitants of our cities and villages; our fields are too numerous for our agricultural labourers, and the land is lying waste for want of culture; yet, for all that, the people are crying for more bread, the people are complaining of scarcity of clothing, the people are complaining of want of proper shelter, and the labourers are crying out for more work. What is the meaning of all this inconsistency? Will men assert that there is no remedy for it?

Why should the people be in want of bread, when the corn-merchants are casting away the surplus rotten grain, or converting it into manure; and foreign vessels, laden with corn, are cruising along our coasts, in readiness to supply us at a moment's warning, but prevented from entering our harbours by laws which are enacted to raise the price and produce a scarcity of the staff of life? Why should the labouring and industrious poor be ill-clothed, when an iron machine, moved by the elements of nature, can produce abundant material for a comfortable covering to all, without much employment of human labour? Why should so many thousand excellent houses be empty, when such a vast proportion of our population are living in huts which are scarcely fit to be inhabited by the brute creation? Why should so great a portion of the land be lying waste, when so many are ready to cultivate it? Who can answer these questions, and yet justify the present system of society?

Mr. Smith then gave several reasons for the present unfortunate state of things; first, the ignorance of legislators respecting the science of government; secondly, the ignorance of the people on the same subject; and having dwelt for some time on each of these two divisions, he proceeded as follows:—

There are two kinds of government, as there are two kinds of property: there is public government and private government. We have hitherto always been under the control of private government. Private property and private government go together; they belong to the same system, and they die together. You never can have a public government as long as private property continues; for government must always remain in the hands of property; and if that property belong to private individuals, the government must remain in their hands also. But the people will speedily find out this truth; there is no particular use in pressing it upon them. The most important idea which they ought to cherish at this present crisis is that of unity—the necessity of combination. This is a duty which is paramount to all other duties; it is a public duty, and no man can with propriety call himself a friend of the public who does not associate his name and his person with theirs.

This brings me to another reason why there

is so much misery in the country; that reason is the system of competition, or *private property*. The land belongs to the people; no man has a right to appropriate a portion to himself. Our laws are extremely unjust upon this subject. A law, to be just, ought not to permit a man to occupy more than a fair proportion, according to the number of inhabitants; but our laws permit one man to purchase land to any extent. He may, if he pleases, purchase a whole province; and he may secure that province to himself and his children after him by the law of entail. What is this, but a gross act of injustice at the very outset? But private property is not only an act of injustice in this sense only, inasmuch as it bestows privileges upon one man, and puts a rod into his hand, by which he can commit acts of tyranny upon his fellow-men; but it is bad in a moral sense, inasmuch as all private property is acquired by some species of fraud or deception.

How are all private fortunes made? Are they not made by craft? Are there not secrets in every trade and profession which are carefully concealed from the public? Are you not obliged to use what they call policy or cunning, in order to secure to yourselves a fair profit? And does not the seller try to deceive the buyer, and the buyer the seller? Is trade any thing but a game, in which one tries to gain an advantage over another? If a stock-jobber makes a fortune, does he not make it by taking advantage of other men's ignorance? If a banker makes a fortune, does he not make it by taking advantage of other men's necessities. If a merchant makes a fortune, does he not make it by taking advantage of other men's inexperience—craftily concealing his own opinion, condemning and abusing an article when he is making a purchase of it; and when he is selling the same article, extolling it as the most excellent, both in quality and workmanship? If a master makes a fortune, does he not make it at the expense of his men, by appropriating to himself the reward of the labours of others? In fine, who is there that makes riches by means that are altogether justifiable? You will find that these means are in some way connected with fraud, secrecy, cunning, or some species of prevarication, by which one party takes advantage of the ignorance and inexperience of the other.

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A struggle is awaiting us, but it is a struggle in which we are sure to conquer. At present, we are within the laws, and still we are making our rulers tremble. By and by, no doubt, like the French citizen king, they will make new laws, and then reproach us for breaking them. They have the presumption to think that they have a divine right to dictate to a whole people—a people which is greater in number than themselves, and from whom they derive all their wealth and all their power. What is to be done in a case of this nature? Shall we consider it our duty tamely to submit to any new laws which may be made to check our progress to prosperity and social happiness? Shall we not rather maintain that we have as good a right as they to make laws? Let them make laws for themselves, if they are so fond of legislating. If they are so fond of imposing taxes, let them tax one another as heavily as they please; we shall not complain; we shall commend them, and admire their patriotism; but let them first ask our consent before they prescribe pills for our disease which we ourselves know much better how to cure. No! the immediate consequence of any attempt to crush the efforts of the popular mind, at this present juncture, will be a most resolute determination on the part of the people to legislate for themselves.

This will be the result: we shall have a House of Commons. We have never yet had a House of Commons. It is merely a name they have given that aristocratical house at St. Stephen's, which is called the House of the People. The only House of Commons is a House of Trades, and that is only just beginning to be formed. We shall have a new set of boroughs when our unions are organized: every trade shall be a borough, and every trade shall have its council and representatives to conduct its affairs. Our present commoners know nothing of the interests of the people, and care not for them. They are all landholders. How can a landholder represent a tradesman? Have the shoemakers a representative in the House of Commons? There are 133,000 shoemakers in the country, and these, with their wives and families, make upwards of half a million of human beings in this country, all living by shoemaking. Yet not one representative have they in the house of legislation; but, according to the proportion which they bear to the population of the country, there ought to be twenty-five representatives of the shoemakers in Parliament. There ought to be nearly as many carpenters, and all other trades in proportion. This would make a literal House of Commons—not a false one, as the present is, which is merely a branch of the House of Lords, and transacts the business of the aristocracy in the name of the people, without the authority of the people.

It is the House of Commons which has deceived us—the House of Lords has acted quite in character. It has acted for the Lords as was to be expected from it—it has not belied its name; but the House of Commons has belied its name, inasmuch as it has not acted in behalf of the people. For this reason, the House of Commons has more need of reform than the other. Had we a real House of Commons, such as the one I have now described, we might be content to suffer the existence of the Lords along with it; they might be useful in carrying on correspondence with other nations, and, under the wise and popular check of a House of Trades, might infuse a spirit of re-

form and shall have the representatives of the people, and teach them habits of business, and secrets of foreign legislation, with which they might be unacquainted. But we fear that their high mightinesses would not condescend to unite themselves so closely with the people. They have no objections to a false House of Commons; but a true House of Commons would be such a humbling proposal, that they would scorn to consider it: it would be rejected without thought, and condemned without a trial.

Such a House of Commons, however, is growing. The elements are gathering: we are forming the constituency which shall give it a political existence. Persecution will not retard its progress. The resolution of the people is too deeply rooted to be eradicated. They have been too long tampered with, now to be deceived by any fair pretences. The character of the reformed parliament is now blasted, and, like the character of a woman when lost, it is not easily recovered. There is no method by which the present ministry can restore themselves to popular favour, but one; and that is the substitution of a House of Trades, instead of the present House of Commons. Let them take the unionists by the hand, and encourage them in their schemes of amelioration for the people; let them use their influence in effecting a great national organization of industry for the protection of the working classes, to secure them a due reward for their labour, and supply them with the means of education. By doing so they would prove real reformers and benefactors to their country. The people, who now execrate them for their deceit and their apostasy, would embrace them as their generous friends; they would be held in national respect whilst they lived, and their grey hairs would go down to the grave in peace. History would record their names in the list of the best and the greatest of men; virtue would be associated with their memory, and old men and children would transmit their memorial for ever, as the saviours of their country. But such is not the ambition of our rulers; the cries of famishing children, the sorrows and the withered looks of helpless mothers, the perplexed and care-worn features of oppressed and worn-out fathers are overlooked by these men of rank and title, whose principal concern is the preservation of their order. Earl Grey has sworn to stand by his order to the last; he seems also resolved to stand by the spiritual order of bishops. But which of all the ministry has sworn to stand by the order of the people? or is there no order of the people? It is all disorder and confusion, our superiors tell us. Then let it be our care to make an order of the people, that we may have a handle against our accusers, and some plausible argument to assert our claims to political rights and privileges.

There is only one way of making an order, and the aristocracy have already shown us an example. There is the order of the Garter, the order of the Thistle, the order of the Bath, and the order of St. Patrick. All the members of these honourable orders are sworn in as our Trades' Unionists, only they are sworn in by bishops, whose illegal proceedings Baron Williams thinks proper to overlook. These oaths are more illegal (if we may use the expression, for every thing is legal that the nobility do) than the oath of the Trades' Unions: for the bishop, when installing these noble knights, exhorts them in the name of the most merciful God to be valiant in fight, to

be brave like the soldiers of Jesus Christ, in imitation of the blessed Martyr St. George, who slew the dragon, and cut the infidels in pieces! What can be more subversive of good order than such a spirit? The battle-axe of the unions was a mere plaything, for it was not accompanied with any exhortation to martial valour. But these orders of nobility are not only sworn to be brave in fight, but sworn by a bishop in holy orders.

Besides these orders, we have orders of Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons; all these are merely so many unions; and when Earl Grey publicly declares to the whole nation that he will stand by his order to the last, what better right has he to do so than a shoemaker to declare that he will stand by his order to the last? The two declarations are exactly on a par. If Earl Grey is justified in his declaration, the tradesman is justified in his; and if Earl Grey is installed by a religious ceremony, has not the tradesman a right to employ a religious ceremony also? The lifting won't argue; it is evidently a gross violation of justice to interdict the tradesman from forming an order for himself. But when the attempt is made, the outcry is immediately raised against its legality; but who made it illegal, but those who want to prevent it; and have not the people a right to make it legal whenever they please? They cry also, "it is irreligious," and they talk of the impiety of employing the name of God for such a purpose; but will they think you of the Bishop of Winchester and the Bishop of Salisbury employing the name of the most merciful God in installing the Knights of St. George? The bishop, presenting a garter to the candidate, says, "In the name of the most merciful God and his blessed Martyr St. George, take this garter and wear it about thy leg!" Were the order of carpenters to employ such a ceremony, and say, "In the name of the most merciful God, take this chisel (instead of this garter), and use it in behalf of thy fellow-creatures," no doubt this would be considered profane, merely because it is performed by workmen. But no ceremony, however ridiculous, can be more so than those already adopted by our aristocracy in the formation of their own orders, and none can be more impious and irreligious. Nor is the impiety at all diminished by the employment of a bishop. It is rather increased, for it is making a solemn farce of religion. It is prostituting the church and its ministers to the vilest of purposes, and lowering them in the estimation of the people. It would be better for the morals of the nation to have no clergy at all, than a clergy who would sell themselves to such infamous offices.

These orders of nobility have all been created by the sword, and their members have been supported by the sword. The sword alone has been thought worthy of them. Hitherto there have been no orders of industry; the very name of such an order would make the nobility turn up their lips with scorn; industry has always been held in contempt by the great. Even merchandise, which is not productive, but merely a species of exchange, is despised by the higher ranks of nobility; in fact, it is dishonourable to have any employment but that of war. The sword is the emblem of nobility; by the sword they have lived, and by the military and police system they are now supported. What a false idea the old world has had of true honour and genuine nobility! War is the most destructive of all the arts; it is really the

most base, the most brutal, and the most contemptible; but until this very day it has been held in the greatest esteem. Truly do the Scriptures say that that which is first shall be last, and the last first; and that which is esteemed highly honourable among men, is abomination in the sight of God. We shall ere long see this saying realized; and we shall see industry, which in former days was accounted a mark of slavery, we shall see it raised upon the pinnacle of the temple, crowned with everlasting victory. What a different prospect does the reign of industry hold out to us from the horrors of war! The reign of aristocracy and nobility has been a reign of desolation; there are none to bless them for their generous deeds or their universal patriotism. Call up the dead to life, and ask them what they have suffered from the orders of nobility and the spirit of ambition which spurred them to action. How many millions of these resurrected spirits would tell you that they were cruelly butchered by heroes, who are extolled in history as models of virtue and examples for future generations to imitate! How many wives would tell you that they were widowed, and cast in desolation upon the world, their houses burned, their fields all desolated, and they and their children driven shelterless abroad, exposed to the merciless cruelty of the weather, and the far more merciless cruelty of mankind! How many volumes might be written full of real narrative, recording the sufferings of individuals, tribes, and nations, under the cruel system of private government, the government of the unproductive sword! And this is the system which legislators would prop up, this the system which the men of God say it is impious to pull down. Turn from it, and examine with the most critical eye the system of industry, and observe the contrast. There you see the people beating their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation no more rising against nation, nor kingdom against kingdom, and studying the art of war no more. There you see all the people busy with production, swarming like a bee-hive, heaping up the produce of their labour. There you see the fields all cultivated, the gardens perfumed with fragrance, the cottages all clean and healthy; the cities are freed of their pestiferous filth, their unwholesome lanes, and miserable tenements. There you see men actively employed, the idle no more despising the industrious, nor the oppressor ruling over the multitude with a rod of iron; no more the naked and the starving pauper prowling about the street, at one time supplicating with the most piteous countenance or a bit of bread, and at another time, meditating some desperate attempt upon private property, to supply the immediate wants of nature. But you see plenty on every hand, joy in every countenance, cleanliness in every person, and happiness on every hearth. Are these blessings to be despised? What is it that we are all in search of, but happiness? and can happiness be procured by the sword? is it to be the order of the Garter, or the order of St. Patrick, that we must look for deliverance? Or is it to the order of the farmer, the order of the tailor, the shoe-maker, the builder, and the maker? These are orders that the king cannot make: he makes the orders of knighthood by raving a naked sword over the head, and they are complete; but would such a process as office to make a man a good tradesman? No! the orders of industry are not of kingly origin; they come from the sovereignty of the people.

Literature.

The following extract from "Hampden in the Nineteenth Century" gives a partial view of Fitzosborne's attempt to convert the Bishop of London to the Social System. After Fitzosborne's attempt to convince his Lordship that true Christianity is incompatible with any other than the social arrangements, which link the whole of mankind together as one great family, as the Scriptures beautifully express it—"in one sheep-fold and under one shepherd,"—the dialogue proceeds as follows:—

"The Bishop."—You overlook, Sir, the numerous references to a man's household throughout the Old and New Testaments, plainly indicating that distinct family arrangements were the best adapted for the development of his good qualities, by the necessity imposed upon him to educate and provide for his offspring.

"Fitzosborne."—But I think, my Lord, there are far more direct exhortations to mutual assistance, and such as obviously denounce the ambition to rise above others; the expression of 'brethren' is perpetually recurring, and St. Paul writes to the Corinthians: 'For I mean not that other men be eased, and ye burdened: but by an equality, that your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance may also be a supply for your want: that there may be equality: as it is written, 'He that had gathered much had nothing over; and he that had gathered little had no lack.' And again, 'They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil.'

"The Bishop."—Covetousness is, no doubt, reprehensible.

"Fitzosborne."—St. James has also several passages which bear a similar construction; for instance, 'Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted; but the rich in that he is made low:' and, 'For if there come into your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment; and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him, Sit thou here in a good place; and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my foot-stool: are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts? Hath not God chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised? But ye have despised the poor. Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgment seat? Do not they blaspheme that worthy name by which ye are called? If ye fulfil the royal law according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well: but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin.' And again: 'Behold the hire of the labourers, who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter: ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you.'

"The Bishop."—Your Scriptural quotations are rather prompt for one who does not attach sufficient importance to some of the doctrines: but in seeking for authorities in support of your own theory, you have overlooked passages that are equally forcible in favour of another

view of the condition of mankind. What can be more unequivocally referable to the existing state of society, than the admonition given by our divine master to the questions of the Pharisees and Herodians,—'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's?' thereby plainly enjoining obedience to the civil authorities.

"Fitzosborne."—My Lord, I do assure you that I am continually urging those who entertain opinions similar to my own, to yield a willing obedience to all who are in authority, satisfied that discussion and an appeal to reason in a proper spirit, are the only legitimate means by which reformation can be effected, and the progress of truth promoted. It is on this account that I come directly to your Lordship, convinced that every improvement and innovation could be more effectually introduced by the public functionaries themselves, and more especially by the clergy.

"The Bishop."—But why not take for your foundation Christianity, which contains all that is valuable in your principles? The Church has been always considered as a body, of which individuals are the members; as St. Paul says, 'that there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.'

"Fitzosborne."—Granted, my Lord; but is society constituted upon this Christian doctrine? It is common to speak of each individual as a member of society, implying that there is a mutual sympathy between the member and the whole body: But in what consists the sympathy between the inhabitants of St. Giles's, and those of the neighbouring squares? Is the health of one part of the body disturbed by the afflictions of another? Are they not disjointed, separated, and unknown to each other, and therefore no longer a society?

"The Bishop."—But the text I have quoted is to be taken in a spiritual sense. You appear to be actuated by motives of benevolence, and it would be well if your zeal and good intentions were directed in the right path. But in dismissing the subject, I would give you, as a young man, this admonition: In the prosecution of your objects, be careful with whom you associate; for there is much infidelity abroad, and there are many who, under the specious names of liberality, charity, and love of peace, will undermine your religious principles, and destroy your hopes of an hereafter. From the candour you have displayed, I feel an interest in your exertions, but more particularly in your spiritual welfare; and if, in your search after truth, you should require my aid, you will find me accessible.

A clergyman, when beat out of an argument, always finds refuge in an exhortation. This is the shell which he carries about with him, and in which he coils himself up whenever the contest is too hot for him.

MORAL ROBBERY.—At the Oxford circuit, Judge Paterson, in passing sentence upon two fellows for robbing an old man of one hundred pounds and his watch, uttered the following memorable words:—

"Whenever great violence is used, I shall always feel it my duty to leave the offenders for execution; but when there is no more violence used than was necessary to commit the offence, I think I may be justified in recom-

mending the parties to his Majesty's mercy" he had just before condemned a prisoner to die, because, in committing the robbery, he pushed his victim into a ditch; this was physical robbery more than was necessary. "Law is as nice as a new-laid egg," says Alexander Stevens. But an egg is of no use unless you break it. In breaking our law, however, we find that the contents are most offensive to the finest feelings of humanity. Notwithstanding the enormous quantity of our legislative enactments, and the pretended nicety of our lawyers in the distinction of offences, our culprits are merely at the mercy of the Judge's caprice. How easily might our Dorchester friends have been legally acquitted, if the Judge had been disposed to mercy! The sentence was not an act of the law, but of Baron Williams and the Whig cabinet. It is the commencement of a grand ministerial hunt. We shall see how the Grey-hounds acquit themselves.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We had written a reply to W—m—t, but it was afterwards excluded for want of room. He shall hear from us next week.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 12.

WHERE are the Executive now, and what are they about? Where are their reports, and how do they correspond with the different Lodges? We are annoyed with enquiries, and can give no answers. And why do they not complete their number? Mr. Morrison resigned several weeks ago, and his place is not supplied; the Birmingham member has declined, and his place is not supplied; and the quorum that remains, either afraid of Baron Williams, or desirous of throwing a veil of mystery over their proceedings, have taken up their lodgings "no where." We would advise our friends of the Unions to take instant and more effectual measures to complete their organization, to elect their councillors, and invest them with proper authority. Without an intelligible system of transacting business, we fear that much evil will accrue: jealousies will speedily be aroused, division will follow, and wide breaches be created, which may now be prevented. When a minister of state resigns, is his place left empty, or immediately filled up? Do the members of the cabinet merely divide the honours among the remainder, and suffer the council to resign individually and successively, until the longest liver has them all to himself? Have the Unions an Executive? How many of its five senses has it lost? We pause for a reply.

WHAT a cruel monster law is! Draco wrote his laws with blood; our Whigs are writing theirs with widows' and orphans' tears, and they are accumulating curses upon their own heads, which will soon explode with consequences fatal to

their sovereignty. We can see their downfall written in every countenance. Even the Sunday bells, as they chime, seem to sing in our ears "everlasting obloquy to Whig liberalism, and all aristocratic misrule!" But who is to take charge of the widows and the orphans? for our patriot rulers will suffer them to starve. Their only dependence is upon the poor, industrious, oppressed operatives of England. These have little to spare; but out of that little they will administer to their necessities. Arrangements, we hope, will soon be made to create a fund for their support. In the mean time, we shall willingly receive subscriptions in their behalf, from the friends of the oppressed. Parish relief, it appears, is denied them. The righteous law is determined to empty all its bile upon them.

THERE is nothing astonishes us more, in our glances over the periodicals of the day, than the utter ignorance of the conductors of the public press. We do not mean their ignorance of insulated facts, their ignorance of history, or the theories and discoveries of men of science, and the intrigues and expedients of political economists. We give them credit for a great deal of such learning. But with all their minor facts, they seem to be utterly ignorant of first principles; and with all their courtly anecdotes, and minute information on the affairs of cabinets, literary clubs, and public spectacles, they know nothing of the people, nor of the great and all-important subjects of controversy which are now agitating all the productive classes. Even our friends appear to be as ignorant as our enemies. The *Monthly Repository* thinks it infinitely more probable that we shall fail than that we shall succeed, but, withal, defends us in all our movements. Cobbett says nothing at all about us; but, in criticising a work of J. B. Bernard's, on the Theory of the Constitution, in which the author maintains that the redemption of man is to be brought about by the discovery of moral evil, and that that discovery is just about to be made by the working men of England, the writer observes that perhaps no reasonable man except Mr. Bernard would have come to such a conclusion. And we think that no reasonable man could ever come to any other conclusion than that the destruction of moral evil is to be accomplished by a discovery of the cause of moral evil. Many other of the liberals treat us with great leniency, and justify our proceedings by attributing the blame to the legislative folly of cabinet measures, but seem to think that the attempt of the working classes is preposterous, and never can succeed, merely because it is an infringement of the liberties of trade and of labour.

Junius Redivivus, in *Tait's Magazine*, has more enlightened views of the power and ultimate operations of the Trades' Unions, than any of the literary or licensed editorial writers of the day. We are happy to see this popular magazine treading in our footsteps, and propagating the doctrines of social trading companies, consisting of combinations of the working classes. Such doctrines as these alone are calculated to secure the affections of the people; and as they are doctrines which are rapidly spreading, they must either be supported in the popular journals, or other journals more congenial to the public sentiments will speedily supplant them.

In such aristocratic lordings as *Blackwood*, and the *Old* or *New Monthly*, we expect, and we find, nothing but the most perfidious opposition. The *Old Monthly* has wasted all its invective energies in vilifying us and our projects. We are every thing that is villanous, merely because we are poor and industrious. (A few months ago, the *New Monthly* had the audacity to call the working classes a gang of discontented idlers.) After demonstrating the impudence, ignorance, knavery, and violence of the unionists, the *Old Lunatic* of this month says—"In conclusion, we would entreat the ring-leaders of these misguided men to pause, ere, by proceeding too far in their unjust career, they plunge their thousands of blind, unthinking followers indeed into a situation of poverty, degradation, and crime; for on the leaders of these unions will eventually fall the disgrace and ignominy due to their acts." Then he tries to persuade the working men to wait with patience till the legislature takes off the taxes, and thus relieves the industry and trade of the country; for until this is done, says he, "how can the workmen expect more than his share of profit? If he obtain it, it will remain but a short time with him, because it will be taking unjustly from another class. But we hope the workman will see his interest better; that he will not attempt to take, by fraud, what he cannot obtain by justice, but wait, even with slender means, until the legislature can devise some real and effectual changes for his benefit." Good old soul! We wondered who wrote this very mild and merciful exhortation to the working classes. But we could not help imagining that it was an old gouty aristocrat, who had been confined to his library and his bed-room for several months past, and knew nothing of the proceedings of the Trades' Unions, except what he learned from the *Times*, the *Morning Post*, *Blackwood*, or the *Old Monthly*. The old gentleman was, no doubt, alarmed about his own personal property, and knowing the unfitness of his own dear toes

to stand at ease on the great national holiday of the working classes, he swore by old Hock that he would attack the Unions in a *sitting posture*, by a powerful article in the *Old Monthly*. He began with fury, aristocratic pride, and lordly dignity; but beginning to quake, perhaps from the occasional twitching of the lower extremities, towards the end of the article, he thought proper to conciliate the people by gentle language, and not disposed to write it all over again, he makes a fine, smooth, clerical conclusion, which no doubt he expected would make full atonement for former sins, and convince the working men that it was their duty to starve with patience, and give him and his caste no more annoyance by their brutal outcries respecting the rights of industry.

On Monday evening last a new Institution, for scientific lectures, was opened in Commercial-place, City-road, Finsbury; Mr. Owen in the chair. Several of the leading friends of the people addressed the company, which was greater than the place could conveniently admit, on account of the intense interest which the occasion excited. Mr. Rowland Detrosier, the accomplished orator for whose prelections the institution is founded, distinguished himself particularly by a splendid address, which enchained the attention and excited the admiration of all who heard. Detrosier is one of the most eloquent men of the day. Nature has gifted him with splendid talents, and those who know him could scarcely dare to say whether his moral or intellectual qualities are the most excellent.

On Thursday, April 3, we had another splendid meeting of the working classes at the Institution. Our good and steady friend, the Rev. Dr. Wade, in the chair, who seems to be an exception to all the rest of his craft; exemplifying the spirit of true religion in the active interest which he takes in the poor man's condition, instead of accompanying his brother priests in their insidious attempts to bolster up the system of inequality and oppression by a false show of piety and philanthropy. A new feature was added to this public meeting, which will, no doubt, form the commencement of a new era in the history of popular assemblies. Hitherto these assemblies have been characterized by nothing but dry and protracted speechifying; one orator trying to gain a little applause to himself, by a witicism or some fine figure of speech, or some outrageous abuse of the powers that be; another by pulling out his purse and tabling his subscription for the relief of the oppressed; whilst two or three, not however at our late meetings, have contrived to procure most deafening applause for subscriptions which they have never paid. We hope there are few of these in the country; but there is most assuredly a spirit of ostentation universally prevalent, and so paramount even to generosity itself, that we believe there would be little relief afforded to the destitute without its gra-

tification by public applause, or insertion in a printed subscription list. But this is a digression which we did not intend to make. Now, however, that it is made, we shall not erase it, but proceed to the new feature to which we alluded above; viz. the introduction of vocal and instrumental music. After the passing of each resolution, the choir, accompanied by the "organ's thundering peal," sung a hymn to Liberty, and the two stanzas of poetry which were found in the pocket of James Loveless, one of the convicts. The words are as follow:

God is our guide; from field, from wave,
From plough, from anvil, and from loom,
We come our country's rights to save,
And speak a tyrant faction's doom.
We raise the watch-word Liberty!
We will, we will, we will be free!

God is our guide; no swords we draw,
We kindle not war's battle-fires;
By reason, union, justice, law,
We claim the birth-right of our sires.
We raise the watch-word Liberty!
We will, we will, we will be free!

The whole assembly of ten thousand persons joined in the chorus in the most reverential manner; the organ of veneration being put to the test, carried the point by a large majority. "Off hats, off hats!" was the universal cry; and when the hymn was concluded, the waving of hats and the shouting of voices made rather a novel sort of finale to the sacred music. But God Almighty was, no doubt, quite as well pleased with these rapturous shoutings of his own creatures, as with the sad and austere looks of his Sunday worshippers. Every thing in its place; and churches according to the fashion of the old world, are the places appropriated for making long wry faces, and teaching men and women to hold their tongues. Something like the school of Pythagoras of old, who required all his pupils to keep strict silence for five years. The parsons would carry the discipline much further, and keep us mute for ever; but it will not do. The church must be reformed,—the worshippers must cease to be sorrowful, because they must cease to have occasion for sorrow.

But with all our zeal, all our music, and all our numbers, we have produced no effect upon our rulers. The poor convicts are doomed as victims; but it is a doom which shall fall at last upon the rulers themselves. Their sentence is now pronounced. Henceforth let the people cease to crave a morsel from them. We would say unto the people, as we are told the Lord said unto Joshua when he was lying "praying," with his face to the earth: "Get thee up; wherefore liest thou thus upon thy face?"

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, APRIL 6.

Mr. Owen lectured:—

MY FRIENDS,—We live in extraordinary times. It is only fourteen days since I last met you, and in these fourteen days an age of events has occurred. You, as well as our friends in the country, have been most actively engaged, and most important will be the consequences of these exertions.

I left town on Friday week to attend the half yearly Co-operative Congress, which was appointed to be held on the 31st March, and following days, at Barnsley, in Yorkshire. I arrived at Manchester on Saturday, where I

remained for the purpose of ascertaining what had been done by the Regeneration Society since my last visit, and I found that our friends composing this society are making very extensive and rapid progress; and, in a short time, the whole of the counties will be well informed of what course they should take. I passed through Huddersfield, where a large meeting was expected to be held on Friday last, relating to the Dorchester proceedings, but what took place there, I have not been informed. I then visited Leeds, where I met part of the Great Union of the Woollen Trade, and they expressed themselves ready to join with us in effecting those all-important objects which it is most desirable to accomplish. They also were to hold a meeting on the subject of the Dorchester Unionists, and also to consider the propriety of joining the Consolidated Union.

I then proceeded to Barnsley to attend the Congress, composed of delegates from different parts of the country, entertaining the co-operative views. At this meeting, reports were made from the various societies, and the general state of the working-classes was taken into consideration, and they are well aware of the important position in which they now are. Resolutions were passed on the subject of the extraordinary proceedings at Dorchester, and also recommending all the co-operators throughout the kingdom to become members of the Trades' Unions, and also to join the Consolidated Union, being well aware that their only safety is in close and yet extended Union.

By an unexpected coincidence, it happened that, at the same time that the Co-operative Congress were holding their meeting at Barnsley, a Congress of Delegates from the various lodges in the linen trade were also sitting at the same place. A deputation from this Congress was appointed to call on me to consider with them what was the best course to take regarding the poor men convicted at Dorchester. It was determined to call a public meeting, which was accordingly held in the Market-place; and although the notice was very short, upwards of 6000 persons assembled, and they unanimously adopted the petitions to the Houses of Lords and Commons, which had been voted here on the previous Monday. Some most excellent speeches were delivered, in which there was a total absence of all violent and irritating language; and at the close of the meeting the people dispersed as quietly as from a place of worship. I was then requested to deliver a lecture in the evening, and for this purpose the theatre was engaged, and there I developed to the people the great principles of our system. After the lecture a discussion took place, and in the course of this discussion I stated that, if any one would point out any error in the principles which I had been developing, such was my conviction of their mutual dependence on each other, that I should be ready to renounce the whole; or that if any permanently evil consequences could be shown to result from their adoption in practice, I would immediately give them up, and would advocate any other system that could be shown to be better; and I proposed that they should take time to consider the subject in all its bearings. "But," said one, "if we are ready now to go into this matter, and can now prove you in error, will you now give it up?" I professed my readiness so to do, but after waiting a considerable time, no one came forward to offer a single objection; on which I could not help saying, "is it possible, in this mixed assembly,

in boxes, pit, and gallery, that no one will stand forward to support the old system? Surely, then, it is indefensible." Great applause followed this appeal, which seemed evidently to arise from the conviction that the old system could not be supported.

Mr. Owen then stated that, on his return homewards, he stopped at Derby, with the intention of endeavouring to reconcile the differences between the masters and the men at that place; but it so happened that the intelligence of the determination of the Government to persist in carrying into execution the sentence passed on the Unionists of Dorchester had just arrived, and the masters, in consequence, were exulting in the hope that the Unions would be destroyed; and he, Mr. Owen, therefore, considered it not a suitable time to attempt any arrangement of the existing differences. On his way, he stopped at Nottingham and at Birmingham, at both which places meetings were held, and petitions were voted on behalf of the poor men convicted at Dorchester.

Mr. Owen then read and commented on the Manifesto of the Productive Classes issued in May last, which, he said, was then supposed likely to come into use in about 100 years hence; but so rapid and extensive had the progress been, that it appeared to him to be exactly suited to the present moment, and should now be presented by the productive classes, as their united and solemn address to the unproductive classes of the country and the world.

MANIFESTO OF THE PRODUCTIVE CLASSES.

To accomplish the great work which we are about to undertake, many, and most important, changes in conducting the affairs of life must of necessity be made; but we desire that these changes should be effected by reason, and not by force.

We, therefore, intend now to make manifest the necessity which has arisen at this period for the adoption of these changes, and also to convince the population of the world of their truth and justice, and thus to carry the minds of all with us; and, in the spirit of charity and kindness, to prevent all future revolutions of violence, by removing the causes which germinate and bring them to maturity.

We perceive that the evils which have afflicted the human race have arisen from ignorance: our remedy is to remove this ignorance.

The materials for the production of happiness superabound; they are now unused, or misused. We mean to bring them into action, and give them a right direction.

The materials for the production of happiness are, the earth and human beings. The earth requires but to be well cultivated, and properly arranged, to produce abundance and to form a terrestrial paradise; and human beings to be trained from birth according to the laws of their nature, and all their faculties and qualities to be made available, and properly directed, to insure the perpetual happiness of each individual.

To effect these important results, another, and a very different, arrangement of society from that which has hitherto existed must now be made.

The whole powers of the soil and of man must be brought into action; no portion of either can remain dormant when population can be advanced to require the wastes and wildernesses of the earth, which are now a want of cultivation, fruitful sources of disease and discomfort to man.

But all our powers are not misapplied. The arrangements of society are random or chance proceedings; arising chiefly from the supposed private interests of one family, in opposition to all others.

The producers of real wealth have been, and now are, held in disesteem; while the unproductive, useless, and injurious members of society riot to their own hurt in riches, and are trained to consider the productive classes their servants and slaves. By these ignorant and unnatural proceedings the earth and human nature have been made the perpetual source of evil, instead of good to man.

This irrational state of society ought now to cease, and henceforward all, except those of the present generation too far advanced in life for the change, ought to be trained to become producers of physical wealth or of intellectual gratification; and none ought to be maintained who are not occupied in producing or acquiring that which will benefit society, or be deemed equivalent to their consumption of its productions.

We know that all will become far better and happier by being made to be producers, than they can be by living a life of idleness or uselessness; and that the individual who is not trained, and afterwards employed, to effect something beneficial to society, must be, of necessity, not merely a useless, but a positively injurious, member of the family of mankind.

It is, therefore, the first duty of all governments to adopt national measures to train and place all the population of their respective dominions within such arrangements as shall make them, physically, intellectually, and morally, useful members of society.

But, to effect this change, an entirely new organisation of society is necessary. None of the professions, as they are now exercised, will be required; nor can any of the present modes of transacting the business of life be retained. Instead of these errors of the old world, arrangements ought to be adopted to re-organise the whole of society, and to re-model the proceedings of mankind. We know that, whatever shall be discovered and proved to be for the permanent interest of the human race, that the natural powers and faculties of each individual should be fully developed and brought into action for the direct benefit of all, that he himself may thereby be the most permanently benefited.

Each individual should be trained to become, as his natural faculties may direct, a producer of wealth, or of something of real value to society; that is, of something that shall contribute to the well-being or happiness of some portion of the population; or, in other words, as all may be trained to be useful or useless, no one shall be formed to become a worthless or useless member of our new social state. We also know that, by arrangements founded on these simple principles, the human race may be emancipated from ignorance and poverty, and, consequently, from sin and all its frightful train of miseries and evils innumerable.

The union of these few principles, properly combined in practice, will constitute the foundation for a very superior local and general government of the human race; and the general business of society, which has been hitherto so complicated and perplexed, will become, as it ought to be, so plain that any individual may be trained easily to comprehend the principles, and to apply them advantageously to practice.

We therefore now state to you that a new era has commenced; one in which wealth of the most intrinsic value can be created to an unlimited extent, and in which the individuals of the human race may be trained and educated to become beings possessing all the good and superior qualities only which belong to their nature.

And this era we do not hesitate to pronounce will prove to be the commencement of that period, which, under the term Millennium, the human race has been so long taught to expect.

It is a period when all deception and artifice must cease; when man will know and acknowledge the laws of his nature, and act in perfect accordance with them; and when, in consequence, he will become a natural and superior being.

We invite you, the non-producers of wealth, now to co-operate cordially with us, the producers, to effect this great and glorious change; we invite you as friends, without desire to create hostile feeling of any description; we invite you purely from the affection which our newly-acquired knowledge of our common nature has created within us. We dismiss all fear and suspicion, and all the inferior feelings which a system of error had generated and matured within us; for we have now full confidence that we ourselves can attain these grand and noble results without the aid of any, and notwithstanding the opposition of any, or all parties, whoever or whatever they may be. The old power of the old system of error is vanishing away as a mist disappears before the refugent influence of the sun. It had no strength but that which it derived from public opinion, and from public opinion it can no longer obtain support.

And why should any of you, the non-producers, lament that public opinion is withdrawn from giving power to an old system of error, which has produced evil continually? Is there any one, from the occupier of the most powerful throne to the meanest individual of the lowest tribe, who is not most grievously injured by the necessary effects of this system? It makes now, of all mankind, slaves to passions or to persons—a state of human existence which can never produce either virtue or happiness. Not one of you has a real interest in the longer support of this system; but, on the contrary, your future happiness must arise from its now dying a natural death.

Come, then, and for your own happiness co-operate with us as friends. We are the producers of all the wealth and means of comfort which you have hitherto possessed—we can make arrangements by which, in future, you may enjoy these good things in safety, and without fear; but were we so inclined, we could effectually withhold them from you and your children; and force applied to us would demonstrate only the weakness and folly of our mistaken opponents. The reign of terror, of carnal, or of physical force of any kind or description, in opposition to public opinion, has for ever ceased. It is now useless to speak of these old worn-out means to effect any great or permanent object. We discard them as being far worse than useless; as means of power gone by, never more to be called into action by beings claiming a rational nature.

We call upon you to discard them also, and to turn your thoughts from the destruction of your fellow-men, and of their wealth, to the acquisition of that knowledge which will

enable you to assist materially to improve the former, and greatly to increase the amount of the latter. To act thus is your duty and your interest, for it is the only course that can insure your permanent satisfaction, or that can now give you a chance of happiness.

In conclusion, we again earnestly call upon you to unite cordially with us in measures—

First, To produce a surplus of all kinds of wealth.

Second, To distribute wealth the most beneficially for all parties in all countries.

Third, To form a superior character for the rising generation, and to improve the adults of the present generation.

Fourth, To govern well and wisely for all parties.

Fifth, And to form arrangements to carry these measures into immediate execution, to stop the evident progress daily making towards a revolution of violence.

THE WORKING CLASSES.

(From *Tait's Magazine*.)

There is a natural division of trades and arts into sections, and classes, and orders, as well as of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Thus, there can be no doubt that a tailor, and hatter, and shoemaker, and stocking-maker, and shirt-maker, and glover, are all ramifications of one branch, whatever may be the diversity of their materials; and that the basis of the whole is a knowledge of anatomy. Yet how very short is the time since the first glimmerings of the truth have appeared! The object pursued in English dress—the attainment of warmth being of course paramount—is, at least in the male portion of the community, to display the figure as much as possible, by closely fitting garments. Yet not many years are passed since coats were made with scarce a seam in them, as though the human body were a cylinder, without rise or hollow, and a flat piece of cloth were the best adapted to cover it closely. Shirt-collars were also constructed in the same unscientific mode, as if a human throat were like a ship's spar; and shoes, too! There are "respectable" old gentlemen still to be found, who will roundly assert that shoes fit the feet best when not made right and left. Possibly this may be owing to the fact that their own feet have been rendered so shapeless by ill-usage, that no anatomically-formed shoe could possibly go on them. But these prejudices are almost worn out. Tailors profess to fit the human form anatomically; and even shoe-makers do not disdain to call in plaster casts to their aid, in order to get their lasts accurately made. But nothing like perfection in the art of covering the human body will be accomplished until it shall be the practice to teach the same individuals all the separate arts, in order that they may combine them with fourfold advantage. The workers in metal, also, are in many cases only varieties of the same thing. The roasting-jack-maker, the watchmaker, the mathematical-instrument-maker, the engineer, the gunmaker, and many others, ought to be so instructed, that each might, in case of necessity, exercise the calling of the other. The arts of the architect, the builder, the joiner, the carpenter, the cabinet-maker, the chiselmaker, instead of being studiously kept apart, ought all to be understood by the same individuals. The upholsterer should be familiar alike with the adornment of

houses and of wheel-carriages; and the builder of carriages should be familiar with every class, from the highest invention of luxury down to the common barrow of the brick-maker. The chemist should be versed in the principles of farming, in order to bring his knowledge to bear on the cheap production of vegetable matters for the purposes of food. And the farmer should also be a practical gardener, and be somewhat familiar with chemistry; and thus a rapidly increasing production would be the constant result.

But in spite of the disadvantages under which they have laboured, and the small amount of the subject matter on which to exercise their thoughts, the mechanics have advanced. It has been principally in physics, it is true; but the same faculties which enable them to draw correct inferences in physics, will also enable them to make a corresponding progress in the moral sciences, whenever the elements shall be placed before them, and the germs are springing in all quarters. The honoured names of Ebenezer Elliot of Sheffield, and Rowland Dettrosier, of Manchester, and John Wade, of Leeds, and Samuel Downing, of London, and Francis Ross,* of Dublin, are all precious to us, not simply on account of their individual worth and excellence, but also because they are men belonging to the working classes, and true samples of the sterling stuff of which those classes are composed, and are evidences that proper cultivation will bring forth thousands of such men, who at present lack language to enable them to appear that which they are. More than that,—the examples of such men become a standard for others to follow. The example of good is more contagious than the example of evil; and it is not possible that their fellows, who know their history, should recede from the onward march of improvement.

It is clear that the combinations at present taking place amongst the working men, cannot by any direct process raise the standard of wages. It is not possible to disprove the fact, that while workmen are in surplus, wages must be low, and that only by the diminution of their numbers can they permanently rise. But the agitation of the Trades' Unions will do great good, for it will cause knowledge to be spread in the process of discussion. The *Times* talks of putting down the complaints of the workmen by the strong hand. This may seem to some a simple process, but it will scarcely be put in practice, for this plain reason, viz. "the weavers of Lyons beat the troops of Louis Philippe," and the English mechanics would laugh to scorn every effort at coercion, which might fail to coerce their reason by the force of argument. They are not stocks or stones, and they bear in mind that the masters of Manchester has yet to be accounted for. Perhance the indignant feelings of honest and well-meaning, though ignorant and injured men, may yet be urged into folly by the stupid cruelty of wealthy superiors, still more ignorant than themselves. If so, the struggle will be sharp and short, and the enforcers of the cruelty will have little cause to congratulate themselves. But we will hope that they will take counsel of fear, and suffer the instruction of the working classes to go on.

* A Jodrey's printer in Dublin, author of a little three-penny tract of sterling matter, composed and printed from his brain, without the intervention of MS.

Powerful the working men will be; they should therefore be so instructed as to use their power beneficially for the whole community.

"But," say the middling classes, "we are the holders of the capital,—and, therefore, we will force the workmen to our own terms, as we can live for a long time on our hoarded means." Perhaps so; but the workmen have a remedy. All capital is the result of the savings of human labour. Therefore the same process which has made what now exists can make more also. The workmen can save their earnings, and become capitalists themselves, to carry on very profitable joint-stock labours, whenever they shall see their true interests. Whenever a good system of that kind shall be digested, in which all can have confidence, workmen will be enabled to lend money to their employers, who will thus dwindle by degrees from the capacity of masters to that of foremen. I am not alluding to a mere association of surplus workmen, forcing others out of employment by superior cheapness, after the fashion of the Labour Exchanges, but to the great mass of the workmen employing their time and money for their own benefit, taking interest for their capital, and payment for their labour, producing just what may be necessary for the supply of the markets, and no more; and not wasting time, and skill, and material, in a mischievous competition to keep up a constant glut. There is no doubt but all this might be done, and a considerable portion of each day left at the disposal of the working men, for the cultivation of their own minds, and the growth of refined tastes, as well as the instruction of their families. Some of the workmen allege that machinery will prevent them from doing all this, by depriving them of their employment. But they will not deny that machinery is a good thing for those whom it enables to live without labour, or with less labour. Their straightforward course, therefore, is, to accumulate capital of their own, and become the proprietors of machinery, which will at length elevate them to a station in society as important as that of their present masters.

"What!" say the respectables, "are the workmen to be raised to our level? The very institutions of society will be raised, if vulgarity is to rank with refinement—the working mechanic with the employer." Stop, be not too hasty. It by no means follows that the workman, when he shall be in a condition such as I contemplate for him, will be at all anxious for your society. His intellect is already considerably stronger than yours; and when education shall give him the aids of refinement to boot, he will be exceedingly apt to look down upon you as his inferior, and be as anxious to shun you, as you are now to shun him. You are shallow; he will be sound. You are conventional in your tastes and habits; he will be natural and simple. You have lost your relish for what is truly high and noble, and have substituted "respectability" in the place thereof. Your eyes have lost the power of glistening at the recital of a generous deed, while his will overflow. You are palled with artificial pleasures; he has yet to open upon him the whole round of rational enjoyment. The perusal of works written by high and noble-minded philosophers will elevate his perceptions; and the intellectual delights of reformed theatres, and national galleries of art, will call forth the dormant love of beauty in every shape which nature or inven-

genius can offer to his gaze. He will find that the possession of enormous individual wealth is by no means necessary to enjoyment. He will leave you to your ostentation, and smile at your folly in foregoing the exquisite delight arising from the expansive throbs of generous emotion.

Let not the reader deem this to be the mere dream of an enthusiast. The position is simply this: The working men of England produce annually a certain amount of wages, which are divided amongst the whole number. But only a portion of the number do the work; and consequently only that portion is necessary for the work of production. If, therefore, the surplus workmen were not produced, or were provided for by emigration, the total amount would be divided amongst a smaller number, who would thus become comparatively wealthy; and might, by saving the surplus, ultimately become capitalists, and the proprietors of machinery; a consummation most devoutly to be wished, by all those to whom the interests of humanity are dear.

I have more to say on the subject of the working classes; but shall forbear for the present. I remain, Sir, very truly yours,
JUNIOUS REDIVIVUS.

APPEAL TO TRADES' UNIONISTS.

FELLOW WORKMEN, BROTHERS!—We have now arrived at a period of momentous importance. We have now gained a position, which it depends upon ourselves to make either the first step of a glorious advance towards prosperity and happiness, or of a debasement to unprecedented slavery and destitution! We have practically proved to the world the possibility of instituting a national organization of the working classes, the *People*! We have done much, we have rallied in thousands, in millions; we have already concentrated a power in itself irresistible. We have summoned together the wisdom and the virtue of "*our order*." We have instructed the ignorant, and supported the needy; we have emboldened the faint-hearted, and tamed the turbulent; cheered the desponding, and cooled to temperance the hasty and the over-zealous. In a word, we have tested and proved the glorious, the redeeming principle of Union! But, brothers,—much as we have accomplished, we have yet more to achieve. Our past progress has been indeed difficult, comparatively uncertain and speculative. When our flag was hoisted we knew not one another, we could not distinguish the trustworthy from the false. It was with a bold but hazardous step that we enlisted. Now we may congratulate ourselves for our ardour, and each brother for his fidelity! We are now united in confidence and sympathy, and thus have we gained a most important position; but how to emerge thence into the broad path of progressive amelioration will be found a task which calls yet louder for strenuous and concerted action. The suspicious jealousy of our isolation has been supplanted by the mutual reliance of our Union; but the success of our present and prospective movements must depend upon our *wisdom*, our *foresight*, our *unity*, and our *determination*! We must be wise in our measures; we must calculate beyond immediate to ultimate consequences; and if we then urge their prosecution with that firmness and decision which the consciousness of a ruling rectitude inspires, our success is complete, speedy, and glorious! If, on the

other hand, we act from momentary impulse, if we allow the present to blind the future from our consideration, and if we betray dissimilarity of purpose or vacillation of principle, we become at once the easy prey of hereditary tyrants, and consign ourselves to a hopeless slavery. Between peace and prosperity, and anarchy and desolation, we ourselves must determine! Brothers! trust, therefore, on yourselves only; but trust your wisdom, your justice, and your prudence, rather than your feelings!

AMITY.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF WOMEN.

"But there is one way of obtaining what we may term at least, if not utter—mortal happiness; it is this,—a sincere and unrelaxing activity for the happiness of others. In that one maxim is concentrated whatever is noble in morality, sublime in religion, or unanswerable in truth. In that pursuit we have all scope for whatever is excellent in our hearts, and none for the petty passions which our nature is heir to. There, whatever be our errors, there will be nobility, not weakness, in our remorse; whatever our failure, virtue, not selfishness, in our regret; and in success, vanity itself will become holy, and triumph eternal."—E. L. BOLWEN.

At a period like the present, while the friends to human happiness are exerting all their energies to exterminate the ignorance, the vice, and consequently the misery, which, during all past ages, has existed in the world;—while the dawning of universal benevolence or sympathy, the harbingers of a better state of things than humanity has ever yet enjoyed, have dissipated the clouds which hung upon the horizon, and the day-star of science is progressively approaching the meridian, chasing before it the glooms of superstition; at a period so replete with changes as the present, it is of infinite importance that woman's character should be exalted from its low state, in order that a moral power shall be created which shall remove the impediments that stand in the way of the rights of humanity.

Among the various errors in the methods of educating females, there is none more important, as regards the interests of themselves and society, than the exciting and cultivating the powers of the memory and the imagination to an excessive degree, and thereby weakening the controlling powers of reason and judgment. The consideration is no less sure than painful, that those who create the minds of women—for the mind is only a succession of ideas and impressions—have never trained them to think, examine, or compare any two subjects, except on questions of dress, the chief instrument of female vanity, or money: habits of reflection, without which the mind is lost to all the valuable purposes of living, have not only not been cultivated, but never permitted among them. The actions of human beings proceed from their thoughts. The errors resulting from a want of attention to this important truth are clearly shown to us in the present truly wretched condition of society.

Our faults are at the bottom of our pains; Error, in acts of judgment, is the source Of endless sorrow.

Hence the minds of the generality of females are consigned to inactivity and uncompanionable insipidity. Whilst the expression of almost every dignified feeling and the display of pure and genuine sentiment are carefully repressed as unbecoming, every idle want,

every selfish desire, is as much as possible indulged. With minds thus cribbed and cabined by habit, have they, during all past centuries, been rendered incapable of fulfilling the great social duties which devolve upon women.

Women in the middle ranks are more exempt from this error than the higher and lower class of females. In pursuing their domestic avocations, they employ a portion of the time which is, by those of the higher class, expended very frequently in employments the most destructive to mind and morals, and the most inimical to the well-being of society. It is, then, to women in the middle ranks I would appeal, would ask, if experience has not taught them that the imaginative faculty, all-elevating as it is, does not often prove "the light that leads astray?" Will you, now that the most important science, viz. the formation of the human character, has been, thanks to the mighty mind with whom it has originated, in language easily to be understood, developed to us, shall we, I say, remain inattentive to this truly beautiful science? or shall we not, rather, by exercising our judgment, try to acquire, by cool and deliberate investigation, a correct knowledge of its important truths? Oh yes; I am sure, quite sure, that the reflection that to you is entrusted the charge of the infant, you it is upon whom devolves the delightful, the all-important task, "to aid the mind's development," will inspire you with the ardent wish, the persevering industry, necessary to accomplish it. Ere I lay down my pen, I would only observe that it will be in vain for us to expect any great increase of happiness in the social condition of women, unless they cultivate, without loss of time, the two great faculties, judgment and reflection. Let the now no-longer-disputed fact, that you possess the capabilities of acquiring every species of knowledge that can ennoble our nature, animate your bosoms with courage to remove the obstacles which have ever impeded the progress of your minds. I would adjure you, by all the experience of the past, by these bright anticipations of the future which we so ardently desire to possess, by our joys and our sorrows, to set about freeing ourselves from the state of mental bondage in which we now are. Then, and not till then, will pure morality, sincere and lasting happiness, find an abode in society; then, and not till then, will the human countenance proclaim the all-beauteous mind within; and then shall mankind feel and acknowledge "the might, the majesty of loveliness."

March 28th, 1834.

VESTA.

EASTERN INSTITUTION.

No. 12, Portland-street, Commercial-road, near Stepney Causeway.

The Second Social Festival will take place at the above Institution on Tuesday evening, April 15, 1834. Double Tickets, to admit a Lady and Gentleman, or two Ladies, 2s. 6d.; Single Ticket, 1s. 6d.; Tea and Coffee included. Tickets may be had of Mrs. Brooke, at the Institution, Charlotte-street; at the Westminster Rational School, Millbank; and at the Institution, as above.

Lectures are regularly delivered every Sunday and Thursday evenings.

A. PEACOCK, Hon. Sec.

Mr. Smith will Lecture on Sunday evening, at the Westminster Institution, Grosvenor-street, Millbank.

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THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 2, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, APRIL 13.

Extracts from a Sermon (James iii. 13.) by Mr. Smith, "ON THE EVILS OF COMPETITION."

"Who is a wise man and endued with wisdom among you? let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom. But if ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not and lie not against the truth. This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish; for where envy and strife are, there is confusion and every evil work. But the wisdom which is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy; and the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace."

There is a fearful curse upon every thing that man does; all his ways are beset with thorns; all his pursuits are obstructed by the diabolical passions of his fellow creatures. Justly and truly hath the wise king of Israel said, that all is vanity and vexation of spirit; and that there is no profit under the sun to any of the labours of mankind. This curse has always been observed, and its existence acknowledged in all ages. The ancient Greek and Latin poets used to paint the horrors of the present system in the most vivid and expressive language; and the Christian church has regarded the corruption of the present system of society as a direct result of the malignant operation of the devil himself, the great enemy of truth and of all happiness. But all of them were of opinion that there was once a time when the world enjoyed a state of repose. The ancient poets sung of the golden ages, when men led the lives of shepherds and agriculturists, and enjoyed an abundant share of the produce of the earth; and in those days, neither war, nor strivings, nor envyings, nor jealousies of description, were known. The Christian church, however, does not adopt this article of faith to so wide an extent as the ancient poets of Greece and Rome, and all the other civilized nations of antiquity; for it affirms that the golden age ceased before the first man and woman fought forth their own likeness. And this, I think, is a much better account of the matter. There never was, and never could be, a

golden age, whilst men lived in a state of ignorance: the golden age is to come.

But, if the Christians have hit the truth in this respect, the Pagans have far outstripped them in another; for, in the glowing descriptions of the heathen poets, the golden ages are described as a state of society in which there was no individual competition; in which the landmark had not yet made a distinction between the property of one man and another; in which the soil and its produce belonged to all men; and, consequently, the natural effects of this system of common property were peace and goodwill amongst all the happy tenants of the earth. If this state never existed, it still may exist; and these opinions demonstrate to us that the ancients had discovered and recognised the true cause of the corruption of human nature. But if you examine carefully the two doctrines—that is, the doctrine of the heathen, and the doctrine of the Christian moralists—you will find them quite the same, but differently expressed. The heathens say that competition was the cause of all the evils of society; and the Christians say that the devil is the cause. Now, the true meaning of devil is envy, or jealousy, or strife, or competition; it means a spirit of strife and contention; a spirit that is always plotting mischief against some one; always endeavouring to gain an advantage to itself, at the expense of another's welfare. The proper meaning then of the devil is nothing else than the spirit of competition, the spirit of jealousy and strife, or, in other words, the spirit of this world. The religious world has personified this spirit, and represented him as a being with a shape and a limited existence, and thus led people into numerous errors respecting the source of evil. The heathens kept the idea of his personality out of sight altogether, and merely taught that competition corrupted mankind: and what is this competition when you examine it critically, but the very same thing that the religious world call the devil, the god of this world? This devil goes by another name, which is equally significant, namely, Satan. This means an enemy; and also well expresses the system of competition, which makes us all enemies to each other, so that we look with jealousy, hatred, and envy upon one another; and instead of rejoicing in each other's welfare, we exult and triumph in the downfall

of our neighbour. Our whole employment seems to consist in an eager inquiry into those means which are most effectual in enervating our fellow-men, in imposing upon them, or in transferring the business of our rivals into our own hands.

There is no walk of life which is free from this all-pervading, omnipresent devil of competition. You may fly to the uttermost parts of the earth to escape from his cruelty, but it is all vain. You will find him in every hole and corner of the world, from the palace of the prince down to the mud hovel of the Irish peasant, or the simple tent of the gipsy; and in every profession, every trade, every circumstance of life, he takes the lead, and blasts all your attempts to evade his fearful enchantments. Are you a tradesman? then there are other tradesmen as well as you, whose greatest satisfaction would be to destroy your trade, and engulf it all in their own capacious and ravenous appetites. You also have the same feeling towards them; and, in order to accomplish this destruction of other men's interests, the most infamous plans are put into execution, falsehoods are invented and circulated, puffing advertisements are inserted in the newspapers, in which men wantonly sport with the good name and the feelings of others, and falsely pretend to be the only honest, the only cheap, the only good manufacturers of the article in the world. One shop is the cheapest shop in the kingdom; another shop is the only genuine shop in the kingdom; another sends forth flaming bills and advertisements, declaring with a degree of impudence which would be ludicrous enough in a monkey, or any other caricature of humanity, but deplorable in a being who pretends to be social and intelligent; declaring that all other men in the trade are impostors, and warning the public against giving any encouragement to his own rivals. The meaning of all this is obvious enough: these men want to swallow up the whole of their own trade, and nothing would give them greater satisfaction than to see all their rivals gazetted as bankrupts, and themselves enjoying the exclusive privilege of serving the public. The effects of this system of rivalry are evident. It produces all sorts of cunning, craft, hypocrisy, and knavery; it separates the affections of those of the same trade; and so far from pro-

moting the progress of the arts, it creates a system of imposture and deception which inundates the world with spurious articles of every description. Men are reduced to the sad necessity of getting up an article as cheap as possible, in order to meet their rivals in the market, and monopolize the trade; for this purpose they use all sorts of trickery and chemical ingenuity, to deceive the eye, and give a false show of real worth to the produce of their labour; and they also reduce the wages of the working man, as well as their own profits, to the lowest fraction, lest another should outstrip them, by his moderate charges, and rob them of the little which they have. This is a race which every tradesman is obliged to run; he is carried along by the current; it is like running down hill; it is dangerous to proceed, and it is equally dangerous to stop; for one man is unable to put an end to the system. If he has the presumption to make the attempt, by conducting his own trade upon a different principle, he is overwhelmed by the majority of his rivals; wherefore it is evident that there is no method of putting a stop to this nefarious system of trading, than by a combination of tradesmen, who shall agree to act upon one uniform principle, for the good of the whole trade collectively, and not for the good of individuals exclusively.

There is almost no evil in life which does not in some measure spring from the system of competition. The chief evils of life are disease, poverty, and personal outrage; and all these may be classed under the single word poverty. The greatest proportion of disease is to be found amongst the poor. It is chiefly the inactivity and consequent intemperance of the rich that brings them into trouble. They have it in their power to escape from the greater part of the evils which affect humanity; but by giving encouragement to a system which breeds diseases when it breeds poverty, they themselves become victims to their own folly and infatuation. It is fearful to look into a list of diseases, such as are created by this artificial system of hostility in which we live. The simple savage knows very few of these, and he can easily cure them; his air is free, his food is pure, and his person is clean; but in our filthy dens of stagnation, there is neither a pure atmosphere to breathe nor wholesome food to eat, nor a cleanly person; and the native dignity and purity of taste, which is natural to man in a free state, are completely extinguished in the disgusting hovels to which dire necessity has compelled them to retreat. The fortunate few, into whose lap the god of wealth has poured more than enough, have selected the finest spots, both of town and country, for their own habitation; they have large and commodious mansions and gardens, and open prospects before and behind, and free access to the cleansing draught of the refreshing air. But, on the other hand, the closest and the most unhealthy spots are the necessary abodes of the poorest; they live like rats, in the drains, or close by them; they breathe the same air in which vermin delight themselves; and then, after contracting those diseases which are the unavoidable consequences of such unhealthy residences, the rich, out of pity, build or support infirmaries and hospitals, to receive these wretched victims of their own insatiable avarice. Were they content with a little less of the plunder of the poor man's labour; content to live in comfortable houses, instead of impiously attempt-

ing to equal the gods themselves in the grandeur of their habitations and the splendour of their equipages, we should neither require the aid of their subscriptions for infirmaries, nor their involuntary contributions for work-houses. The poor would be supported by the surplus of labour, and our eyes would be saved that appalling spectacle of the rich man swaggering in all the fulness and consequence of a full belly and a well-stocked purse; whilst the wretched beggar, timidly, and to no purpose, craves merely a halfpenny to satisfy the demands of hunger.

The poor have been taught that all this inequality was unavoidable,—that God had so ordained it; they are told that there must be poor, to give the rich an opportunity of exercising charity, and the poor an opportunity of experiencing gratitude in return; they have believed it in the simplicity of their hearts, and they believe it still. Their public instructors never yet pointed out to them how the system could be improved; they only told them to be good, but never showed them how they could improve their dispositions. Yet nothing could be more evident than this, that all the moral evils of which they are guilty, are produced by the corrupting influence of money matters. If a grocer and a linen-draper are neighbours, they can live in perfect harmony; they are very good friends, and visit each other in social friendship. But suppose the linen-draper to remove, and another grocer comes to occupy his place; the consequence is, that the two grocers fall out like two game-cocks, and strive to ruin each other; there is no sociality, not even acquaintanceship; they won't even speak to each other. This simple fact is but a picture of the whole state of society at present. It is an everlasting warfare, and a warfare of a more cruel and relentless nature than that of a field of battle, where the bullet shivers, or the sword pierces as quick as lightning, and death immediately follows. This is a lingering death, a death which commences as soon as a young man begins to act for himself; which incessantly assails him with new wounds, which spoils his temper, which hardens his heart, which kills his sympathies, which makes him also a tyrant to others, and an active instrument in carrying on the ungenerous system of rivalry and hatred in which members of the same great family, each secluded from the interest of his neighbour, all endeavour to promote their own happiness, by robbing the rest of their species of theirs.

It is not only a cruel system, but it is a false one; it is certainly not what may be called heavenly wisdom, which is pure, peaceable, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. It is vain for the clergy to pretend that there is or can be such a virtue as this in a state of commercial competition. Peace can never last as long as monopoly lasts; there must be a free intercourse between nation and nation, as well as between man and man. We have laid an impost upon the grain that is imported into this country, in order to keep up the rents of our own landholders, and this, no doubt, our legislators thought was doing a generous action; but if it was doing a generous action to the landlords, it was doing a most ungenerous one to the poor, who are thus obliged to pay double for their bread that the aristocracy may keep up the splendour of their families. We have also been doing mischief to other nations, inasmuch as they have been

deprived of a market for their surplus grain; on which account the husbandry of Poland and Prussia has grievously fallen off, and the land diminished in value. Thus, whilst we have been propping up the falling pillars of English nobility and gentry, we have been committing violence upon other nations, who are all alike entitled to share in the common justice of the great law of social morality. This certainly is not a peaceable system, neither is it a system without partiality, for partiality is its distinguishing characteristic; such partiality, too, as overlooks the interest of the greatest number, and consults with sycophantish eagerness the comforts and desires of the few; such partiality as would sacrifice the domestic comforts of millions merely to gratify a minion of royalty or satiate the avarice or ravenous appetites of the non-producers.

Our text says that heavenly wisdom is full of mercy, and without hypocrisy. Now where can we find such wisdom as this? Amongst all our men of science, who is there that teaches a doctrine of mercy? we have eminent clergymen, and accomplished scholars; but for what do they preach, and what is the summit of their ambition? They are scaling the towers of the church, and plotting schemes against her treasures and ecclesiastical honours. Whatever mercy is consistent with their own advancement they have no objection to show; they will sometimes give a subscription to a charitable institution, and sometimes a penny to a sweep upon a Sunday; but their mercies do not extend much further than these charitable donations; they never go so far as to teach the poor how they may deliver themselves from poverty, and become independent. Yet this is the only species of mercy that is at all valuable; that species of mercy called charity is a demoralizing vice; it engenders bad feelings, both in him who gives and him who receives; it is a humbling thing to see one man relying for support upon the capricious and stinted charity of another. But by frequently witnessing sights of distress, the heart is hardened and deformed; we have no idea how low we have fallen in the scale of humanity, merely by being in the habit of witnessing human misery, and regarding it as an irremediable evil. Moreover, gratitude itself is a disagreeable feeling; it is an unequal, a slavish feeling; it supposes a proud superiority on one hand, and a helpless inferiority on the other. This to a truly merciful mind would be intolerable; hence a truly generous mind scorns to make another man grateful for a favour conferred; when he confers it, he generally does it in such a way as to make it rather a debt than a gift; and in so doing he acts wisely, for gratitude is burdensome to an independent spirit, and very often destroys that friendship and respect which it was intended to cherish. Men can never love one another as long as they are under any grateful obligations to each other; it is only in a state of noble and independent equality, when the great shall not pity the small, nor the small be under any obligation to the great, that man may be said to have that heavenly wisdom which is full of mercy and without partiality.

And what shall our moralists say to the hypocrisy of the present system? What is the use of preaching against this deformity, when the system seems contrived on purpose to engender it? One cannot refrain from being a hypocrite; we must either act the part of hypocrites, or be despised and ruined to boot.

Business is only to be conducted by secrecy; we must conceal our thoughts from each other, and when we have made a profitable discovery, we must keep it to ourselves lest we should not reap the advantage of it. But what is still worse, we are often obliged to make a false show of honesty, to claim credit for sincerity, when we are full of craft; and pretend to be selling under prime cost when we are gaining twenty per cent. The world has got into such a diseased state, that nothing else will give satisfaction. Some people could have no pleasure in an article, unless they were satisfied they bought it under prime cost. The idea of a profit to the seller is quite painful to them; it would render the article quite insufferable; it would gnaw their very vitals every time they looked upon it, if they did not know, or at least believe, that the merchant was a loser by the bargain, and they the only gainers. So infatuated are some people in this mischievous mania for buying under prime cost, that they actually throw away their money upon articles of which they do not stand in need, merely because they are solemnly assured that they are sold at a nett loss of twenty per cent.

A mere removal of taxation will not remove the evils of competition, nor the evil of war; and if war be prosecuted as heretofore, national debt must be accumulated, and taxes levied to liquidate it. But the cessation of commercial competition would be the everlasting cessation of every species of war, both national and individual. Were one nation to adopt the system of trading communities, all the rest of Europe would follow the example, and the immediate consequence would be free trade in the most unlimited sense of the word, and a liberal interchange of commodities with different nations. But the greatest of all blessings would be the full employment which it would give to all our industrious population, and the opportunities it would afford them of improving their minds, by reading and other intellectual occupations. Crime would almost instantly cease. Each nation, each trade would be a species of police; it would know all its own members, know their character, their employment, their place of residence; so that every man who could not give an account of himself, would be regarded as a suspicious character. It is the most perfect system of government which can be adopted; it gives security to property and good conduct, which cannot be attained under any other system. In fact, it is the only system of police which is practicable, for it would divide the population into tribes of industry, to one or other of which every one would belong, and to whom he would refer for his character as a citizen; whereas now the people are so infinitely scattered, that the greater part of the community are unknown, and every opportunity is afforded to impostors and knaves of making gain of the credulity of the simple. I trust that ere long the unions will attend this important subject, and resolutely determine to break up the present unhallowed system of competition, which it is in vain for them to attempt to mend. It must be utterly annihilated, mending won't suffice, were it even possible to mend it. But this is impossible; any attempt to cure the evil, short of utter destruction, will assuredly fail. Men are too cunning now to be checked by any legal enactments. As long as they act as competitors in opposition to each other, they will deceive the public; but as soon as you remove the

temptation to deceive, they will immediately become honest, for man is always led by the strongest motives. When this attempt at public trading is made, it will then be demonstrated that Bernard* is no enthusiast when he says that the origin of moral evil shall be discovered by the working men of England. It is a simple discovery, discovered already in theory, but soon to be demonstrated by experiment, when the system of competition is annihilated.

* Bernard's "Theory of the Constitution," lately published.

WE have received a very cutting letter from a correspondent, relative to education, and the institution of a school. We don't know whether it was meant for insertion or not; but we shall take the liberty of making a short reply to some of the remarks. Our correspondent complains that we are endeavouring to force the principles of the social system on the minds of adults, who are loaded with prejudices and ignorance, and leaving our children to take their chance. Take their chance in what? In reading? No. In arithmetic? No. Then what is it they are taking their chance in? Religion. Now we know from experience and observation, that all the religion which children get is got chiefly at home; and, in the present age, they are generally less superstitious than their parents are. You very rarely find them more so. It is a very rare thing to find the children of an Infidel growing up Christians, on account of any religious impressions which have been made upon them by the schoolmaster. But there is nothing more common than the complaints of religious parents, that their children are entirely destitute of religious feelings. If our correspondent is afraid of his children becoming very pious, we think there is very little danger, even though he himself show them a very godly example.

We most decidedly differ with those who think that we ought at present to make the education of children of primary importance, or that a new system of education can yet be adopted, especially in such a place as London, which would present advantages superior to the ordinary schools of the world; unless the system was constituted with such preparations and arrangements as would be far beyond the means of our friends at the present juncture. A system of education such as we contemplate is a most expensive system, because it is a system of attraction. To attempt a moral system of education without attraction is useless. It is owing to the want of attraction that the schools of the world have proved merely houses of correction for children. But what new attraction could be got in our present circumstances, sufficient to give the system a moral and intellectual character; or even sufficient to keep it going without the aid of the cane, which is the only substitute for attraction which can be found?

Yet we do not wish to be understood as discouraging the institution of an elementary school. The utility of such an institution is obvious, and it is much better that we should have all our children taught under one system, than scattered abroad as at present. But the great and all-engrossing object at present is the education of adults, stimulating them to some active exertions in promoting the general combination of the operatives, that we may put a termination to the great root of all moral

and intellectual evil, the competitive system; and we do not think we have been so unsuccessful as our friend implies. The progress of combination is moving with great rapidity; if we make such rapid advances in the next twelve months as we have made in the last, society will be thoroughly ripe for a change, and it is only by a great national change that the good we contemplate can be effected. Adults alone can carry on the struggle with our enemies, and there is no danger that the rising generation will fall backwards, or fail to improve upon the spirit of their fathers. No doctrine can be more demonstrative than that of the progress of society; the spirit of the age is like a mighty river, carrying all before it. We ought always to keep our eyes principally upon great movements; by devoting our attention too closely to small isolated schemes, we become sectarian, and really fall into those very illiberal prejudices which we fly from the world to avoid; but no man can become liberal by quitting the great arena of the public. Liberality consists in promiscuity of intercourse—bigotry in exclusiveness. You will never make children liberal by teaching one thing and withholding another. If you want to make your children liberal, let them know the opinions of the world as well as your own. To hide the opinions of the public from them, is to prevent them from exercising their judgment upon them; it is, in fact, to make them sectarians.

ANCWORTH AGRICULTURAL UNION.—We are happy to see our agricultural friends so eagerly following our example in the good cause of union; they are evidently at present in arrears of the commercial districts, as is to be expected from the limited opportunities which they possess either of forming associations or acquiring information; but though the last, they are not the least in the order of national importance and progressive improvement. Power at present is concentrated in cities; but health, and liberty, and morality, are destined to receive their final impulse and establishment in the rural districts: the country is the patri-mony of our race; the town is merely the seat of authority. There are two kinds of liberty; physical liberty, as they call it, and intellectual liberty. The first is enjoyed in the open air, on the green sward, amid the luxuriance of vegetation; the second is best known amid the throngs of a dense population, where all the productions of mind are concentrated. They are both good, and we only require the mutual intercourse and alternation of the two, fully to gratify all the longings of our nature; hence we rejoice to see our agricultural friends keeping pace with us in our movements, for upon their hearty co-operation depends the completion of our great social schemes. Our friends at Ancworth have sent us a report of the formation of an agricultural union in the village. They have agreed to subscribe threepence per week each, and, when a sufficient sum shall be collected, to trade with the capital in such articles as may be thought proper.—Another object of this society will be the diffusion of useful knowledge, so that the working classes may raise themselves from that degraded state of ignorance in which they have hitherto been kept by their pretended superiors; wherefore it is intended to hold weekly meetings for reading, and the discussion of useful subjects, carefully avoiding all religious controversy.—(Oh, God! this religion! if it be not the devil him-

self, it plays the devil.) Mr. A. Mason, carpenter, took the chair, and made a speech, which, rustic as he said it was, and for aught we know it might be, had the desired effect of commanding applause and producing immediate action. "A thread," says he, is weak and easily broken; but unite it again and again, and it becomes a strong cable, sufficient to hold the strongest vessel that ever sailed the ocean. If we only unite, shall we not become the cable? Let us join heart and hand, and twine round each other as the ivy twines round the oak."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We do not understand A. B. C. as yet. Something more is coming, he says; but we should like to see his ulterior views before we give insertion to any preliminary remarks. To expect more from us would be unreasonable.

The Labour Exchange Report next week.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 19.

MR. OWEN has been castigating us for our very injudicious article on the Executive in last week's *Crisis*. Time will show whether it is injudicious or not; suffice it at present to say, that we do not think it so; and we are by no means convinced by his arguments that we ought to maintain a respectful silence on the proceedings of public authority, for that is just the old argument of the old world in favour of passive obedience, and quiet submission to the wisdom of our rulers. We disavow all personal motives in writing the article. We do not wish to dissolve the Executive; we merely wish to add to it. Our only motive was to bring about a more close and more consolidated union, that our arms might be strengthened, and we better enabled to adopt national measures.

We think the Executive have been remiss in their duty, or they would instantly have taken measures to effect an intimate correspondence and co-operation with the great Unions of the North. We expected also official reports occasionally, after the great delegate meeting in February last; but no reports have been given. We expected also, since they had taken the Derby affair into their own hands, that they would have informed the public of their proceedings in respect to our suffering friends in that place, who have been very much neglected of late, since the subscriptions ceased to be made public as usual. In fine, we expected a little more frankness and decision, and not being able to produce them by any other means, we wrote the reprehensible article. We considered it as a duty; and it has produced some good fruit already, for it has brought forth a very good document from the Executive, whom we are very glad once more to meet in public. They are public men; they are entrusted with public authority, &c. &c., and we think it but right that they should now and then show their countenances, that we may judge, by their

looks at least, of the prospects of the working classes in the great cause which we have all at heart. If we, and others of the public journalists, do not hear from them occasionally, how can the public hear? That they do not, is evident from the inquiries which are frequently made of ourselves, and the surprise which is evinced in the countenances of those who hear us reply that it is known only to the powers that be.

Though we are pleased with the document which we have received, still it is not a report of proceedings. They have not told us what they have done; Mr. Owen says that they have done great things; well, we are not disputing Mr. Owen's authority, but still we should be happy to know what they have done; and we believe we are quite as much inclined to be pleased with any good thing that they have accomplished as Mr. Owen is, and perhaps quite as charitable and kindly disposed.—(We beg pardon for praising ourselves, only it has become very customary in these latter days, and we do not choose to be singular.) We shall say no more against the Executive at present; but as we are opposed to every thing like secrecy, individualism, sectarianism, or division of any kind, we shall not fail very soon to resume our task of censorship, if we do not see some decided step taken, not only to consolidate the whole Unions, but to give the public regular official reports of the proceedings of the Cabinet. If this good result should follow from what we have already said, we shall rejoice exceedingly, for we hate reproach; but it is a powerful circumstance occasionally, and acts like a fine breeze of wind to the floating barge. "Mercy is our darling attribute," but there is a bit of fury in us.

In respect to what Mr. Owen says of some articles in the *Crisis*, which have crept in through inadvertence, or a want of knowledge of the system which he advocates—we can only say, that as long as we have any thing to do with any publication, we shall make it as liberal as possible, and afford an opportunity to all sects and parties of expressing their peculiar sentiments upon that subject which we consider all-important, namely, the general union of interests and opinions. We hate sectarianism, and shall always act as much as possible upon the social principle; which principle can never be followed by exclusiveness of any kind.—Exclusiveness is the very surest way of creating bigots.

We have always taken great and universal views of every subject. We have discouraged and deprecated all petty party or sectarian schemes; we have always taught the people that communities and associations of any kind must either

be upon a great national scale, or that no success would attend them. We have offended many by saying so; we have been thought remiss and deficient of zeal; but now all these little hole and corner movements have ceased, and the broad principle of national organization has flashed upon all parties, and still we go upon the same all-embracing, all-organizing principle, from the same everlasting conviction, that it is only the whole, and not a part, that can accomplish the great end which we anticipate. If time should prove us in error, we shall readily acknowledge it; we do not pretend to be infallible.

If we have occasionally differed from Mr. Owen on certain subjects, what of that? We do not identify ourselves with any man; and Mr. Owen has already publicly declared in the *Crisis* that he is not responsible for any thing which does not bear his name. We would not deign to be the mouth-piece of any individual, and it would be paying Mr. Owen no compliment to be guided by him in all our opinions. We shall think for ourselves, and when error (if error it can be proved) is circulated, there is always room for reply. What is the use of our minds, if we do not consult our own judgments? Every man who thinks, must think chiefly from his own experience, and not from another man's; and it is as impossible for Mr. Owen to meet with another man who thinks exactly like himself, as it is for two beings "to be exactly alike," which is one of his own axioms. But this is no good reason why he should say that no other individual understands the system of society but himself. We acknowledge the great superiority of Mr. Owen as a man, but still we know that all the knowledge or experience of any one individual is merely a drop in the ocean of thought; that the experience of all men is truth; but the experience of one man is only a part of truth, mingled with error.

DERBY has lately been forsaken by her southern friends, and the principal reason seems to be that the subscriptions have ceased to be published. London has nearly forsaken her. Only a few pounds have been sent for some weeks from London, and the chief part of that from our printer's office. But she has not been wholly destitute; she has found other friends to support her in her extremities. These friends are the Builders' Union, who, within these three last weeks have sent her upwards of 230*l*. They are resolved to continue their support until they establish their fellow-operatives in Derby in an independent business of their own. They are at present laying out considerable sums in making preparations for this purpose. A factory is taken. Machinery

is ordered, and in a few days, several hundred more of the brave heroes of the north will be in active employment. They well deserve the title of heroes: for they have braved the most dreadful enemy that man can encounter, with a fortitude which is deserving of the highest admiration. That enemy is hunger, which, with all its terrors perpetually before them, has been unable to shake their resolution of abiding by the bold position which they took at their first altercation with their masters. The masters have now been driven to their last shifts. An attempt was lately made to break up the Unions, by pretending that there was a report in circulation that the Unions had fire-arms concealed in their lodges. The masters, upon this false pretence, got twenty constables, and a couple of magistrates, with whom they broke into all the lodges in Derby; but what was their astonishment and disappointment when they found only two old swords, which had been used in the ceremony of initiation, the dispensation, and a Bible! they read the dispensation, but had the candour to acknowledge that they saw nothing wrong in it. To effect this dire work of tyranny, however, they broke open chests, and forced their way into apartments, in one of which a child was sleeping, whose innocent slumbers, however, proved no check to these hardened ministers of pretended justice. This is their last shift, we suspect; they have hitherto been defeated on every side; and we are happy to inform our friends that the Derby turned-outs are in good spirits, notwithstanding their many privations, and that they contemplate a speedy return to their old employment under new and independent circumstances.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, APRIL 13.

Mr. Owen said, I have read the leading article in the *Crisis* of Saturday, the 12th inst., with considerable surprise. Who wrote this article I know not; but of the many articles opposed to the principles which the *Crisis* was established to develop and support, which have been from time to time, through inadvertence or not fully understanding the sciences from which those principles are derived, inserted in that paper, the article which I have now read is, I fear, calculated to produce most injury to the cause which it was undoubtedly intended to serve.

To counteract this injury, I shall this evening address my discourse generally to the productive classes and Trades' Unions, and especially to those who have joined the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

The article which I have just read from the *Crisis* is likely to mislead the public relative to the proceedings of the Council, and to lessen the confidence of the Unions in the talents, activity, and moral courage of the Executive. Now, no proceeding could be more unwise: the success of all great undertakings depends upon the union of the executive, and

the confidence in them of those whom they represent and for whom they act; and this article has a strong tendency to create division and distrust among all these parties; and this mode of proceeding has ever destroyed the cause of the working man. Now, it should be recollected that, under the peculiar circumstances of difficulty under which the working classes have been placed by the long reign of the non-producers over them, that the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland has been called into existence, and so far conducted in the right path with much prudence and foresight, and its proceedings hitherto have been generally approved by all who have known the prejudices which they have had to overcome, and the variety of opinions which they have had to reconcile; again, that the Executive were chosen by the delegates as the persons appearing to them the most competent to conduct the great interests of the industrious classes; for it should be remembered that none could be competent, for want of experience, to fill this situation as it is desirable it should be filled. The best instruments that presented themselves were used; they have done the best in their power, and they have done far more in the time than could have been reasonably expected when they were appointed.

Under these circumstances, whatever might be their defects for such important and responsible situations, they should be warmly supported by their constituents, that is, by the lodges and all their officers, and by every one who really desires to see the productive classes attain their fair and just rights in a short time. If men of more knowledge and experience for the executive business should arise, and be more generally approved by the trades, the present officers ought, and I have no doubt would, resign in their favour; but as long as they have the business to transact, let them, by all means, be assisted and strengthened by all who can give them any aid. This is the true principle of conducting any extensive business; and this mode of proceeding is peculiarly required with those who have to direct the interests of so many millions, as well as in a great emergency to act as conservators of the peace of this empire, and probably of many other nations. What has passed cannot be recalled, but let it afford us valuable experience; let each one now watch his own conduct, that he does not, by word or deed, create disunion or distrust, when union and confidence alone can secure the great object in view, and save society from the excess of anarchy and confusion. Let it be remembered that the present measures under the direction of the Executive Council are of no party, sectarian, or personal character; that the fate of people and empires is involved in their present proceedings; no personal consideration; whatever should be allowed to mix with what is now to be done. Individuals are nothing; the cause, the greatest cause ever yet before the world, is everything, and all individual feelings and private interests should at once give place to the far greater interest of every one that is involved in this great question; and the interest of all, from the highest to the lowest, is fast bound and involved in it.

Now that this preliminary matter has been explained, let us enter fairly and honestly on the subject; let us ask ourselves what we have now to do, and endeavour to do it like men who have a great work in hand, which they

are determined shall be well and effectually accomplished;

The first object which the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland has to effect is its union, over every part of the empire, by means of extended lodges, which shall, if possible, include every producer of wealth and knowledge within the empire; and, remember, it is our intention that in the next generation every individual shall be trained to be a producer of wealth or knowledge.

The second object is to destroy drunkenness among all the members of the Union; for as long as intemperance shall be permitted within the lodges, and shall not be discountenanced by every proper means that can be devised without the lodges, the producers of wealth and knowledge must continue to be the lowest and most oppressed members of society. No one benefit can arise to the industrious classes from this habit; but an endless train of evils, of the most grievous character, must afflict them as long as they will give it countenance and support; and they have it in their power now to put the axe to the root of this scourge of the human race, by calling upon the directors of the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union to adopt such laws and regulations as shall check its growth, and ultimately remove it altogether from the British population.

The third object to be obtained is, to devise the means to give constant productive employment to every member of the Union. Every man, woman, and child above a certain age, ought to be trained, and so placed, as to produce their fair share of the wealth which society requires; and the Union may now make regulations, by which all of the industrious classes may be daily well, but never over, employed. When wealth is the object of all, and all may be easily instructed to create wealth, it is surely a lack of the most common understanding, that the means of creating this wealth should be withheld from a single individual. Many years ago I explained to the public the mode by which sixty millions of the industrious classes could be beneficially employed in Great Britain and Ireland, and by that employment well supplied with lodging, food, clothes, education, and recreation; and now, within these few days, experiments have been published in several Yorkshire and Lancashire newspapers, detailing at great length the successful results of spade cultivation by some of the large farmers in the Lothians, and recommending its adoption to the public as the best means of employing our surplus population. This is the plan, as far as it goes, which I recommended for the same purpose many years since in England, Scotland, and Ireland; but I gave the full detail of all the consequent arrangements, by which the working classes should, upon this foundation, produce permanently the greatest amount of the best food, lodging, clothes, education, and pleasurable and healthful recreation, at the least expense of labour and capital, and thus make the whole population at all times independent of the workhouse and poor-rates.

The fourth object is to insure, without depending upon commercial speculations, or any such irrational random proceedings, a good living and happiness for every one who shall be thus employed in producing wealth and knowledge for mankind. The Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland will no longer sell human labour

for a money price, which is only selling their lives to the non-producers of wealth and knowledge for a mess of pottage, and often for black broth and black bread. They must have arrangements, which shall insure to each one of the producing class from his birth whatever is necessary to human improvement and happiness; and any thing short of this it is useless to contend for. The Consolidated Union can now command the immediate commencement of these wise measures from government, or it has no power for good; and if it has not the power to effect the real good of society, it had better retire from public proceedings until it shall have gained sufficient knowledge to know its real power, and how to direct it to insure the permanent well-doing and happiness of the human race.

The attention of the unionists ought now to be withdrawn from all their little petty proceedings about strikes for wages, or, in plain English, at what weekly sum in money, continually varying in value, they shall sell themselves, their birthright, and their happiness, and the birthright and happiness of their posterity, to their masters and the non-producers; in short, about the terms on which they shall remain the abject slaves of those who cannot produce either useful wealth or real knowledge. Instead of this grovelling proceeding, a proceeding which evinces the essence of all that is irrational in human conduct, the attention of the unionists should be directed to emancipate themselves and the public from the curse of individual competition in the sale of their productions, and from the grievous evils arising from an ignorant and false system of morality; the one producing poverty where wealth ought to superabound, and the other vice where virtue alone ought to be known. Any thing short of these results would be only a continuation of the insane personal squabbles and useless national contests which have afflicted mankind since they emerged from the original ignorance of human nature, when it was without recorded experience, or the light of real knowledge, derived from the sciences which the accumulation of recorded facts has forced upon the human intellects.

Let not the new and gigantic powers of the Consolidated Union be thus degraded and dissipated. Let it take up its true and constitutional position at once in society, and announce itself openly the conservator of peace, the purifier and the regenerator of society. Let it take its stand in the midst of the whole population of this mighty empire, and declare that it knows neither friends nor foes, but that justice in mercy shall be awarded to all; that, as the means superabound, and as the power to direct those means is now called into action, prosperity shall be made to overcome adversity, and knowledge ignorance; while union, charity, and kindness, shall, of necessity, displace all the evil passions which now torment the human race. These blessings will be the necessary results of the industrious classes being all employed in producing real wealth, under arrangements by which, in return, they will be insured a good living and a permanent happy existence.

The *fifth* object of the Consolidated Union will be to obtain for the children of the Union the best training and education that can be given to human beings. Any thing short of this will be to waste the best and most valuable powers of human nature to no purpose, to make human society weak when it may be made

strong, to retain it in misery when it may be more easily and economically trained to become intelligent, useful, and happy. But to effect this great change in the present degraded condition of the human family, the heads of that family, the fathers and mothers, and grown up brothers and sisters, must have their minds born again, their habits new formed, their feelings rightly directed, and their conduct to each other, and to their children, and to their younger brothers and sisters, as well as to society at large, based upon a correct knowledge of their nature. And this improvement in the condition of the adults must be effected by immediate measures being adopted to enable them to meet together in numbers at regular stated periods, after the work of the day shall be finished, when well-disposed, intelligent individuals may address them under circumstances which will create the least loss of time and money, and who will make it a matter of duty to give them the greatest amount of the most valuable knowledge in the shortest period, at the least cost to the Union and to themselves. In fact, the diffusion of the most useful knowledge to the adults and the young of both sexes, in the shortest time, although placed fifth in the present order of our subjects, is second to none in real importance; and the Union should not lose a week if possible before this national instruction of the working classes should commence, in various parts of the metropolis, on different nights in the week, in order to accommodate the localities of all parties as far as it is practicable.

Instructors possessing real knowledge, derived from experience and deep reflection, and who feel an ardent interest in the general improvement of the human race, and especially in the advancement of the industrious classes from their present degradation, ought to be selected and every where employed in extending their information to those who now so much require it; every effort should be made to obtain such instructors of the people, and to secure proper places in which to instruct them. And it should be remembered that these measures must be the work of the persevering exertions of those who lead the Unions; for the people of themselves, without proper direction, cannot effect these changes; they are yet too ignorant to understand their importance, nor can they be made to comprehend the position in which they are in this respect until their knowledge shall be extended.

The *sixth* object which the Grand National Consolidated 'Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland has to accomplish is its conduct with the government. A great and powerful body should never allow passion or momentary feelings to govern its proceedings; and as the Consolidated Union is the *greatest power* ever yet combined for the attainment of permanent good to mankind, it should resist all attempts to lead it to violence or anger in its proceedings. All its resolves should be well and deeply considered, and not a movement should be made, except to protect itself from evil, that has not the public good for its ultimate object. We should remember that all are of one family, and that if any of its members suffer a loss, it is in consequence experienced by the whole body. The Consolidated Union must prove itself the great conservative power of society.

Still, however, they are in a position to do much good, and prevent much evil, if they could be made to see their error. The present

administration is so situated, or circumstanced, that they might effect a vast amount of good, provided they possessed a knowledge of the public mind, and had moral courage sufficient to act upon that knowledge; and perhaps it would be less difficult to change the erroneous opinion of those now in power than to form a new administration that could command sufficient influence to conduct the government, without experiencing too much opposition from their opponents.

To govern an empire like this, if it should be once thrown into confusion, is a task of which none among the working classes, and few among any class, can form any adequate conception. Let us, then, not destroy any thing useful and necessary before we know how to replace it with something better. Let us apply to the legislature to appoint competent committees to investigate the new measures which we have now to propose for its consideration, and endeavour to convince it that their mode of proceeding will necessarily lead to their own ruin, and the destruction of the empire; while other measures, which may now be easily adopted, would speedily put the whole nation in the high road of permanent prosperity.

But let us not make use of such language as must keep those parties who now ought to unite their exertions to remedy the existing evils from communicating together in a proper spirit for the public good.

At this moment the government thinks the Consolidated Union in error; while the Union is strongly convinced that the government errs, and that its errors, if persevered in, will lead to the most disastrous results. The legislature is therefore the proper party to step in between these opposing powers, and to give its best advice after a fair and full investigation.

It is, at the same time, the duty and the interest of the government to give every attention to the views and feelings of so numerous and valuable a portion of the population as that which is now represented by the Consolidated Union; and if both parties can be divested of their temporary feelings, and can be brought to understand their real position, it is not improbable but the most beneficial results may yet be made to arise from those events which at this moment appear to threaten the peace and welfare of the civilized world.

It should consider the government as a spoiled child, spoiled through an excess of indulgence long continued; but instead of being angry with the child, it should calmly reflect upon the process by which it has been made what it is. It should carefully trace the circumstances which have compelled it to become what we now find it to be. The child should not be severely punished, or punished at all, if it could be avoided; but its own acts render some punishment unavoidable. It should be reformed, and a new character given to it; for the organization is good, and is necessary to enable the superior character to be given to it. In like manner, the frame-work of our government is good, the people are accustomed to it, it is in regular action, and it is capable, rightly directed, to do more good than it is now doing evil. All that is required is, that it should adopt wise principles of action to direct its proceedings, instead of the very absurd ones which have hitherto influenced all its measures. It is of no consequence who the individuals are who wield the machine of government, provided it be but wisely kept in motion.

The present administration have erred; and

all their difficulties have arisen from coming into power to act upon principles of political economy, applicable to this country a century ago, but which are now destructive of its prosperity and happiness. They are really and truly one hundred years behind the improvements and the age in which they live. Not being men of any practical knowledge, and deriving all their notions from theoretical or imaginative writers, they blunder in every act of their administration, while they think they alone know how to lead the public mind in the right course,—and they are most presumptuous in this ignorance.

Let the Unions, then, petition, memorialize, and, if need be, remonstrate against the present proceedings of government, and use every legal means to change the system of error on which assuredly it is acting; and if these measures should not be sufficient to bring it to reason, then let the Unions adopt decisive arrangements to employ and educate the whole population; for now, nothing short of this can or ought to satisfy the people; for never in the known history of mankind has there been a period when any nation, possessed of the same extraordinary resources and means to insure universal prosperity and happiness, has been so wretchedly and ignorantly governed, or these means so wasted and misapplied.

From what has been said, it is evident that every member of the Union ought to give his best aid to those at its head, while they are allowed to retain office;

That any thing said or done tending to weaken their influence, is highly objectionable in every point of view, and that the article in last week's *Crisis* would have been better avoided;

That all personal considerations should be sacrificed to obtain union, and measures should be adopted to make the Union pervade the whole kingdom;

That intemperance must be prevented in the lodges, and gradually removed from the habits of every member of the Union;

That productive employment must be found for every member of the Union, and a good living provided in return for it;

That a good education be provided for all the children of the Union; and that means be immediately obtained to instruct the adults in the most useful knowledge;

And that measures be adopted to negotiate with the government that it shall carry the views of the United Consolidated Union into execution in the shortest time, for the benefit of the whole population; but that if government is not yet prepared for national employment and national education, that the Consolidated Union should adopt measures to insure employment and education to all the members of the Union.

TO THE TRADES' UNIONS.

Liminary Propositions of the Executive of the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

The present situation of affairs, as regards the ideas of Unions and the Working Classes generally, is one of momentous interest, and demands serious and prompt consideration of all well-would men.

In this belief, the Executive Council of the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union are called to lay before the Metropolitan Central Committee an outline of the measures which it deems advisable to adopt, and which it ear-

nestly hopes will be adopted, if, after due deliberation, they shall appear the best calculated to effect that which is the legitimate object of the Unions; namely, a betterment of the condition of the industrious producers of wealth.

The late judicial proceedings against the Agricultural Unionists of Dorsetshire, and the refusal of the government to remit or mitigate the cruel sentence which has been passed upon them;—the little sympathy which the upper and middle classes of society have shown with us in our efforts to get justice done towards our persecuted brethren, and the decided hostility which is evinced by those classes to our union;—the vile attacks and misrepresentations which we have met with from the public press, a few enlightened editors excepted;—and the general opinion which prevails that parliamentary coercive enactments are meditated against us; all these circumstances prove that the working men of England must now either stand by their order in good earnest, or suffer themselves to be put down by the opposition which the other orders of the existing corrupt society will unquestionably make against all the efforts of the industrious classes to establish the just rights of industry, because, at present, it is the manifest interest of those classes that labour should cost as little of their money as possible.

The Unions, then, have now reached a critical point in their progression,—a point which, unless they can successfully surmount, the emancipation of the producers of wealth will be delayed indefinitely, and will be likewise rendered more difficult to accomplish than ever.

All parties, moreover, are crying out, What will the Unions do? In fact, such is the position of the Unions, that they can no longer evade giving to the world an unequivocal answer to the all-absorbing question. And this will be done by the measures they now decide upon pursuing.

The dear bought experience of the past, and particularly the case of the turned-out operatives of Derby, has proved that we cannot gain any permanent or extensive amelioration of our condition by merely subscribing our hard-earned funds for the support of those of our brethren who may resist the oppressions of the capitalists; and that, consequently, other plans must be adopted before we can fully establish our rights and liberties.

What, in the opinion of this Council, those plans should be, they will now briefly enumerate:—

1st. The best means of creating a new market for the productions of useful industry, by enabling the working classes themselves to be consumers of the necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life, as well as producers of them.

This can only be done by their forming arrangements to prevent the profits of their toil from going out of the circle of the productive classes into that of the unproductive classes. For this end, each Trade Society must open shops and offices for dealing with each other, and profitably employing their unemployed: no Unionist to lay out his money at any other places but these, for all the articles they can supply.

Provisions being the first thing needful, let the Bakers' Union, in the first instance, open shops where all Unionists can be supplied with bread, or have it baked for them. Butchers' shops might be opened on the same principle; so also gardeners, cheesemongers, and other provision dealers. The tailors and shoemakers, and various other Trades' Unions, may also open shops for the sale of their articles in the same manner; and it is to be hoped that the Building Trades likewise might soon begin to exercise their calling in a manner much more profitable and gratifying to themselves, and much more beneficially for their order, than they have ever yet been enabled to do.

By these means the producers of real wealth will be enabled to keep the greater part of the

circulating medium in their own hands; and thereby become what the political economists have often tauntingly told them to become, that is, capitalists; and, consequently, they may then give what directions to industry they shall think proper, and no longer be forced to be slavish supplicants to the upper classes for leave to toil at what prices those classes may choose to offer. Besides, the industrious and useful classes will then become what they ought to be, namely, a distinct people from the idle and useless.

Moreover, this fact must not be lost sight of—namely, that any attempts to permanently better ourselves by a general strike for an advance of wages—unless it be in connexion with the above arrangements—must prove fruitless; or if we should succeed in raising the price of labour by such means—which we could only do by a very desperate and dangerous struggle—the demand for labour will directly decrease, and the profit-monger's prices will increase in proportion as our labour becomes more valuable; consequently, the labourers would not be benefited one little, as, though they got better wages, they would have to pay a higher price for all they consumed through the hands of the profit-monger. They, indeed, might probably become losers by high prices under such circumstances, as the aristocracy would most likely fly to other countries for a supply of those articles which they now get in England.

The adoption of the plan proposed would undoubtedly force the shopocracy into other and more useful occupations, and to cry to government for a reduction of taxation, as their profits would soon dwindle into comparative insignificance. But that is their business. We must look now to ourselves. It is quite evident that they care very little about us; nor will they, till they see it their interest to do so.

2. The next point worthy of our attentive consideration is as to what are the best means of convincing the government that it can no longer keep us in subjection to their tyrannical system of legislating by brute force.

It appears to this Council that something might be done for that end in this way. Let every mechanic from this time refuse, under any condition, to manufacture articles known to be for the use of the army or the police; because, in the first place, it is not just, nor longer expedient, that a few men in power should have the control of these forces in order to carry things their own way against the interests of the many; secondly, because their maintenance is a grievous tax upon the wealth-producers, and which ought not to be endured; thirdly, because a standing army is not requisite now to protect us against foreign aggression, as local militias might be substituted for that purpose at very little expense; and, fourthly, because they ought not to be maintained for the sake of carrying on wars against other nations, as all such wars are downright inhuman folly, robbery, and murder.

It may be said, that government would supply these forces with what they needed from other countries if we refused. Then let them. The productive classes would, at least, have the gratification of proving to the world their abhorrence of tyranny; and the forces themselves would be made sensible of the disrepute in which they were held by their fellow-men of that order from which most of them sprung: and results favourable to liberty would unquestionably be effected.

As auxiliary to this determination, the Building Trades should in future refuse to build or repair any more barracks, jails, prisons, or workhouses; because a good government will do without all such places of abomination.

3. Means must be devised for raising the self-respect of the labouring population, by instituting lectures and schools; mechanics' club-houses, coffee-houses, &c.; to be under their own sole control.

4. The means must be secured for making the public correctly acquainted with the errors, or rather gross ignorance, of the non-productive classes, by establishing periodicals for that purpose, and by supporting those newspapers only which advocate the cause of those who produce all the wealth and knowledge of society.

Seeing, however, that the circumstances which have occurred since the meeting of the delegates in London, at which we were appointed to office, have been of deep interest to the Unions, and of vital importance to the peace and well-being of society, it becomes necessary that the Consolidated Union should be assisted by the best experience it can obtain from all its members. That, to effect this object in the shortest time and best manner, it is now greatly to be desired that the following five (viz. the Builders' Union,—the Leeds, Bradford, and Huddersfield District Union,—the Cotton Spinners' Union,—the Potters,—and the Clothiers' Union) associated bodies of the Unionists should each elect and send a delegate to represent their interests in the Council now sitting in the metropolis.

It is now evident that the interests of the producers and the non-producers are in jeopardy, and the wisdom and good sense of both parties should now be called forth to adjust these differences amicably and most beneficially for both.

For our own parts, we are fully conscious of our want of experience to do full justice to the great cause which has been entrusted to us; but as none others were supposed, at the time of the election by the delegates, to be better prepared for this difficult task, we accepted it, and have done the best in our power according to our knowledge and abilities, and we will continue thus to act as long as we remain in office.

For the Executive, JOHN BROWNE.
London, April 15.

PROSECUTION OF THE PRESS.

The Whigs have commenced another prosecution of the unstamped. Two publishers, Putticombe and Clements, have been already convicted, and fined in £1 each, which they have paid. Mr. Cleave is also served with a summons. During the trial of Putticombe and Clements, one of the publishers asked Tilney, the solicitor of stamps, if the *Crisis* or *Pioneer* were illegal publications? He replied that he did not know of such papers. All the better: we don't write for solicitors; and if we could convert all the world except the law executioners, we know the secret passage to their hearts will afterwards be very easily discovered. The Whigs are merely imitating the Louis Philippists, who have lately suppressed the *Tribune*, and told the composers that they might go to the devil, for there was no more use for them. They are threatening what they call a *coup d'état*; that is, a blow up of the independent press. This ruined the last dynasty, and similar causes have similar effects.

AN AUSTRIAN JUDGE.

To punish thought as a crime is a refinement of cruelty and oppression reserved for the Austrian Government. Piero Maroncelli, the friend of Pellico, was arrested at Milan in 1838. When the tribunals of police and criminal procedure had failed in making out any case against him, the emperor directed him to be handed over to a special commission. Eighteen months were consumed in torture and investigation; but the special commission was as unsuccessful as the former tribunals. At length the President, Baron Salvotti, bethought him of an expedient:—"I am going to put an

hypothesis to you," said he; "and you will answer me sincerely. If Italy, instead of depending on many petty absolute governments, was united under one independent and constitutional, would you prefer such a one to those at present existing?" On the prisoner protesting against being subjected to such a course of examination, "If your answer," said Salvotti, "could injure you, I would not press you; but since it will not affect your position in any way, and as it is necessary that the emperor should see that I have interrogated you on this point, I must entreat you to reply." The prisoner, fearing that his refusal to reply might be strained into contumacy, answered, with noble candour, "A man of honour has but one reply to such a question, and I will leave you to judge what is mine." Salvotti rose with an air of triumph, crying out "This is sufficient; you may now be condemned." He was consigned to the dungeons of Spielberg, where he languished eight years.—*Monthly Magazine*.

We have much pleasure in inserting the following lines to

THE DORCHESTER SUFFERERS.

BY A MECHANIC.

Behold, immured in dungeon walls,
The victims of inexorable law!
An immolation to the jealous hate
Of proud oppression, whose all-withering power
Spreads desolation, like the shipwreck's blast!
Condemn'd the felon's fate and shame to bear;
Torn from the sacred blandishments of home,
And the undearing pressure of those arms,
That sent a thrilling rapture to the heart!
No more those blissful sounds shall greet the ear,
The bird-like music of those infant voices,
That once so well repaid a father's cares.
Is this the doom assign'd thy manhood's prime,—
To stake the fiery thirst of mad revenge,
That marks thee for its prey? Is this, alas!
The Christian justice of a Christian state?
Shall long-tried moral worth, enduring toil,
The radiant glory of a spotless name,
The approval of the good, avail thee nought?
Shall the bright virtues which adorn the mind
Be deemed as nothing? O, despair ye not!
Thousands of swelling hearts for thee shall beat,
And in their generous zeal and lofty purpose,
Unshrinkingly with thee make common cause,
Or with thee in one common wreck be whelm'd.

BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS.

THE most excruciating pains of Gout, Rheumatic Gout, Rheumatism, and Lumbago, relieved in the short space of two hours, and cured in a few days, by these incomparable Pills, which are so perfectly innocent as to require neither confinement nor attentions of any sort. Indeed, they are a remedy so completely efficient, that they need only a trial to insure their universal recommendation. The following few names are selected from a numerous list of persons that can be referred to, who will gladly recommend these Pills from their own experience:—

Mr. William Hale, nearly 40 years postman at Dalwich, Surrey, afflicted with Rheumatism for ten or twelve years, and through which he was superannuated, completely cured by less than one box; there are also several persons in the neighbourhood of Dalwich who have experienced similar benefits, and who can be referred to.

Mr. Charles Price (late of the Phoenix Fire Office), No. 21, St. Martin's-lane, has been twice cured of attacks of the Gout by the taking of three or four doses only each time.

Mr. William Robinson, 30, Eagle-street, Red Lion-square, in the employ of Messrs. Day and Martin, relieved by three doses, and cured by the

taking of one box, of a violent attack of Rheumatic Gout, which had confined him to his bed for eight days.

Sold by Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London, (seven doors from Temple-bar;) and, by his appointment, by most medicine vendors in town & country, price 2s. 9d. per box.

MECHANICS' HALL OF SCIENCE, COMMERCIAL-PLACE, CITY-ROAD, FINSBURY.

M. DETROISIER will deliver a Lecture on Sunday morning next, April 20, at eleven o'clock. Subject—"Equality."

And on Sunday evening, at Seven o'clock. Subject—"Scriptural view of Sabbatical Institutions."

And on Thursday evening, April 24, at Eight o'clock. Subject—"Necessity and Importance of the Education of Women."

Tickets of Admission to be obtained at the Office, near the Institution, and Quarterly Card at J. Watson's, Bookbinder, 18, Commercial-place, City-road.

P.S. This commodious Lecture Room will be let to Benefit Societies, Trades' Unions, and for Public Meetings. Terms to be known by application to J. Watson, 18, Commercial-place.

Doors to be opened at Half-past Ten o'clock on Sunday morning, and Half-past Six in the evening; and at Half-past Seven on Thursday evenings.

LECTURES, &c.

Eastern Institution, 12, Fenchurch-street, Commercial-road, Stepney. Rev. J. E. Smith, Sunday evening, at half-past Seven.—Westminster Dispensary, Mr. M'Connell, Sunday evening, at Seven.—Ditto, Mr. R. Detresier, Wednesday evening, 12th.

A Discussion at the Eastern Institution, on Tuesday evening, 22nd. Question, "Can man form his own belief?" at Eight o'clock.

SOCIAL MISSIONARY UNION.

TO CO-OPERATORS.

The Subscribers to the late Social Ministry Tract Society are hereby respectfully informed that the Funds thereof, consisting of Ten Shillings and a Quantity of valuable Tracts, have been transferred to the Social Missionary Union; also the Subscriptions, amounting to Ten Shillings, lately paid towards proceedings for a School; and lastly, the Funds commenced last June, amounting to Two Pounds, for promoting an Infirmary Community. The Council of the above Social Union, with Mr. Owen as President and Adviser, will, therefore, avail themselves of such Funds in measures for the advancement of the New System, and, as far as practicable, for the specific purposes for which the said Subscriptions have been made.

By order of the Council,

April 2, 1834.

R. ALGER, Sec.

N.B. The Council meet once a-week, or oftener, at No. 15, North-street, Upper Chancery-street, and intend holding a General Meeting of Members at least once a month, for the Public Report.

Just Published, Part I. of

VOLTAIRE'S PHILOSOPHICAL DICTIONARY, containing 72 handsomely printed pages, and the most perfect Translation that has yet appeared. Price One Shilling.

On Monday next will be published, No. 13 of OWEN'S LECTURES. price Threepence.

JOHN BROOKS, 421, Oxford-street.

This Day is published, price One Penny.

THE CHARTER OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMANITY OF THE PRODUCTIVE CLASSES. Passed at a great Public Meeting of the Friends of Wealth and Knowledge, held in the Metropolis on 12th Feb., 1834.

Printed and published by B. D. COCHRAN, 14, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields; and at 379, Strand.

THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 3, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1834.

[Price 14d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, APRIL 20.

Mr. Owen lectured:—The time is at length arrived when the great revolution before us will be forced on by violence, or be effected, as it ought, by an overwhelming moral power.

I had hoped that the governments of Europe would understand the course which the experience of events passing with great rapidity during the last 70 years might have suggested. In 1818, after I had had great practice in the operations of mechanical powers, and foresaw what must be the consequence, I felt desirous, above all things, that the change then in progress should take place without injury to any individual; and with this object, when the Congress of Sovereigns met, in 1818, at Aix-la-Chapelle, I went to put before them the then condition of the working classes, and to point out the powers in action which would compel the change either by peaceful measures or by violence. Having submitted my statement of views to the leading statesmen of that day, met not with one who did not avow the principles to be true, nor would they deny the accuracy of the conclusions; but they saw that the evils in progress might still be allowed to accumulate for some years, and therefore would not immediately trouble themselves; "it may not come in our day," they probably thought; let us continue as we are as long as possible, and leave to others the trouble of investigation, and the labour of the change."

Mr. Owen then read the following extracts from the two Memorials of 1818, to show that it has occurred was then distinctly foreseen; and the statements of these memorials would be found so correct, that not one word would be altered without injury to truth:—

A period has arrived in which a greater change in human affairs will be forced on the world than the world has yet witnessed; but in its extent the change will be highly beneficial to every individual, and to all states.

It is a period when the errors which have perplexed mankind are about to be removed, and in consequence the obstacles which stood in the way of human improvement will be removed.

The immediate causes which make this so certain and necessary, are the overwhelming effects of a new, scientific power,

and the rapidly increasing knowledge of all classes of men. The former will soon render human labour of little avail in the creation of wealth, while the latter will make evident to the people the absolute necessity which has thus arisen for them to give a different direction to their powers, and will inform them also how the change is to be effected.

"To this day the means of consumption, or of obtaining the necessities of life by the working classes, have been acquired solely through the medium of their labour, the value of which the new power has already much diminished; and the certain consequences of the undirected progress of this power will be, to reduce the exchangeable value of manual labour, until it falls below the means of procuring a wretched subsistence for any large proportion of the working classes, while the remainder of these must be starved out of existence.

"Such is the nature of the contest, which has already continued for some time, and which now exists in full activity, between *scientific power* and *manual labour*; between *knowledge* and *ignorance*; but no one, who comprehends any thing of the subject, can for one moment doubt the result.

"Under the existing arrangements, in all countries, the mass of the people derive their subsistence through the nominal value of their labour, and which rises and falls on the common commercial principle of supply and demand.

"This arrangement served the purpose in a tolerable degree, while wealth was produced chiefly by manual labour. But it has been shown that, latterly, a power of production, unlimited in extent, and which scarcely consumes at all, has been introduced; that it has already created a most unfavourable disproportion between the demand for, and supply of, manual labour; and in its undirected progress this disproportion will go on increasing. As long, however, as manual labour continues to be thus depressed, the mass of the people, who derive their subsistence solely from that source, must be subject to poverty and misery; while a few, not nearly one in one thousand of the population of the world, will be in possession of accumulated wealth, which, under those circumstances, must equally destroy their happiness. They would be perpetually involved in the opposition of evil passion and struggle, which must arise in such a lamentable state of society.

"It is not indeed possible, with the knowledge now in the world, and which is daily advancing, that such a state of society can long exist; the overwhelming strength of knowledge

and interest on one side will render all contest vain, and the folly of contest must be severely felt.

"No one, therefore, can for a moment doubt that it is the interest of each individual, in every rank and in all countries, that judicious measures should be adopted, with the least delay, to secure those beneficial results in practice. Nor can it be doubted that, with the hourly increase of knowledge in many parts of Europe and America, the period can be distant when it will appear to be the interest of all that these ameliorations should be speedily effected.

"Thus has your memorialist given preliminary explanations of the three general results, stated in the Appendix to the Memorial, addressed to the governments of Europe and America. He submits these explanations to satisfy Congress that he has had much valuable experience on these subjects, which he has brought before them; that he understands them thoroughly to their foundation; and upon that knowledge he now restates that all countries possess the means, and many the most ample, to give riches, good habits and dispositions, and useful learning and intelligence, to all their inhabitants.

"That the practical measures to effect these important purposes are unknown to the governments and people; otherwise, as the benefits to each would be beyond estimate, they would speedily carry them into execution.

"That your memorialist is desirous of developing these measures in the most minute detail to Congress, and to the governments of Europe and America, that they may take the lead in directing, under the established order of things, those changes which alone can relieve the world from the practical evils of the present system, which is experienced to be so productive of error and misery, that every one exclaims something must be done, though no one has attempted to explain what should be done.

"That your memorialist is most desirous of cordially uniting the governments and people in those measures which, he is ready to prove, ought now to be put in practice for the interests of both.

"That he has hitherto, except in part, withheld this knowledge from the people, because he has been afraid they would act upon it, in their present neglected and unprepared state, with too much precipitancy to benefit themselves or others. He still withholds it from them, until he shall discover that they shall use it calmly and temperately for their advantage, without having the desire of applying it to the

injury of any class, sect, party, or individual. This period, however, for many reasons, he considers to be rapidly drawing near, and he will patiently wait its arrival."

To-morrow, said Mr. Owen, is an important day, which will decide whether this country shall be governed by wisdom or folly, whether measures are to be commenced for the protection and advancement of the working population, or the attempt made still further to starve them out of existence.

Thousands and tens of thousands of valuable human beings, producers of wealth and knowledge, have already suffered the last pains of the most lamentable destitution, while the vast bulk of our population are scarcely a step above this condition, and are working for wages not above the lowest point of human subsistence; whereas, if the advice given to Congress, at Aix-la-Chapelle, had been followed, not one individual would now be either in a state of ignorance or poverty, or even the fear of poverty. During this period, Europe and America have possessed the most unbounded supply of materials, by the due regulation of which, all the industrious of both hemispheres should have been furnished with the most abundant necessities, comforts, and even the beneficial luxuries of life; and every child should have been trained with manners and knowledge superior to the aristocracy of any country.

And why has not this been done? The individuals in power either had not the knowledge or the inclination to effect the change; the subject was too large for their minds; they saw that every one of the principles upon which they were acting was a principle of error; that if they had begun, they must go on; that if they admitted a sound national education, it would enable the population to detect error; and that all the circumstances created by man, under the old notions, must be superseded. In short, the magnitude of the change overwhelmed them; it was thought much easier to continue the present system. Upon no other ground can I account for their error and supineness.

The dominion of wealth is the most cruel and most hateful dominion ever known in the world; but, however much this may now predominate, the time is near at hand when the working classes will discover in what real riches consist. They have begun to perceive that, not in gold and silver, but in food, clothes, houses, furniture, education, and the means of health and enjoyment, can we alone find wealth; and that these, with the assistance of the new scientific powers, they are enabled to create to any extent. This, then, should be the immediate demand of every individual of the productive classes—a good dwelling, abundance of food, sufficient clothing, a superior education for children, and the time and means for rational recreation. Let us hear no more of contests for wages; this is only a term for selling yourselves for slaves; ask as you ought, and possess as you must, a good living for a reasonable day's occupation. But the political economists say, if we cannot obtain a profit for twelve hours' work, how shall we for eight? The veil is still over their eyes; they know nothing but mammon; they see only money, and have not the slightest knowledge of really productive employment and healthful distribution. Had they made use of their senses, instead of vain and useless theories, they would have called a

human being before them, and pondered well of his wants, his capabilities, and scientific aids; they would have found that every child possesses faculties to make wealth superabound; and the direct road would consequently have been marked out to train physically, intellectually, and morally, and make of all mankind the most efficient, exalted, and happy of beings.

The welfare of the producers of wealth and knowledge must now originate from themselves. Let your conduct to-morrow evince that a change of system is about to take place, and not by violence or brute force, but by a power a hundredfold greater—the power of union for peace and for mutual protection. Should any parties seek to injure this holy cause by opposing you to-morrow, then ought you to determine, one and all, that you will only buy from yourselves and sell to yourselves, and not consume one particle of excisable commodity. (Here Mr. Owen was interrupted by involuntary and tremendous cheers from an immense audience.) Show the ordinary men of the world that your characters are superior to their petty efforts of brute force; therefore I advise that you take not to-morrow the slightest weapon, not even your penknives; but present only the formidable front of moral courage, of justice, and of sound principles; keep sober, and maintain harmony throughout all your proceedings to-morrow, for the public will be sure to judge of your general character by your conduct upon this trying occasion.

MONEY.

Money exists generally in the form of gold, silver, or paper. It is evident that neither of these can of itself supply any of the wants of man: it is only from their conventional power over the commodities of life, that they can ever be of value. Men do not love gold for its own sake, but on account of the command it gives them over the commodities of life. Gold is never useful before it has been spent, or before the possessor has given it in exchange for a necessary or luxury. In all countries where the money system prevails, it is manifest that every man can apply to his own use a quantity of the necessities and luxuries of life, proportional to the quantity of money he can spend. For instance, a man with an income of 30*l.* a-year can apply to his own use the tenth part only of the necessities and luxuries which a man of 300*l.* a-year can apply to his use. We shall obtain a correct notion of the operation of money, if we suppose all the effects of labour, all the necessities and luxuries of life, consisting of food, clothing, lodging, fine clothes, and furniture, domestic services, &c., to be collected into one general fund, and that a man draws out of this fund a quantity of commodities proportional to his income. But these incomes are dispensed after a very extraordinary fashion; for the general law is, that the man who contributes least to the production of necessities and luxuries enjoys the largest income, whilst the man who contributes most to the common general fund has the smallest income.

The distribution of these incomes is founded on the institution of private property. The command over the whole national stock of necessities and luxuries is vested in a few individuals by the rights of property. If these individuals, which we will call the rich, had always managed their own property, it is probable the money system would never have been invented: for in this case the population would consist of only two classes, rich and poor, or

masters and labourers; and it evidently would be less troublesome to the masters to pay their labourers directly in necessities, than to establish a common fund of necessities and luxuries, and give their labourers so many counters, or so much money, as would exchange for the bare necessities of life. In fact, if the population consist of these two classes only, what is usually called slavery will exist. But in all countries where the money system prevails, the people are divided into three classes; viz. the rich, the labourers, and the managers of the property of the rich and of the labour of the poor, which managers are generally themselves possessed of property: in other words, such people may be considered as consisting of three classes, rich, labourers, and traders. The national stock of necessities and luxuries is committed to the care of the class of traders, who distribute these commodities, by means of certain counters called money. The rule observed by the traders in the distribution of these counters is this: first to give to the labourers who produce these necessities and luxuries, in exchange for their unceasing labour, so many counters as represent their bare necessities of life; and then to divide the remainder among themselves and the rich, by giving to the rich man a number of counters proportional to his property, and by giving to each trader a number of counters proportional to the value of the stock under his management. It will thus frequently happen that whilst the labourer gets only one counter, the trader and the rich man are receiving twelve counters each, and consequently applying to their use twelve times as much of the necessities and luxuries of life.

The difference between the conditions of a slave and of a labourer under the money system is very inconsiderable. The motive which impels a free man to labour is much more violent than the motive impelling a slave: a free man has to choose between hard labour and starvation for himself and family; a slave has to choose between hard labour and a good whipping: which of these two motives is the most cogent no man can doubt. The master of a slave understands too well his own interest to weaken his slaves by stinting them in their food; but the master of a free man gives him as little food as possible, because the injury done to the labourer does not fall on himself alone, but on the whole class of masters. There are some respects in which the condition of a free labourer is superior to that of a slave. A free labourer has generally the liberty of changing his master: this liberty distinguishes a slave from a free labourer, as much as an English man-of-war sailor is distinguished from a merchant sailor. Another liberty enjoyed by the free-labourer is, that of spending his money on what kind of necessities he pleases: he also enjoys the liberty of depriving himself and family of necessities in order to provide himself with a few luxuries. The condition of a labourer is superior to that of a slave, because the labourer thinks himself free; and this opinion, however erroneous, has so small influence on the character and on the happiness of a population.

The money system not only lessens the number of disinterested friendships, and consequently diminishes the general stock of happiness, but it sows also the seeds of enmity between man and man; for what is gain to one man is loss to some other man. The receiver and the payer of money stand in the relation of enemies to one another; the one strives to pre-

as little as he can, the other strives to get as much as he can. The class of traders pay as little money as possible to the other two classes, and frequently have recourse to the most disgraceful expedients to increase their receipts from the other two classes. This class of traders, again, is at enmity with itself; for if one baker in a town is getting very much money, the other bakers of the town must be getting very little money; if one lawyer has great practice, other lawyers must have little practice; and if a man spends much money at the grocer's, he will have less money to spend at the baker's. The class of labourers are also enemies one to another, because one man's getting employment frequently throws another out of employment. The interests of the three classes are in direct opposition one to another; and the interests of the individuals composing the classes of traders and labourers are opposed to one another; so that the money system may be said to compel one man to become the enemy of almost every other man. One would imagine that the invention of money must have proceeded directly from his satanic majesty.

Although the money system is so pernicious, it is not however productive of unmixed evil. The slave system has been succeeded by the money system, and the money system will be succeeded by the 'social system,' one system following the other, perhaps in a necessary order. By means of the money system, the useful arts will advance ten times more rapidly than they have done under the money system. The perfection of the money system is the ornamentation of the social system. The imperfections of the money system are being gradually removed. This gradual removal is a consequence of the important and beneficent law of nature, that no man or class of men can enjoy any durable happiness by the oppression of their men or classes of men.

Having so far discussed the nature and general effects of money, I shall now proceed to offer a few observations on the quantity of money, or the number of counters in circulation. I shall suppose that the currency shall consist of gold, paper, or bone counters, all of the same value;—that no payments, either for goods or services, are made in any other money, but bills of exchange;—that these counters are issued by one single national bank;—and that the relations with foreign countries do not affect the value of these counters. It is first necessary to remark that the consumption of commodities by a nation is as regular and unchanging as the current of a large river. If a nation consume a certain quantity of commodities every year, it consumes the 365th part of that quantity every day, or the 8760th part every hour. The food of a man might easily be distributed to him every day; but the same is not true of clothing and lodging. A man will consume a coat every year, and a use and furniture every one hundred years; the 365th part of a coat and the 365 X 100th part of a house can not be distributed to a man every day, so as to serve him for clothing and lodging. Articles of food are consumable by parts; clothing and lodging must be consumed by wholes. The use of a coat for a day, or of a house for a day, might easily be distributed to every man daily: nothing more will be required for such a purpose as a large stock of houses and coats at the disposal of the distributor.

It may now be supposed that the command of all the national food, clothing, and lodging

is vested in one individual or one company of men; and that this man or company of men has to distribute these necessities among the people by means of counters. It may also be supposed that all the people are equal, or that each man receives the same number of counters. The first subject to be considered by the distributing power is, whether the counters it issues are to be returned every day, or every week, or every month, or other interval. If it be decided that all the counters issued shall be returned within a day, this object will be easily attained, by making the number of counters issued represent the necessities required by the people for their daily consumption. If, for instance, the population amounts to one million, and if the government, having one million counters, should decide that a counter was equivalent to the necessities every man daily requires, then one man would pay and receive a counter every day; and the currency of the country would consist of one million of counters returned daily.

In the next place, suppose the government to determine to issue all its counters, and have them returned, weekly instead of daily. There are two ways of effecting this object; one way is, by issuing the same number of counters, and increasing the value of each counter sevenfold, or allowing each counter to represent or be exchanged for seven days' necessities; the other way is, by increasing the number of counters sevenfold, and by ordering each counter to retain its ancient value.

What has been said is sufficient to conduct us to these important conclusions:—That the whole currency represents or may be exchanged for, the quantity of commodities consumed by the nation in the time intervening between two successive payments. That if the currency, or the number of counters in circulation, remain constant, the quantity of necessities represented by each counter will be proportional to the time intervening between two successive payments; and that the time between two successive payments remaining unchanged, the quantity of necessities represented by each counter varies inversely as the number of counters.

In modern societies the class of traders perform the function of my supposed distributing power or government; the effects, however, produced thereby on the value of the counters in no wise differ from the effects of the system I have supposed existing. The class of traders hold in their possession all the necessities and luxuries of life; and they are continually exchanging these commodities for counters; or they are paying these counters to labourers for producing these commodities, or to rich men as revenue, for the use of their property. In England the payments to labourers are made weekly; the payments to traders and rich men are made, some monthly, some quarterly, and some annually. If the average period of all payments be half-quarterly, and if the daily consumption of the English nation be represented by one million gold counters, called guineas; then, that part of the currency used by consumers would consist of forty-five millions of guineas, or of paper notes representing guineas. If the average period of all payments were doubled, ninety millions of guineas would be necessary; if the average period were to be shortened one-half, twenty-two millions would be nearly sufficient.

I shall reserve the consideration of the trading currency, and of the relative utility of a

paper or gold currency, to a future occasion. I cannot here, however, help observing that paper counters are evidently preferable to gold counters, because gold counters cost a great deal of labour.—From *Edmond's Political Economy*.

FROM THE DERBY MERCURY.

The *True Sun* of Thursday, after quoting a paragraph in the *Mercury* of last week, respecting the existing state of the Trades' Union in Derby, in which we observed that many of the manufactories were again in full work—that others were rapidly filling with work-people, and that numbers of the operatives had renounced the Union, and were applying to their late masters to be re-employed, added, with amusing self-importance, "We have every reason to believe that there is not the slightest truth in the statement." Now, we know not why the *True Sun* should, on its own authority, presume to tax us with uttering an untruth, affecting a question, upon the facts of which, living on the spot, we must necessarily be enabled to pass a far safer judgment than it could possibly do, unless we conclude that, in this instance,

"The wish was father to the thought."

and that, what it strongly hoped, it most unwisely said; the relative position of that journal with the working classes here and throughout the kingdom rendering it, no doubt, particularly anxious, for sundry reasons easily understood, that the present season of agitation among them should not pass away. We now repeat, that the statement made by us was strictly correct in every feature, and was matter of notoriety; that it applies now, with even greater force, as it affects the subject, than it did then, and that the Trades' Union has entirely lost the exercise of that injurious influence upon the masters and manufacturers of this town, which, a short time ago, it unquestionably possessed. In order to prove in detail the correctness of that statement, which we gave in general terms, we subjoin the following summary of the state of things at the present time, only premising that we have authority from the gentlemen named for the facts adduced.

Messrs. BRIDGETT and Co. *Silk Manufacturers*.—Weaving looms all at work; silk twisting wheels all at work; throwing machinery two-thirds employed. Filling rapidly with hands.

Messrs. PEAT, *Silk Manufacturers*.—Every loom at work. Repeated applications from old hands. [We understand this statement is not correct.—*Ed. Crisis*.]

Mr. LOWE, *Silk Throwster*.—Machinery fully employed.

Messrs. BODEN and MORLEY, *Lace Manufacturers*.—Every machine at work. Repeated applications from old hands.

Mr. JOHNSON, *Lace Manufacturer*.—Every machine at work.

Mr. TAYLOR, Messrs. WRIGHT and BAKER, and Mr. S. J. WRIGHT, have the machinery in their silk factories two-thirds employed, and are receiving numerous applications from old hands daily.

Messrs. FROST and STEVENSON, *Silk Manufacturers*.—Rather more than half their weaving looms at work.

The various Master Masons, JOINERS, BRICKLAYERS, &c., are not now experiencing the slightest inconvenience from a want of workmen, and receive applications for work daily.

We do not, however, make this statement in

the spirit of triumph or partisanship, but solely as comprising facts, which, having been very authoritatively denied, we deem it right in us to repeat. Indeed if we glance at the effects of this turn-out, (the present termination of which in our minds never admitted of doubt,) occupying as it has done a period of five months, there is in one sense no room for gratulation. The town has, it is obvious, been a severe sufferer—the manufacturers and masters have sustained heavy losses—and the work-people themselves have throughout the time possessed in the funds obtained for them, but a very slender recompense for the twenty weeks they have remained idle. Comparing the weekly wages which they would have received had no strike occurred, with the eleemosynary assistance they have actually obtained; considering the object they have been seeking to achieve, that of enrolling themselves as members of a confederacy in defiance of the law of the land, and bearing in mind the results of the turn-out as now developed in the supply of a great number of fresh hands to occupy their places in the various factories, we cannot but think that many of them must feel assured that the determination they have sought to enforce, has been, and yet must be, productive of melancholy consequences.

Concordia in our next.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 26.

MONDAY last was the commencement of an important era in the history of London. Never, perhaps, was such an assemblage of people collected together in this great metropolis. The Unionists who composed the procession were merely a fraction of the multitude, the greater proportion of whom were inactive spectators. We cannot presume to say what was the precise number of individuals, but we think that fifty thousand in the procession, and two or three hundred thousand spectators, is by no means an exaggerated calculation. It is reported by some of the daily papers that the procession extended only three miles in length; we are confident, however, that it extended nearly seven miles, and wherever it moved it was accompanied by a dense mass of spectators; whilst all the windows were filled with fair ones, who appeared, some to sympathise with, and others to sneer at, the miscellaneous groups of sturdy operatives, from whom all their comforts flow. Some, no doubt, thought it was a shabby concern, because the men were dressed in plain or working attire, and exhibited none of the dazzling lustre of military array, nor were accompanied with any of the pride and flourish of standards, war trumpets, or other martial stimulants which give such interest to the processions of those who have appropriated the wealth and physical power of the country, and love to make an imposing display of its greatness. But in a reflecting mind there was something infinitely more interesting in the silent, unostentatious movement of poor, simple, plain-dressed

mechanics, arm-in-arm, without even a single banner to wave, or a single weapon of offence or defence about them. The day following the procession we saw a company of artillery drawing some instruments of destruction, with ammunition behind them, in readiness for a deadly storm of "thunder and bolt," if thunder and bolt should be deemed necessary to preserve the peace; and we could not help comparing the tawdry and ostentatious display of the destructive power with the plain and unimposing appearance of the power of production which we had witnessed on the preceding day. The one was extremely attractive to the eye: the gaudy dress of the soldier, the massive bulk and ideal power of the engine, reminded one of the wealth which it could command, and the luxuries and comforts which its proprietors had at their own disposal; but they also reminded us of the injustice of the means by which all these blessings were obtained, seeing they were only extorted by the fear of these murderous weapons of brutal outrage from the sturdy bones and well-tanned hides of those whose uncomely dress and untidy looks excite the sneer of the gay and the contempt of the useless and idle agents of the system of terror.

The procession had a line of six miles at the least, and it filled it all; its tedious length made it rather uncomfortable for those in the rear, who were obliged to wait about three hours after the car began to move before they could join the train. However, many of them contrived to amuse themselves in a very agreeable and innocent way. Man is never at a loss for recreation. If he has no manly employment to engage his mind, he can easily condescend to puerilities, and derive a temporary satisfaction from them. And perhaps nothing is better calculated to show the innocence of the motives by which the Unionists were actuated, than this good-humoured accommodating spirit, which, instead of plotting schemes of mischief, as vile aspergers of the daily press have ever been insinuating, resorted to mere childish simplicity of action, to wile away the lingering hours that passed between the movement of the first and the last, the head and the tail, of the immense boa constrictor of productive power. Our friend Mr. Baume, who is a perfect fac-simile of perpetual motion, and as unfit as any man in existence for enjoying a day of rest, or rendering obedience to a Sabbath-protection bill, observing that his Miscellaneous Lodge had contracted a great quantity of dust on their way to the fields, expressed a desire to have a brush to disperse it, and regretted he had not brought one in his pocket; but no sooner was the wish expressed, than a brush* appeared. Mr. Crow had the article in request, and Baume immediately dubbed himself, and

was unanimously elected, dustman of the Miscellaneous Lodge. He pulled them all out one by one, without any respect to persons,—genteel and shabby, and shabby-genteel—rubbed them well from head to heel, behind and before, and then contemplated, with a most benevolent and sublime satisfaction, the great moral change he had made. Thus the time was spent innocently and cheerfully; nor was it lost; for there friends and countrymen met who had never met before; there hearts were united in friendship which had never known of each other's existence; and there, no doubt, new resolutions were formed, and new convictions received, all favourable to the cause of unity and universal association.

Nothing occurred worth mentioning on the route: the number and the order, the innocence and decorum of the meeting, are all that is worth knowing; therefore we shall not inform our readers which trade went first and which went last, nor what was the line of march, except that it went from Copenhagen-fields to Kensington Common; having very prudently passed the Bedlam ground, it not being sufficient to hold the whole of them.

The deputation led the van, or rather the van was led by the car, carried on the shoulders of twelve members; on each side of which was one of the leaders on horseback; the deputation followed after, accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Wade in his canonicals, Mr. Owen, and Mr. Carpenter. When they reached the Home-office, the car stopped, and the deputation called upon the Home Secretary, Lord Melbourne, but were refused an interview on account of the illegality of the mode of presentation. We presume this illegality (*we are for ever falling into one or other*) arises from the 57 Geo. III. c. 19, which says that it is unlawful "for any person or persons to call any meeting exceeding fifty persons, or for any number of persons exceeding fifty to meet in Westminster or the county of Middlesex, within one mile of Westminster Hall, (except such part of the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, within that distance,) for any political purpose, on any day during the sitting of Parliament, or of any of the courts of law. Upon these grounds the petition was refused, his lordship, by his under-secretary, stating that he should be very happy to present the petition on a future occasion to his Majesty, if brought forward in a becoming manner. This result, however, was not made known to the procession which moved on to Kensington Common, the car and petition remaining at the Home-office till the procession passed.

Thus one object of the meeting has been defeated; but this was not the only object; they meant also to make a display

of number and moral power; and in this they have proved eminently successful. Yet not one half of the London Unionists were there; many were prevented by necessity from accompanying their brethren, many by policy, and others by their wives; whilst others, who were determined not to be hen-pecked on such a memorable occasion, possessed such a magnetic influence over their affectionate counterparts, as to draw them after them. "That's it," says an old woman, when she saw a female Unionist in the procession; "let every woman be shot that does not stand up for her husband and the Unions; God bless the Union!" The women are called nervous things; so they are; but their nerves are like violin-strings, capable of being tightened to any degree of firmness, without either snapping or losing the power of action. We saw hundreds of women as we passed along, whose very looks alarmed us. They had a boldness and military resolution depicted in their features and attitudes, that convinced us that, if the 1,500 police, which were concealed about Gray's-inn-lane, had been let loose upon us, the women alone would have dispersed them. We don't think the Emperor of Dahomy an ignoramus in the science of humanity, because he has a body-guard of 3,000 women to protect him.

We saw a few military gentlemen peering us from the windows as we passed along; they were, no doubt, ruminating on the best moral means of dispersing the mob,—by a volcanic eruption from some of the enormous craters of the Royal artillery. One of these officers of political order and peace suddenly stopped, took out his memorandum-book and pencil, and wrote (on horseback) a short note, which he gave to a well-dressed, good-looking boy, and, putting half-a-crown into his hand, desired him to give it to any one of the Union leaders. The boy gave it to Mr. O'Neil, Warden of the Miscellaneous Lodge. The contents were simply a counsel on the officer's part to abstain from all violence and disorder of any kind: very good counsel, but by no means called for, as the Unionists were as much afraid of violence as the military gentleman himself, who was under the influence of a nervous shaking when he committed his counsel to writing. We give him credit for it. Who would not shake, and quake too, at the thought of shedding human blood, or being the object of a murderous assault? The bravest and the best of men will make before an engagement, and regain their presence of mind as soon as they have entered it. Let this great meeting, however, so orderly, so innocent, and so numerous, convince our infatuated rulers that we are not the men they took us to be; that we have no plundering or mur-

dering designs; that we contemplate nothing, but new and more equitable commercial and trading arrangements;—that we seek only a just distribution of the wealth which we ourselves produce; that we are content to work, and even to sweat, provided the idle are not entitled, by the iniquitous laws of the legislature,—“to eat our flesh and drink our blood,” as a certain book very strikingly expresses it.

The following is the petition:

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the Members of the Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland, *Humbly sheweth,*

That your petitioners deem it a most sacred duty they owe to themselves and to posterity, and also to your Majesty, thus to declare to your Majesty the intense interest and anxiety with which they contemplate a decision which has lately been pronounced in one of your Majesty's courts of judicature, at Dorchester, against six agricultural labourers, who had been then and there convicted of having administered to other agricultural labourers a certain oath not required and sanctioned by law, and who have been in consequence sentenced to a punishment of seven years' transportation.

Your petitioners, considering this sentence to be both extremely cruel and oppressive, and viewing the proceeding, as they are obliged to do, in the light of an unjustifiable attack upon the rights of humanity, do hereby humbly supplicate your Majesty's interference to prevent its execution, and that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to order a strict investigation to be made into the whole of the circumstances connected with the affair, which your petitioners verily believe involves consequences of the highest magnitude and importance; and also that your Majesty will be pleased to appoint a Special Commission to inquire into the real causes of the great distress which prevails among the working population of your Majesty's empire, and from which, if not speedily averted, your petitioners apprehend the most deplorable results.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

* This brush was brought from Paris, and thus formed a junction between France and England. It is the only Union brush in existence.—N. B. Mr. Baume is a Frenchman, and it looks as if Nature had destined the French to brush up the English, and rouse them to action.

We have given an extract from the leading article of the *Derby Mercury* for April 16th, to give our readers an account of the present state of the operatives there. We believe, from private information, that it is not strictly correct; but still it is in the main true that the men are returning to work, after having suffered severe hardships. In our last number of the *Crisis*, we stated, on the authority of the Secretary of the Builders' Committee, that they were doing well, and thus led our readers into a delusion respecting their present condition. Our authority, however, is now such as we can implicitly depend upon;

and it entitles us to say that the Derby operatives have been, for some weeks past, in a state of dreadful destitution, having nothing wherewith to purchase even the most meagre fare to feed their famished carcasses withal. For three weeks past, they have had no more than 1s. 6d. per week; and, in their present circumstances, seem to have no hope of a continuance of that paltry sum. Now, though we are decidedly opposed to the “striking” system in almost every light in which it can be viewed, yet, after such a determined and almost national struggle had commenced in behalf of our Derby friends, and after so many noble resolutions were passed to support them to the last, and to put them in a fair way of doing business for themselves, we feel very sorry to see them all at once deserted, and left to the tender mercies of their masters, whose chief pleasure now consists in making a display of their restored supremacy. The wages of those who have returned are miserably reduced; even a reduction of one-fourth has, in many cases, taken place. Mr. Frost, one of the masters, says that he expects each of his old hands to give him one pound when he returns, as a compensation for his loss. And if the poor fellows complain, he says that “they have had their day of mastery, and now he must have his.” There is no alternative, then, but starvation or submission, and more abject slavery than ever.

The masters are requiring the old hands, as they return to work, to sign a declaration promising to forsake the Unions, and no more to enter into combinations of the kind; and they are succeeding in obtaining these signatures. This is to be expected; hunger will tame a lion, and it requires greater courage to brave it than to brave the bloody agents of political despotism. We do not fear the ultimate success of any such assaults against our great national schemes of regeneration. But still we are sorry to see any signal triumph of our adversaries obtained by carrying a position which we have been so long in the habit of regarding as a strong-hold. The Derby Unionists did not strike at the suggestion or by the concurrence of the Unions at large, or of any of the great Unions; but we embraced their cause, and immediately made it our own, and consequently we must regard the present predicament as a species of defeat. However, our opponents have no good reason to chuckle over it; “striking” is not our ultimate object—we have more peaceful and more prudent measures in contemplation; and it shall be our aim hereafter to impress upon all the working classes the propriety of submitting for a season to the present rate of wages, until all the operatives of Great Britain and Ireland are collected under one Executive Council, all pursuing the

same measured and following the same regulations. This is the main object which we have at present in view: all partial movements are useless, except as stimuli to stir up the different classes of producers to come forward and range themselves under the banner of industry.

But what shall be done for Derby? Shall we confess our defeat in an honest and candid manner, or shall we yet make a great and universal movement, and accomplish our original purpose? We should like to hear a response to this query: we are disposed to be candid, and we are disposed to be decided; either to give a friendly advice to these victims of public spirit to yield for a season, and co-operate with their brethren in the great national movements; or to call upon the productive population of England to redeem their reputation, and give the lie to that prevailing character of fickleness, indecision, and want of purpose with which they are branded by the Whig and Tory Journals.

OLDHAM.

Another occurrence of universal interest has taken place at Oldham, and a strike of a most formidable nature has thrown 12,000 individuals out of employment. This strike has been occasioned by the apprehension of two of the Unionists, who were taken prisoners in one of the lodges, which had been forcibly entered by the police. The attempt to rescue the two prisoners occasioned a struggle, in which, it is reported, three lives were lost. An attack was made by the operatives upon the factory of Mr. Thompson, a member of the Society of Friends, who had made himself obnoxious to the people by the introduction of a new kind of reel into his factory. Thompson, fearing an attack, had secreted arms in his factory, and by these the first fatal shot was fired, which wounded one of the Unionists in the left breast, and instantly deprived him of life. The struggle immediately became desperate; the factory was vigorously attacked, and after that Mr. Thompson's house was entered, and the furniture tumultuously destroyed.

We shall not enter into the detail of this unfortunate occurrence; we can only express our regret that it has taken place. It is one of a thousand others which must follow in quick succession, if our rulers do not listen to the voice of Wisdom, who is perpetually lifting up her voice in the streets, saying, "How long, ye simple ones, shall ye love simplicity, and ye scorners delight in scorning, and fools hate knowledge. Turn ye at my reproof, and behold I will pour out my spirit upon you." We give no encouragement to these violent modes of effecting deliverance; they cannot prosper; but still we are not disposed to blame the operatives; their provocation is very great, and it requires more than human patience to withstand the malignant and infatuated obstinacy of the present legislators and leaders of society.

There is a general and resolute system of attack premeditated, both by masters and government; and at present they seem to be very sanguine of success. The whole press is giving them encouragement, by spreading the report that the Unions are declining; that they feel themselves unequal to the task which they

have undertaken; that their spirit is failing; and all their strikes are merely tending to destroy their confidence, and prepare them for a general dissolution. Derby has been the principal cause of all these false statements of the public press, who are not acquainted with the private reasons for this particular failure, which has been occasioned by a very different cause from any want of spirit or resolution on the part of the Unionists.

Unless we combine upon a great and national scale; unless we bring together all the Lodges and Unions of the country, and proceed immediately to general measures, we shall be frittered away by degrees, or have new obstacles thrown in the way, which will cause us to retrograde and defer the day of universal deliverance. The masters are attacking the men in all quarters; they are threatening; and their threats are in many cases successful, in inducing their workmen to withdraw, or withhold themselves from the public associations; and the strikes are all so many persecutions of hunger and domestic misery to thousands, as well as enormous taxes upon the industry and kind feeling of the whole of the working classes. Strikes are only the consequences of division amongst the Unions; a general Union would for ever put an end to the "striking" system, and secure the independence of the labourer. The public press seems to imagine that "striking" is all that Unions propose to do, and hence they argue their inutilty. The press is right in its conclusion, but it is sadly mistaken in supposing that we can accomplish no more than a strike for higher wages. We should soon unveil the editorial deception, could we merely call the Unions together.

The three active magistrates in the investigation and trial of the Oldham riots and rioters, (as they are called) are all reverend gentlemen, ministers of the gospel, servants of Jesus: "Blessed are the feet of them that bring salvation, that preach glad tidings of good things—that say unto Zion, thy poor shall be fed!"

RELIGIOUS UNIONS.

The Trades' Unions are now beginning sensibly to affect the religious world. Considerable excitement already prevails among several sects in different parts of the country; and proposals are being made to form associations upon the same principle of mutual co-operation as forms the basis of the General Trades' Unions. Vast numbers of religious persons, of all denominations, are now joining the Unions; but hitherto they have met with considerable opposition from their religious instructors, and in many cases have been expelled the society. We are glad, however, to inform our readers that the resistance to this spiritual tyranny is already beginning to bring forth its fruit. At a meeting of preachers, held at Nottingham, March 23, it was resolved that some general observations on the character of Primitive Christianity should be sent to the *Pioneer* for insertion, that it might act as a stimulus to other religious associations throughout the country to follow their benevolent example. The document, signed by seven preachers, is a good outline of the original system upon which the Christian church was founded, and for some time conducted. We have frequently, in the *Crisis*, adduced the same arguments in favour of associations for mutual benefit; and now we are happy to find that the spirit of the age is beginning to take a turn in our favour, and to open up a prospect of reconciliation be-

tween the well-disposed of all modes of thinking on metaphysical subjects. If we cannot all unite in faith, we may at least unite in good morals.

We would encourage religious Unions merely upon condition that the members join their respective trades in the great National Union; otherwise these Unions will merely cause a rent in the great system of organization.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE NATIONAL REGENERATION SOCIETY,

Assembled at the New Inn, Bradford, to form a Committee according to the Resolution of the Public Meeting of March 10th, 1834.

MY FRIENDS,—As Chairman of the meeting held last Monday, I feel it my duty to write to you my reasons for not being among you this evening.

I do not appear among you, 1st. Because I am not a member of the Regeneration Society, and do not intend to become one. You know I approve its object—I am convinced they can more than make good all their statements of the deplorable and ruinous effects of long hours and consequent over-production, upon the finances and the social condition of the producers, both the employers and the employed.

I also heartily approve of its great object, viz. to establish cordial union of masters and men, and to effect a general reduction of labour to eight hours a day; and I fully acknowledge the right of every man to bargain for his labour, and to claim reasonable occupation and reasonable remuneration. I have done what I could in Bradford to bring the subject under discussion, and have had more reproach cast upon me for so doing than you are aware of; but I thought it my duty, both to employers and workmen, and, I must add, to myself also. For as a religious, moral, or literary instructor, I have at present no fair chance of exercising the office I sustain among the manufacturing population. But though I approve of the Regeneration Society, I decline to join it or to be a member of the Committee in Bradford.

2ndly. Because I have not seen in times past, (1st.) that *UNITY* amongst the working people, or (2nd.) that *CONFIDENCE*, or (3rd.) that *FORBEARANCE*, or (4th.) that *ZEAL* and *SELF-DENIAL* which are essential, in order to accomplish any object of general advantage and practical good.

(1.) *You are a rope of sand*; you are jealous of each other. There are many of you that would not give up one hour's occupation, one hour's comfort, or the price of one glass of ale, to save your own class from distress and ruin. These are heavy charges, but I appeal to facts that they are all true. There are many creditable exceptions, but the average of the case is as bad or worse than I have stated. Where there are two men who would faithfully unite together to withstand the inroads of oppression, in a lawful, peaceable, respectful and yet firm manner, there are twenty who will go and *sawn* upon an oppressor, and *cringe* to him, and some will even give their children up to him without a sigh, to be destroyed by excessive labour; and thus, either openly or indirectly, they will strengthen the oppressor's hands.

I know this to be true, and so much for your unity.

(2.) Now for your confidence in each other. You cannot trust one another; and it is the sa-

preme study and delight of your enemies to foment and increase your jealousy. How well they succeed you all know. There is, however, a vast deal of jealousy among you, which cannot be excused, much less justified on any grounds. You are often jealous of your best and most tried friends—of such as never deceived you, and who obtain little else but trouble, reproach, and pecuniary loss by assisting you. Think me not severe—I know it is all true. And do not take my remarks to apply to Bradford only, but to the body of workmen in general.

(3.) And now as to your want of *forbearance*. When any practical measure of relief is brought before you, every man has a nostrum of his own to pelt at it; every little politician pulls out his penny trumpet to *blow it down*! You complain of long hours, of consequent exhaustion and unavoidable ignorance. You lament how small is your ability, from want of mental cultivation and information, to weigh arguments or to judge of propositions; and yet, when such men as Mr. Fielden and Mr. Clegg come before you, (whom you can neither suspect of Whig "Tricks" or Tory "Tricks,") and propose to unite you with your masters, for the purpose of establishing an eight hours' regulation, and retaining present wages, one throws in his *apple of discord*; another his *bone of contention*; another rattles his little twopenny *political drum*; and a fourth full valiantly blows up his *twopenny trumpet*. One shouts out "Universal Suffrage!" another "Destroy the Aristocracy!" and to complete the farce, another praises the "Reform Bill!" You have a right to your own views of those questions, but what can do you any real good if long hours are to continue? Suppose you had universal suffrage and vote by ballot, and along with it the long hours and scanty wages of the *American operatives*, what better would you be? Don't you know yet that you might live in absolute and most horrid slavery under a republic? Look at the slavery of the whole *States in America*, and look at the long hours of the operatives connected with the manufactures in the *free states*. *Here* they have no national debt—no corn laws—the raw material at hand, and untaxed; but yet there is *one* tax, and that is a tax upon every thing that *you*, the British operatives, make and send there! I suppose this is free trade! (With France also it is the same.) In fact, you have *republicanism*, and most *orrid actual slavery*—*republicanism and long hours*, with poor wages—*republicanism and tax on all British labour*. Yes, my friends, *there is republicanism* and an *American aristocracy*. Yes, and a very proud aristocracy *money*, though not of *blood*. Here we have *rich*, but, believe me, I had much rather be a slave of some old English duke than a story lord's free-man. One is proud, and yet he will do what he likes with his own; yet he loves to see his tenantry happy, and me of them have told me that he contrives make them so, though perhaps, when the fit comes him, he turns out a score or two; but the *richer*, the *money aristocrat*, is not less proud, though well cloaked in the guise of liberality, under which he *generously* calculates, and with *der* *at* *nicety*, not how his labourer may prosper, but what is the last moment of his workman's *supination*, where *his own* profit ends, and *his loss* begins. There are exceptions among *manufacturers*, I thankfully acknowledge; what have you to do? I answer, shorten

your hours of labour, and you then put both these aristocrats in a beneficial position, without destroying them, or allowing them to destroy you.—Now, therefore, do exercise a little forbearance, and keep your little political playthings still and quiet, when great practical questions are under discussion.

(4.) But again, I cannot join you, because you have no steady zeal, nor sufficient self-denial. You take it "by fits and starts," and then you fall flat again. You "start aside like a broken bow." But few of you will give yourselves any trouble at all about your own interests. Tell me what you have ever started in Bradford which has been *well and consistently supported*? Prove that you are *not* a rope of sand. Oppressors know this, and hence they defy you, and by their example and their system *oblige* others to follow them who are not disposed to oppress you. I know well that those very persons who rejoice so at your jealousy and divisions, and who so eagerly fan the flame, will be the first victims of the fire they have kindled, but this does not make *your case* any better.

Then look again at the ruinous intemperance and immorality which prevails among you—which *makes and keeps* you poor—which distresses and pines your families, and constantly swells the poor rates.

I know there are good men among you, of noble spirit and of exemplary self-denial; but where there is one of this description, there are, how many? who would not sacrifice a thimble-full of intoxicating liquor, if it was to save the West Riding? Now, if this is not the fact, then make me happy, by proving me mistaken. How glad should I be!

For three years I have been striving to help you, but *you will not help yourselves*. Your undaunted friend Oastler has done so in a still greater degree, and even he is *disheartened*! Now, then, let us see that you can help yourselves. Cast away all the self-imposed slavery of your ungodliness—your intoxicating cups—your dissolute and profane habits; cease to rob your own families and your own breasts of comfort and peace; cease to suspect each other—be united—exercise forbearance—be steady and zealous in your own cause, and then there will be some encouragement for disinterested men to work with you.

But I have another reason for standing back. Mr. Oastler and myself are, you know, very obnoxious to the employers generally. Now the object of the Regeneration Society is, to promote a cordial co-operation between masters and men. But if we take any directing part, the masters will perhaps keep back, or else make that an excuse for so doing. Besides, I, for one, have already done my part, and have determined not again to take any lead in these questions. Let some one else take a turn. I wish your committee to be able to say that I have nothing at all to do with you. My heart is with you in all lawful and reasonable measures for bettering your condition; but I wish the parties more immediately concerned (though I am sure all classes are deeply concerned in the question) to settle the matter by themselves, as has been recommended by Lord Althorp, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Fielden—men representing the three political parties. To their recommendation I say *Amen*, and I stand waiting as a religious instructor, to take advantage of an eight hours' plan, which I recommended to the committee on Mr. Stiller's Bill, when I gave evidence before them, (Re-

port, page 119,) or any better plan for ameliorating the slavery of the manufacturing workers, and especially that of the young.

I say then again, be united—banish jealousy—exercise forbearance—waive party politics—be in good earnest—cast off the self-imposed slavery of intemperance and ungodliness—love your families—conciliate your masters—obey the laws, and may God prosper your exertions! I am, my friends, always faithfully yours,
G. S. BULL.

THE GRAND LODGE OF OPERATIVE GARDENERS, TO THEIR BRETHREN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Fellow-countrymen—Arise in a body! Arise! as one man, arise! and assert your rights! Justice is on your side—now is the time to adjust the scales. Do not stand still and say to yourselves, we will wait to see how you get on. But let each individual come forward, and swell the numbers of those who swell the general throng. Let not your starving wives and children at any period upbraid you with ingratitude, in not uniting for yours and for their support. Horticulture has been and now is the pride and pleasure of every class of beings and grade of society; and why is it that we are so poorly remunerated for our labour in this useful and interesting science? Let not the masters, who coin money from your shoulders, make you afraid; for, if you will unite, you are stronger than them. Their language is, how great is the profit! how sweet is the pleasure! while we know by experience, how great is the misery, how bitter the slavery that we endure! Come forward, then, and do not delay coming forward, and join your brethren. Come forward, and rally round in Union!

Names are enrolled at the following places:—Anglesea Arms, Selwood-terrace, Queen's Elms; No. 1, Osnaburgh-row, Grosvenor-place, Pimlico; the Man Office, Middle-row, Holborn; Mr. Messeders, No. 3, Adam and Eve Court, Oxford-street; G. Ball, Society's-gardens, Chiswick; and at No. 8, Springthorpe-place, Webb's-lane, Hammersmith, where all communications must be addressed, if by letter, post paid.

E. STALLWOOD, Secretary.

A CAPITAL WAY OF GETTING RID OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS.—The Magistrates of Inverness have applied to the Lord Advocate to take some steps for getting the burgh relieved of the *expense* of executing criminals. They mention to his Lordship that they have *discharged* the hangman, and that they will be subjected to very *serious* expense if the man at present in custody on a charge of murder, should be sentenced to be hanged. Pray, what right had the magistrates to discharge the hangman; had he not as good a right to his sinecure as any other gentleman on the pension list? But we would counsel his Lordship to recommend his Majesty's advisers to give the hangman's office to some of the state pensioners, who are really in misery from want of employment. Then, instead of being a burden on the country, they would be engaged in relieving the country of its burdens, as every honest hangman is.

We expected Lord Teynham to present the petition of the Crown and Anchor meeting to his majesty on Wednesday; but he has refused, unless Lord Melbourne refuses. He does not wish to supplant the Home Secretary in his official duties.

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNT OF THE NATIONAL EQUITABLE LABOUR EXCHANGE,

For Two Months, from 1st February to 29th March, 1834.

RECEIVED.					PAID.				
Deposits—Goods received as above.....					Goods delivered as above.....				
	£.	s.	d.	Old Notes.	New Notes.		£.	s.	d.
Exchanges	48	15	1½	...	23,197	4	39	2	11
Provisions and Grocery	177	9	8½	...	1132	4	231	17	4½
Festivals	264	8	5½	49	5	337			
Lectures	91	9	10	222	1	748	5	151	16
Commission	37	18	3	...	...	...	...	7	11
Rent—Subscriptions ...	7	18	3	...	...	...	...	45	18
Charges	34	5	2½	...	1	0	...	76	0
Material fund	0	4	6	...	...	...	...	55	6
Ditto Shares	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Musical Department.....	0	11	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
Notes entered	...	...	...	...	300	0	...	...	...
Old Stock	...	...	...	3069	3	192	1	...	...
	£663	0	9	3341	3	25,910	0	£663	2
								3½	56
								2	2
									20,265
									3

Stock on hand (exclusive of old Stock) 34,443*h.* 0*s.*; Notes in circulation, 26,025*h.* 5*s.*

J. DIXON, Secretary.

TO THE SHOPMEN, CLERKS, PORTERS, AND OTHER INDUSTRIOUS NON-PRODUCERS.

Brothers in Trade, yet Strangers in Union!—A crisis in human affairs has arrived—a crisis that is to send into oblivion the tyranny and ignorance of past ages. The long, dreary night of superstition, error, ignorance, fraud, disunion, uncharitableness, and every evil passion, is fast wearing away; and the bright refulgent sun of truth and justice,—of union and peace,—of charity and true virtue, is fast rising above the political horizon. The working classes are about to emancipate themselves from the slavery and ignorance which have so long degraded them lower than the beasts that perish. Yes, brothers, they are about to effect this mighty change: the great battle of industry and idleness, of the producing many with the idle few, is about to take place. Shall we be idle spectators of this heart-exciting scene?—shall we stand still, and see the producing classes conquer their and our enemies; and then, when they have gained the victory, come, and congratulate them upon it, and share the benefits? Blistered be the tongue that would give vent to such a supplication; and paralyzed be the arm that should be raised to support it! Let us receive them as brothers, as fellow-labourers in the cause of human improvement; and let us unite with them by means of the miscellaneous lodges: they have invited us; shall we respond to that invitation with a stern, unfeeling No? I know, yes, I am sure, you will not thus act. But, brothers, ought we not to unite for our own sakes? Is our condition so perfect that it cannot be improved? Have we no rights to obtain, no privileges to defend, and no grievances to redress? Do you think that to work sixteen hours a-day is necessary for society, is the road to mental improvement and moral excellence? Do you think that a life of celibacy is the way to keep us from those temptations to which we are so liable to run from our youthful passions? How are we to redress these and other grievances? By union; yes, by union. Join then, without delay, the miscellaneous lodges. Let there be not a village, yes, not a parish, which has not one of these lodges;

and depend upon it, as soon as we are completely organized, the day of our redemption is not far off.—I am, brothers in trade, and I hope soon to say in union too,
X. W.

A Grocer's Shopman, and a Member of the Grand Miscellaneous Lodge of Operatives.

TRUTH; A RIDDLE.—There are in all about 36,000 ministers of religion in Great Britain; and five in a family,—which is the average number,—make 180,000, supported by preaching alone. This is little more than the hundredth part of the population. Why should they have a right to the tithe or tenth of the produce? But two-thirds of these are Dissenters, who have no tithe; so that the tithe-clergy are only about the three-hundredth part of the population: to give them a tenth, is giving them thirty times more than the fair proportion. Query: How can a bushel of wheat be divided amongst three hundred individuals, so that each man shall get a tenth?

MECHANICS' HALL OF SCIENCE, COMMERCIAL PLACE, CITY ROAD, FINSBURY.

MR. DETROSIER will Lecture on Sunday Morning next, April 27th, at eleven o'clock. Subject—Bodies in Space.

On Sunday Evening, at seven o'clock. Subject—Moral and Political View of Sabbatical Institutions.

On Thursday Evening, May 1st, at eight o'clock. Subject—On the Necessity and Importance of Female Education.

Quarterly Cards, and Tickets of Admission, to be had at J. WATSON'S, Bookseller, adjoining the Institution.

. This commodious Lecture-room will be let for Public Meetings, and others of a like kind.

Application to be made to J. Watson.

TO CO-OPERATIVE DEPOSITORS.

Institution, Charlotte-street.

On Saturday next, 26th instant, the Grocers, Bread, and Cheesemongery Store will be re-opened with a supply of superior Articles in the above line, upon highly advantageous terms.—Observe, One-fourth will be taken in labour notes.

Under the above new arrangement, our friends will find it greatly to their interest to lay out their money at the Store.

APPRENTICE WANTED.—A respectable Youth, as Apprentice to the Printing Business. One would be preferred whose friends entertain the New Views of Society. Apply at the *Crisis* office.

A GENTLEMAN, aged 53, residing at Brighton, and who has recently lost his Wife, is desirous of meeting with a middle-aged, respectably-connected, and intelligent LADY, desirous of a comfortable home, and competent to the economical management of his family (consisting of himself, son, tutor, and two female servants). It may be necessary to state that, as it will be desirable to meet as nearly as possible on terms of reciprocity, the Advertiser would wish the Lady to be informed that her Board, &c. must be considered a just equivalent for the slight charge he will take upon herself; and, in order to insure good understanding, it will be advisable to state that this Advertisement need be answered by one possessing Catholic, Calvinistic, or Sectarian Principles, or religious prejudices of any kind.

Address (post paid) H. H., *Crisis* Office, 14, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields.

NOTICES.

On Thursday, May 1, an Anniversary Entertainment will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, in commemoration of the opening of the Institution. Mr. Owen will preside. A Cold Collation will be served at Six o'clock, at which, as well as during the remainder of the evening, every attention will be bestowed to the comfort in every respect, of the Friends and visitors. Tickets, Gentlemen 2*s.*; Ladies 1*s.* 6*d.* No Tickets will be issued after Monday evening, the 28th inst.

Lectures at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street.
Mr. Smith, Sunday morning, at half-past Seven o'clock.

Mr. Owen, Sunday evening, at Seven o'clock.
A short Course of Lectures will shortly be delivered on interesting scientific subjects.

The 50th Social Festival will be held at the Institution on Monday next, the 26th inst.

The delegates from the several departments will, after next week, meet on Thursday evening, as usual.

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THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 4, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 27.

Mr. Smith lectured on "THE SABBATH."

To the rich man every day is a Sabbath: his time is his own, he has no measured task to perform, no grievous burdens to bear. The poor man is his servant: he does all the labour, and bears the heat of the day. The rich man, therefore, does not know from experience the value of a Sabbath. In fact, a Sabbath to him should naturally be the reverse of the poor man's Sabbath. One day of labour to the rich would be a day of refreshment, and would be equally stimulating as a day of rest and feasting to the labourer. The rich man has spent his previous six days of the week in a round of stimulating amusements. Perhaps he has been riding on horseback into the country, and returned with additional freshness of countenance and vigour of nerve. He has been at a *ster party* one evening, and got drunk with wine and good company; he has spent another evening at the opera, and promenaded the blissful resorts of the city, feasting his eyes upon exhibitions of art, and living attractions of a very interesting nature. What is the natural sequence of such a routine of idle and luxurious movements? The natural consequence is idleness, surfeit, and weariness of the everlasting sameness and tedium of life; and to him a bath-day presents no attraction to go out of town, when the shops are shut, the theatres closed, and only the released mechanic has picked the promenades to enjoy for one day of the week what the rich enjoy for six. It is to be expected that the rich can feel the reluctance to a day's confinement under circumstances: it is a refreshment to him; and hence, probably, has arisen the *idea* that domestic confinement is the best and most devout method of keeping the Sabbath. The rich have always been the teachers of the poor, for they only have been the education of society; and it was quite natural to them to speak from their own experience and judge of other people's feelings and actions from their own. And hence is it all those false notions of resting *ping* within doors on the Sabbath-day, *ties* of imprisonment which is very *r* the higher classes, but neither good nor tolerable for the poor.

But let us examine the authority from which Sir Andrew and the Sabbath protectors have extracted their morality. This authority is the fourth commandment: "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy: six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates." This is the commandment, and an excellent commandment it is; and we are all of us very well disposed to keep it, if our oppressors would permit us; but they have limited so unmercifully the income of the poor man, that many are now under the dire necessity of continuing their labours on a Sunday to supply the wants of nature. But the greater proportion of the working people do not work upon a Sunday; that day has been most religiously kept as a holiday ever since it was instituted, and promises fair to be one of those institutions which shall stand the test of every political and religious revolution, only undergoing those changes which the times and the altered opinions and customs of mankind shall impose upon it. The people, therefore, do all that the commandment itself requires, and there is no threat annexed to it. It does not call upon the magistrate to interfere to enforce its obedience; it is a part of the moral law; and if it be a moral law, surely its observance ought to be effected by moral, and not by violent measures.

But Sir Andrew and his friends are not content with the commandment; this is not harsh enough for them; it is too merciful and indulgent to the poor, for whose sake every word of it appears to be written. Hence he must apply to some other quarter to find out some apology for using strong legislative measures to keep up the observance of this holiday. This these devout moralists can find nowhere except in the books of Moses and the law; for Jesus Christ was a determined opponent of the prevailing prejudices of the Jews respecting the Sabbath. Moses would not permit the people to make on the Sabbath; he would not even permit them to kindle a fire on that day; and a man who had been detected gathering sticks on the Sabbath, for the purpose of making a fire, was put to death immediately. The Pha-

risees kept up this strict ceremonial, and added a thousand other niceties of their own. The Jews to this day observe the same strictness, and won't even stir a fire or snuff a candle. Why do not the Sabbath protectors keep this part of the commandment? It is quite as imperative as the other, and comes from the same authority: but they have thought proper to relax somewhat of the severity of the precept, and make it as easy to obey as possible. In fact, they have pared down the Sabbath laws to make the Sabbath-day a comfortable day to themselves, but no sooner do the poor attempt to break through the restraint, and convert the Sabbath into a day of recreation, than the rich become indignant, and use the strong arm of the law to prevent it.

It is necessary for us to expose the iniquity of this imposition, in which all the religious world are in some degree involved; but such is the ignorance of all classes of religionists upon all subjects relating to their own professed creed, that many of them, nay, the greater part of them, do not know upon what authority the laws of the Sabbath are founded. The present laws of the church and state respecting the Sabbath are not founded on the Scriptures; for the Jewish law is very strict respecting the Sabbath, requiring a nicety of observation, which none of our legislators and priests are willing to give; and the New Testament entirely abrogates the Sabbath, or leaves it to the discretion of the individual to keep it or not, as he thinks proper. The laws of our church and state, therefore, are not to be found in the Scriptures, nor can any thing resembling them be found: they are merely the arbitrary enactments of the British Parliament. Were the rich to keep the Jewish Sabbath, there would be no service done in their houses for twenty-four hours; no food would be dressed, no fire would be kindled, no vessels would be cleaned; the day would be set apart entirely for public assemblies of the people.

All this ceremony was dispensed with when Christianity began: the Jewish sacrifices were abolished; circumcision was abolished; all the abominations of the law were abolished; and the Sabbath was abolished. However, it was thought proper to set apart one day in the week for public assemblies and cessation of labour. They chose the first day of the week,

not only because Christ rose upon that day, but because it succeeded the Jewish Sabbath, which was abrogated for ever. But when this new Sabbath-day was instituted, there were no laws enacted for it, not a single precept even given: it was a day of liberty, in which there were no Jewish restrictions put upon the people, but every one was left to his own discretion to keep it or not to keep it, as he himself deemed expedient. The words of Paul respecting it are as follows: "He that regardeth the day, regardeth it to the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day to the Lord, he doth not regard it. *Let every man be persuaded in his own mind.*"

But, say our great defenders of sabbatical restrictions and coercion, although the Mosaic law was abrogated by Christianity, and its place supplied by a more spiritual worship, still the ten commandments are an exception to this rule, and as binding as ever. But who told them so? we have no authority for this, but their own word and the traditions of the church. But if they are determined to enforce the ten commandments by legal enactments, why not enforce the third, which prohibits common swearing and oath-taking; a commandment which is broken a thousand times a-day in every street of London? Why not enforce the tenth commandment, which says, "thou shalt not covet?" Why not make a law to punish all covetous priests and covetous old knights, who are fond of filthy lucre, good eating and drinking, and who love to be served by their own fellow-creatures dressed in a badge of slavery? These worthy Christians, however, will keep any commandment but the right one; such a commandment as this of covetousness is an admirable commandment, and, were it obeyed, it would infallibly cure the greater proportion of the evils of society; for then there would be no more great monopolists of wealth; no more unjust laws to invest individuals with a right to vast possessions of land, which in justice belongs to the public; and there would be no more inclination to accumulate private wealth to the prejudice of the general interests. Had Sir Andrew not been a notorious offender against this tenth commandment, he would not have been a member of the British Senate; but would have levelled himself with the people, and restored that which he has unjustly usurped. There was once a rich man asked Jesus Christ, what he should do to inherit eternal life? Jesus answered, "Thou knowest the commandments," some of which he enumerated, but never mentioned the Sabbath. The other replied, "All these have I kept from my youth upward; what lack I yet?" Jesus replied, "Go, sell all that thou hast, and give it to the poor." This touched the pious young squire to the quick; "he went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions."

The Christians talk much of the ten commandments of Moses, but never of the eleventh or new commandment of Christ. "A new commandment," says Christ, "I give unto you, that ye love one another." Were Sir Andrew and his friends to bring in a bill to enforce the keeping of this commandment, it would do more good than all the other bills and acts of parliament put together. This, in fact, is the only commandment which is necessary. Were this one kept, all the rest would follow, for this comprises all the ten in one. Such a bill might be introduced, and the end be accomplished by it. But the morality of our pious legislators does not go so

far as to cure moral evil; it only strives to give employment to constables and police officers, and burden the people with as many intricate laws, and as many grievous taxes, as possible. Were he to propose a bill to do away with all the system of competition in trade, to put an everlasting termination to those monstrous laws which allow individuals to swallow up and appropriate the wealth of others; were he to propose a measure for combining the efforts of all trades in a harmonious manner, and giving a unity of interest to all the movements of commerce, that the poor might all be employed, and that the idle should no longer enjoy the best of nature's gifts, brought to perfection without their labour or the aid of their skill; were he to do this, he would bring to pass a perfect and universal obedience to the new commandment of his master; a commandment which Christ valued so highly, that he considered it as the sum and substance of all, while Sir Andrew's Sabbath commandment was treated with contempt.

The present Sabbath is merely a type of a thing to come; it is merely a shadow before the substance. There is no moral good or evil in keeping or in breaking it. It is an excellent institution, inasmuch as it relieves the labourer one day in seven; but it has one fault, and that is, that it also relieves him of his wages. The poor man pays for the Sabbath, and therefore it is a very hard case that his lordly superiors should interfere to put restrictions upon his own observance of the day which is peculiarly his own. Does the rich man pay for the Sabbath? no! his wages are paid him on Sunday as well as on the other six days of the week. A landlord's rent includes all the seven, a tradesman's wages only six; a capitalist's interest all the seven, a journeyman operative's only six. The rich lose by nothing; they gain by every thing; for even when they engage their household servants, they extort their services every day in the seven. They themselves are paid seven, but they pay only six.

This circumstance makes it an expensive institution for the poor man, but an institution which he does not begrudge. It is one, however, which is begrudged him: as if their hearts relented at their over-indulgence which they have already shown, in granting a day of refreshment to the poor mechanic at the expense of a day's wage, they must now deprive him of the value of his money, by making the Sabbath a day of mortification and penance.

It is an old notion of the religious world that the best way of serving God is to make ourselves unhappy. It was in this foolish notion that the Roman Catholics and mystics of old used to torment themselves for the sake of gaining the favour of heaven. They even tormented themselves by breeding vermin upon their bodies, whipping themselves with cords, lying all night long upon bars of wood or iron, that they might be kept in everlasting remembrance of their sins. There is no degree of misery to which these poor creatures did not willingly subject themselves, in hopes of making ample amends by the favour of heaven, and a glorious reward in a future state of existence. It was under the auspices of such fanatical ideas that the gloomy notions respecting the keeping of the Christian Sabbath arose, and they have not yet been banished from society. They are merely the residue of worse and more bigoted prejudices, which are flying before the liberality and science of the age, and

only cherished by those backward minds who cling with a dying grasp to the opinions and customs of former ages, as if the world was everlastingly getting worse, and ancient days were better and more moral than the present. This is a foolish notion. Mankind are always improving, the human mind is always advancing. Old practices are all erroneous, and are unsuited to the times in which we live. The great evil which characterises the present system is, that it has too much of the olden times about it; that the institutions of society are behind the spirit of the people; that, whilst the people are improving in wisdom and morals, the government is standing stock-still, and applying the old system of legislature to the new character of the population; hence the resistance of the people is like the resistance of fire to water; for their principles are entirely changed from the principles of their ancestors, and they require a new set of rulers, and an entirely new set of measures.

SUNDAY EVENING, APRIL 27.

Mr. Owen commenced with observations upon the letter in last week's *Crisis*, addressed "To the Friends of the National Regeneration Society." The writer, a clergyman in Yorkshire, is one out of many who have honestly and conscientiously endeavoured to improve the condition of the working classes. He has spent much time, much money, and raised many enemies, in his exertions for the children and work people in factories; and last year, with some others, and Mr. Oastler especially, he used his best influence to promote the ten hours' bill, knowing at the same time that eight hours are quite as much as any person ought to be called on to labour, either physically or mentally. It is certain that, upon the average of life, or the average of one year, more work will be performed at eight hours a-day than at any greater number of hours; and the reason is plain, because better health and spirits will be maintained, and less time lost in consequence. The Regeneration Society have, therefore, adopted eight hours as the maximum of daily labour, and solicited Mr. Bull to join with them in obtaining its general adoption. He has already, as the letter expresses, encountered reproach; and, as long as the old system continues, any individual who advocates the cause of truth, and of the producing classes, will be assailed with every kind of abusive epithets, and all possible injury, by parties who believe their interests attacked or endangered.

The writer goes on to charge the working classes with a want of many virtues; but, considering their circumstances, I have found as much or more virtue with the productive classes as with any other. I say this not by way of compliment or undue preference, but on the ground of long observation, and the influence of circumstances, by which it was to be expected that far more honesty is to be met among the producers of real wealth, than among the unproductive classes, whose resources are commonly those of cunning and deception.

I complain, however, of no men or arrangements by which all classes are thus less surrounded. It were well if ignorance would ever bear in mind that individuals are precisely what the circumstances of class, trade, or profession make them. Instruction would then be imbued with charity, and the spirit

ill-will, anger, and competition would speedily cease. I should be well pleased if our valued friend, the writer of this letter, had weighed this consideration; for the unfortunate circumstances of his district especially have prevented its population from attaining a state other than that of the most unfavourable description; and since these evils are avowed and lamented by him, I think he ought hence to have inferred the strongest possible reason for joining the Regeneration Society, in order to assist those who would remove the causes.

With regard to self-denial, I have never seen any individual, in any class, undertake greater exertions or endure more personal sacrifices than in instances which, for the last two or three years, I have met with in the working classes; and respecting intemperance, our worthy friend does not consider sufficiently that they are so generally overworked and underpaid, that almost their only relief is the temporary excitement of ale or spirits. They are, in fact, deprived of all their natural pleasures, and their faculties laid prostrate to baneful influences.

The writer advises, in conclusion, to be united: but this is an old recommendation, and is of no use without explaining the principles by which union is to be established. The clergy, all over the world, have ever said, do so and so, but have never told how: that is our business, or rather the business of the National Consolidated Union, which is henceforth destined to become the great teacher of mankind. In this union there is no self-interest to prevent the truth from being told; on the contrary, every member possesses a deep interest to promote the happiness of every individual; and the time is fast approaching when people will even be ashamed at not belonging to this Union. It will be esteemed the highest honour.

For the first time in history, this Consolidated Union is about to form decisive, straightforward arrangements to beneficially employ the producing classes, educate their children, and, as far as possible, re-educate themselves. But there still remains much to learn and much to lose before a solid foundation can be laid. If the Union had been fully consolidated, the result at Derby would have been prevented. Great bodies of men and women are held in suspense, and require information how to act; it is therefore of vital importance that no time should be lost in strengthening and organising the power of the Union.

Since Monday last I have met various individuals, of various classes, who all express astonishment at the peace and order of that day's meeting. The vast numbers collected, and kept together so many hours, the quiet march, and harmonious result, have impressed thinking minds with the change effected within a short time, when the London mobs were of the most noisy and mischievous description; and yet now the working people have met in much larger concourse than ever before, with a fixed determination, and a love of order. I told these individuals that the useful classes had been for some time past acquiring valuable knowledge, from far better sources than the upper classes have yet been accustomed to; that the causes of evil have been investigated, and that their first step has been to form themselves into a Grand National Consolidated Union, which last Monday gave the first indication of the glorious spirit which now animates all their proceedings.

Mr. Owen then, in continuation, read the

following interesting and emphatic document, which he had drawn up:—

"The meeting on Monday last was the first public demonstration of the London Unionists. The previous measures of the Unions relative to Derby, and the various strikes that have taken place over the kingdom, did not originate with the National Consolidated Union: they occurred without their knowledge, and before the consolidation was half organized or prepared to act; but the members of the Consolidated Union thought themselves called upon to give the parties, who had thus acted independently of them, all the aid and protection they could afford, consistently with their other more important duties. If, however, the Consolidated Union were to be defeated again and again in these comparatively petty proceedings, it would make no other difference than to unite the producers of wealth and knowledge more closely, extensively, and speedily than could have been done without such stimuli, and also to open more rapidly to them the wise and substantial measures which they have to adopt to insure a gradual improvement in their condition, and secure the permanent prosperity of the whole population.

"The meeting of the Unions on Monday, in favour of their six brother Unionists of Dorchester, was what it ought to be, a quiet demonstration, to the extent of the numbers attending, of the injustice and impolicy of the sentence passed upon the men, and a proof to the world of the new spirit which is fast spreading among the producers of wealth and knowledge throughout these dominions, and of the new knowledge which they are about to apply to practice.

"The Consolidated Union has thus shown its feeling of the injustice which it has experienced by this sentence passed upon it: for the sentence was more to condemn the principle of union than to punish the six poor, simple-minded men who have been transported. It has thus also shown its sympathy with the innocent sufferers, the interest it takes in protecting its members, and its desire to meet public investigation into its principles and objects, with its readiness to abandon all kinds of secrecy as soon as it discovered that that secrecy created alarm among its fellow subjects. The meeting also demonstrated the conviction upon the minds of the Unionists that this association is a righteous union, formed to protect those who without it would be unprotected; formed to protect those who without its care would be subjected to every kind of injustice and oppression from those who were the only gainers by their labour and destitution; formed to prove to the world that they are now in earnest in taking their own affairs into their own hands, and that they mean to conduct them with prudence and moderation, and beneficially for all parties, without violence, but with a union of moral courage, charity, and real kindness that, with perseverance, must overcome all obstacles and prove a valuable example to the world.

"It is now for the Consolidated Union to adopt further measures to promote its three great objects; that is,

"1st. To employ all its members at all times;

"2nd. To educate all its members; and

"3rd. To unite all its members to promote these objects, regardless of all religious or political differences of opinion, and especially to unite the leading officers of the Union. . . .

"The last, perhaps, at this moment, is of the most immediate importance, because of the necessity which exists to have unity of design and unity of practice, and that the whole strength of the Union should be combined to carry their measures promptly into execution.

"In men elected from various occupations, coming from different parts of the country, possessing different temperaments of constitution and a variety of capacities, some better suited for one office, and some for another, and all being inexperienced in the great work to which they have been called, it is to be expected that some time must elapse before the respective qualifications of each can be known, and before they can be placed to be the most beneficial in promoting the great objects of the Union. It requires long experience, and much acquaintance with the general practice of society upon a large scale, to adjust these matters to make them work well together; and it cannot be a matter of surprise that few men with these qualifications can be found at first among the operatives in the various trades, who have been so long kept in a state of ignorance and depression by all the upper classes, and especially by their employers, who have thought it to be for their immediate interest to increase their labour, and diminish their remuneration for it.

"But the practice of associating together, of comparing their ideas with calmness, of listening patiently to those who differ from them, and, in all cases, of reflecting upon the cause of these differences, will, by degrees, more and more fit them for the high offices to which they have been called; fit them, ere long, to carry into successful execution three objects, which all the past statesmen of the world have failed to accomplish; that is, to beneficially employ, well-educate, and permanently unite the producers of wealth and knowledge throughout society; and to effect these important results for mankind by such improved arrangements as shall make all desirous of being occupied within them, and to be permitted to take an active part in promoting measures so delightful to the parties employed in them, and so advantageous for all, without being injurious to any.

"As preliminary measures, we must show the pernicious effects which have ever yet been produced by sectarian and political divisions, and by individual and personal considerations interfering with the highest and noblest plans which have ever been devised for human happiness.

"The leaders of the Consolidated Union will, I have no doubt, become fully aware of these obstacles, which are sure to arise in their progress; and as political men, feeling that the permanent prosperity of their order depends upon their prudence and wisdom, will meet this difficulty fairly and manfully, and bend their minds to the means of overcoming this as well as every other impediment which may be in their way.

"They must also expect to encounter the strong prejudices of all the non-producing classes, who, for a time, while they remain ignorant of the real object of the Consolidated Union, will exert all their powers to retard its progress, and if possible, which it now is not, to put it down altogether.

"For these reasons, and many others which might be added, I trust those who may be appointed to take the direction of this great interest of the human race, will give the

attention to prevent differences of any kind among themselves, and especially personal considerations, from obstructing or in any way interfering with their great and paramount duty to the public.

"It is time also that the official organ of the Consolidated Union should cease uselessly to irritate other classes of society: this is not the mode to serve any cause, but to create unnecessarily greater obstacles to retard the progress of the sacred cause of human amelioration, undertaken by the National Consolidated Union. No man, who understands what human nature really is, and how in each individual it is formed to become what we find it to be at maturity, and who comprehends the elements of which all society is formed, and how they must be combined to produce any permanent good for the mass of the people, can continue to write to irritate, and not apply sound argument in a right spirit, to convince that what is erroneous, founded upon false data, which must, as experience has proved, lead to the most complicated evils in practice, and that the adoption now of principles derived from plain general facts, of the truth of which no one can doubt, would soon lead to the removal of those evils, and introduce a state of society far superior to any which has ever been experienced by any portion of the human race.

"Let, therefore, reason and sound argument, and not passion or prejudice, or party or petty proceedings of any kind, be now the characteristic of the official and public organ of the Consolidated Union. Not an article should be in it which ought not to be calmly considered by the Executive, and marked as having received their deliberate sanction. The intelligent and well-disposed of the population now expect this from them, and to see a full exhibition of their principles and views fairly and explicitly developed, and their cause made to appear to the world the substantial, righteous cause which such principles and views are calculated to make it.

"No consideration for individual interest or feeling should now stand in the way of this advance in their progress; let just individual claims be met in any other mode than by the sacrifice of the great interests of the Union; in fact, by the sacrifice of the interest of the people and of the nation, by its official public organ or responsible gazette being made a vehicle for any other purpose than to give authentic, useful, and valuable information to the members of the Union, and also to the public.

"I say, also to the public; because, from Monday last, the public must feel and know that it has a deep interest and stake in all the proceedings of, and in all that appertains to, the National Consolidated Trades Union of this country. Away, then, with every party, personal, and petty consideration! and let the minds of all be absorbed in the great cause of the emancipation of industry and truth from the powers of violence or brute force and falsehood, with which they have been hitherto overwhelmed, and kept to this day in irresistible bondage. This bondage, this degradation of industry and truth, can be overcome only by the Grand National Consolidated Union.

We are happy to hear that the Oldham strikers have returned to work. We hope their example will be followed all over the country; and that the ardour of the working people will be devoted to union and organization.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

H. S. was too late.
We are afraid X. W.'s criticism won't be interesting to our readers, or particularly useful. These proxy times render us somewhat reluctant to insert R. M.'s verses at present. A Reformer will be considered.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 3.

STRIKES, after strikes in thick succession rise. Last week our attention was engaged by a formidable strike at Oldham, and by the termination of the long continued determined strike of Derby, whose fatal issue might almost have deterred the working classes from ever after engaging in such unequal contests with their employers; before their Union was sufficiently complete to have a long strike, and a strong strike, and a strike all together. The evil of all these engagements is, that they are partial; they are merely skirmishes, which may for a season annoy the enemy, but never can accomplish any thing conclusive, for the benefit of industry at large. In their generous ardour to better their own condition, and strike alarm in the minds of those who have now the control over them, these fearless leaders of the van of reformation, regardless of all personal considerations, and prepared to victimize themselves for the sake of effecting a general good, hastily and impatiently leave the great mass of their fellow-workmen, and commence the campaign before the rest are prepared to join them. It is with the most cordial sympathy for their sufferings, and a fervent hope that they may not be disappointed in their schemes of deliverance, that we express at the same time our suspicion of the impolicy and impatience which characterizes their present proceedings. The strike was a sudden thing to us; we never heard of it until the resolution was passed, or we should have besought our industrious and well-intentioned friends and brothers to defer the adoption of such a manoeuvre until their power was strengthened by an addition of numbers, and they had become a decided majority of the trade. Even then we should not have condescended to encourage a partial strike, as we have no expectation of ever realizing much good by such a mode of action. There is another method of procuring salvation than this starvation system of partial striking; but that method cannot be employed without a full number of the trades, and perfect unity of action. To this method the working classes must finally come; and if they cannot be taught the necessity of adopting this method without the previous disappointments resulting from successive strikes, let these strikes follow in thick succession, that the experience which they cannot fail to convey to every thinking

mind may be disseminated among the whole industrious population of the country, and one conclusion be adopted by all, and acted upon with national unanimity and concert of movement.

The resolution lately passed by the operative tailors, in conformity with which the present strike has taken place, is to work for ten hours a-day during four summer months, from the third Monday of April to the last Saturday of July, from seven in the morning till six in the afternoon, at 6s. per day; and for eight hours during the remaining eight months, from eight in the morning till five in the afternoon, at 5s. per day, including one hour for refreshments. Of the reasonableness of this regulation there can be no dispute; but of the means which have been adopted to carry it into effect we are somewhat suspicious. All the trades are so intimately connected together, that it is impossible to raise one in the scale of comfort without raising the rest; far less is it possible to raise a portion of one trade without raising the whole of the trade. A strike, therefore, of a certain fraction or aliquot part of a trade, has two powerful obstructions to encounter: first, it has to encounter the natural opposition arising from that portion of the trade which has not struck; and if that portion be a majority, as it always hitherto has been, then the chance of success is decidedly against the strike, even independent of the other majority of all the trades in the country, which are so intimately connected together, that a universal strike of a single trade would still be a measure of doubtful success, without the co-operation of the rest to support it, by the immediate adoption of a similar resolution; and then, pray, what is the use of a nominal rise of wages, if every thing else rise in proportion? If the tailors get six shillings a-day, and all the other trades get a similar increase, every commodity will rise in nominal value, and the six shillings will be of no more value than the four and sixpence at present.

This fixation of a nominal money wage is extremely deceitful, because money is for ever changing its value; and would infallibly change its value by the general success of the trades in raising the nominal amount of their wages. It is not so much a certain quantity of silver for a day's wage that we ought to bargain for, as it is a certain amount of the produce of industry, a certain amount and quality of food, clothing, and lodging. So that there are two important questions to be discussed by the Unionists: first, is it possible, by coercive measures, to raise the wage in one part of the country, when the other parts of the country are not acting in concert? and, secondly, though they did all act in concert, how are we to cure the evil resulting from the change in the value of money? These are two important questions, and we

have no hesitation in answering the former in the negative; and the latter we should answer by saying that we must, in a general or social strike, abandon the metallic standard of wealth in our fixation of the rewards of industry, and bargain for a certain amount of the produce of labour, instead of a certain amount of the king's currency, which is as fickle and changeable in character as the weather.

It is evident that the trades have yet much useful knowledge to acquire before they can adopt such a system of action as shall give assurance of ultimate and permanent success. If their present measures do bring them any relief, which is questionable, it must be a very temporary relief, and, after the experience obtained by severe privations, they must finally adopt the only plan of deliverance which human ingenuity can devise, namely, that of trading societies, comprising all the members of the respective trades; distributing employment, the rewards of industry, and the profits of capital, upon the principle of natural equality.

We are still continuing to act upon the destructive system. We are battering and breaking down, but we are not constructing. We are merely a band of foragers and marauders. We are sadly annoying and alarming all the peaceable inhabitants of the land; but we have not sufficient unity of action to take possession of the country, or to govern it when taken. We have neither a personal leader, nor a principle to lead us; and one lodge, one trade, is concerting plans for its own advancement, upon which it acts, without the co-operation of the other lodges or unions of the country. It is like a kingdom divided into independent provinces, having each a legislature of its own, whose political measures are neither directed by each other's movements, nor tending to give effect to each other's proceedings. It is a civil war, not a war alone of men against masters, but of the men against themselves; one trade against another trade, and one portion of a trade against the remaining portion; for in what other light can we consider a partial strike than as a hostile engagement between the working men? They only are the combatants; they only are the sufferers. The strikers reduce themselves to want; they levy a tax upon their industrious fellow-labourers; they live several months in idleness; they encourage each other in obstinacy; and at last, deserted by the impatience of their fellow workmen, and reduced to despair by the hopelessness of their own condition, they return to labour upon worse conditions than ever, thrust onward to the same plan of national union and general co-operation, which we have always recommended. Why not proceed with the great work of initiation and organization, and finish it before any other work is attempted? Why not embrace the whole mass of pro-

ducers, before hostilities are commenced? Why this selfishness, this individualism of action, this disregard of the common good, and exclusive study of partial interests? Why any beggarly application of a few thousands for personal relief during a cessation of labour, intended to enforce an augmentation of wages, which cannot be shared in common with the whole mass? Can these thousands give laws to the millions? Can the few rule the many, without either capital or power of any kind to support them?

There are three kinds of power: the power of wealth, of talents, and of numbers. Have these partial strikers provided themselves with either of these powers? Have they more wealth than their masters, more talents or more numerical power than the unstruck labourers? Certainly not; and the consequence must be that, for want of power, they must yield the victory, and chew the cud over a total discomfiture. By a general union they might provide themselves with every species of power; and by a general strike they might bring their superiors to any terms of accommodation. But these petty strivings are like petty thefts, which may, by some jesuitical casuistry, be justified upon the principle of equality, but are, notwithstanding, injurious to the peace of society, and held in abhorrence by every virtuous mind. What is just in the public at large to do, may not be just in individuals or abstract portions of the population to do. It would be just in the body of the people to take the land and the wealth of the country, and make an equal distribution of it amongst the whole body of the population; but it would be unjust in a fraction of the people to abstract a portion of wealth from another portion upon their own authority, and by their own undelimited power. So it is with partial strikes; they are unjust to other departments of the trade, merely because they are abstracting from a portion to divide amongst a portion; they are making laws for one trade, and not for all trades. Tailors legislate for tailors, instead of legislating for all other trades in concert with all other trades. Nay, it is not even tailors legislating for tailors, but some tailors legislating for a few tailors within four miles of Covent-garden,—a circle eight miles in diameter, and twenty-four miles in circumference; that's all! We are sadly afraid our brother-unionists are too hasty; but if they convince us of our error, we shall support them. They justify themselves by saying that this is the commencement of the summer season, and if the strike did not take place now, it could not conveniently be effected for twelve months to come; but by waiting twelve months, and employing this time in combining the whole mass of workmen in the country, they would not only mitigate the evil for themselves, but give

security and certainty of success to their proceedings. "A stitch in time saves nine" is an old proverb we know, and may be interpreted to encourage such a sudden and partial movement as the present; but this applies merely to the patching of an old garment; and all strikes have hitherto been conducted upon the principle of patching up the old system of competition, notwithstanding their professions to the contrary. What a ghastly-looking slop it must look by and by!

The above remarks are merely general, and not directed particularly against the present strike of the tailors. We believe the Executive and leaders of the Tailors' Union have been forced into this measure by the impatience of many of the unformed and newly initiated, who have more zeal than prudence, and who, in their eagerness to effect immediate good, become blind to the certainty of immediate evil. All that we mean to affirm is this, that partial strikes will not effect the desired end; but they will no doubt do much good (in the absence of greater), inasmuch as they will thrust conviction upon the minds of our rulers that abundant concessions must be made in favour of industry, before contentment can be established. We shall be very happy to hear that the tailors have succeeded; but we hope that their conduct will not prove a precedent for other trades to strike individually and successively, otherwise a whole generation may pass in such petty warfare, and still the whole evil of the system remain unwounded.

COPY OF THE CIRCULAR OF THE TAILORS.

SIR,—By direction of the Friendly Society of Operative Tailors, I have to acquaint you that, in order to stay the ruinous effects which a destructive commercial competition has so long been inflicting upon them, they have resolved to introduce certain new regulations of labour into the trade, which regulations they intend should commence from Monday next; and I beg herewith to enclose you a copy of them.

As the demands there specified are of so reasonable a nature; and as, moreover, they are unquestionably calculated for the ultimate benefit of employers, as well as the employed, the Society confidently hopes that you will accede to them, and that henceforward a mutual confidence may be sustained between masters and men, and that their interests may be no longer separated, and opposed to each other.

It only remains for me to add, that your workmen, members of this Society, will cease to be employed by you, should you decline to act upon the new regulations; and further, I think it right to apprise you that, in that case, they will no longer consider it necessary to support your interest,—but will immediately enter the arrangements prepared by the Society for the employment of such members for the benefit of the Society.—I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
JOHN BROWNE, Sec.

25, Little Queen-street, April 25, 1834.

REGULATION.

No brother shall be allowed to work more than ten hours per day from the third Monday in the month of April to the last Saturday in the month of July; nor more than eight hours

per day the remaining eight months of the year; and for such labour the remuneration shall be six shillings per day for the ten hours labour, which is to be performed between the hours of seven o'clock in the morning and six o'clock in the evening; and five shillings per day for the eight hours labour, to be performed between the hours of eight o'clock in the morning and five o'clock in the evening, out of which time, in either case, he shall leave his employer's premises one hour for refreshment. Nor shall any brother work for an employer any where but on his (the employer's) premises, which shall be healthy and convenient, or on any other terms than by the day or hour. And no brother shall be allowed to solicit employment, or to work for less than the regular wages, within four miles of Covent Garden.

The master tailors seem as determined as the men to maintain their ground. At the adjourned meeting on Monday and Tuesday the strongest resolutions to this effect were unanimously passed.

THE subject of the Trades' Unions has now become one of universal interest, and has at last engaged the attention of the House of Legislature. Our old friends, the Liberals, however, they who rode into office upon the triumphal cars of political unions, are the very first men to raise their voices against associations of industry! How it is likely that working men should make better politicians than tradesmen, it is hard to say; but certain it is that, as long as the political unions maintained the cause of the twice-defeated, twice-resuscitated Whigs, they were held in respect by the highest power of the realm, even when discussing the profoundest mysteries of political economy. Now, when the people are merely discussing the simple subject of labour and its reward, they are regarded as the vilest and most abandoned miscreants, traitors to lawful authority, intimidators, extortioners, illiterate and inexperienced fools, with all the other etceteras of abuse; although they are the very same men who formerly extorted the high encomiums of the present administration, when the latter were candidates for popular favour, as necessary for urging forward their own limited movements.

However, we are happy to find that the hint of the Duke of Newcastle respecting the suppression of our Sunday meetings did not meet with a favourable reception from Lord Melbourne and the Lord Chancellor, notwithstanding the strong language in which both their Lordships expressed their disapprobation of our proceedings. And the majority of speakers in the House of Commons, upon the petition in favour of the Dorchester convicts, were very decided in expressing their reprobation of the severity, as well as illegality, of the sentence. We have much upon which to congratulate ourselves. We cannot expect a smooth way; indeed it is not for our interest to be free from obstructions; we

have much to learn, and in order to acquire the necessary experience and information, our minds require to be busily occupied by the stimulating influence of vigorous opposition. The mind, like the body, is strengthened by action, and experience is only to be learned by successive blundering, each succeeding step being taken after due deliberation of the consequences of the past.

Mr. Owen recommends the abandonment of all sectarian and party prejudices; all individualism of interest and movement. This is the great lesson, and all the striking, and wrangling, and intimidation, which have hitherto been employed by the rude and disorganised masses of the people, are so many minor lessons of sad experience to bring them to this ultimatum of wisdom. Without some liberal and conciliatory spirit of action between the great temporal and spiritual divisions of society, all our efforts at amelioration must be vain. We cannot force our doctrines upon a world; if we are before the age in our views of society, we must either retreat, and move along with the people, or become the victims of our own impatience; we must proceed alone, or with only a little isolated band of friends, whose very smallness of number would confine their views, and illiberalize their minds. It is necessary to move with the mass, and, in order to do so, we must enter into the feelings of the mass, as well as strive to bring the mass to enter into ours.

"WHO IS DR. WADE?"

Is a question asked on all sides, and one which no person seems able or willing to answer. The *Times*, it is true, says that the rev. gentleman is a parson absent on leave; and the *Leading Journal* then goes on to insinuate that the Doctor, if not looked after, may walk into a well in search of that half of his wits with which Nature forgot to furnish him at his outset in life. In this matter Dr. Wade may, it is presumed, follow his own discretion—if discretion he have. But our object at present is to notice his devout following of his absurdity—a peculiarity which, to do him justice, he possesses in a pre-eminent degree.

"We wish at once to say that we have no disposition to interfere with the mountebank nonsense of this or of any other spiritual doctor who may decline attending to the cure of souls. So long as the follies of a man affect merely his personal character or interests, we may pass them by with a shrug of pity or a scowl of scorn; but when the interests, the well-being, and the order of society are outraged or menaced by such follies—above all, when the sacred considerations of religion, and the solemn observances of Christian devotion, are made subservient to outrageous vanity or beggarly ambition—then it becomes the duty of all those possessing any influence, however slight, with their fellow-countrymen, to denounce such flagrant violations of propriety; and for this reason we address ourselves to the case of Dr. Wade.

"Here we have a clergyman of the church of England, insensible not only to the spiritual wants of his particular congregation, but even

to the decorum hitherto deemed a constituent part of the clerical character. Let any man for a moment consider the part which this vain person has thought fit to enact for the last few years, and say whether any thing could be more calculated to cast ridicule on all that the wise and good have hitherto held in reverence? A career of more consistent stupidity, perhaps it was never the fate or wish of man to run. The Rev. Dr. first started as one who sought to achieve distinction by 'dressing at' Dr. Parr. Unless we are much mistaken, Parr himself never achieved any greater glory as to dress and demeanour than the being described a bad copy of a coarse original—that is, Dr. Johnson. But of Dr. Wade we may say, that he is a miserable caricature of the miserable copy of the coarse original in question. Yet one point the Doctor has in his favour. His Parr-like peculiarities in dress and manner never grew out of any inherent brutality of disposition. His failing lay entirely the other way. He was always a cake of the very softest dough. A more simple specimen of that pliant composition can scarcely be conceived. Even when, the other day, his adopted flock of voiceful bleaters refused to say the prayer which he had piously prepared for them, the pastor, we are told, 'quietly folded it up and put it in his pocket,' instead of fulminating thunders against his self-willed congregation. We wish that this pliable temperament would evince itself in the rev. gentleman's attention to suggestions which we know to have been held out to him on the subject of his mountebank displays. That these are of a character to lower not only the Established Church, but every form of Christian worship, in the estimation of the multitude, even Dr. Wade, with his very limited intelligence, must, on the smallest reflection, perceive; and furthermore, that such absurdities must be disgusting to every well-constituted mind, of what spiritual persuasion aever, and, by a somewhat clear consequence, injurious to the cause, be it what it may, which the rev. and (according to the *Times*) 'half-witted' Doctor is anxious to enforce. Unless his object be to be an Archbishop of some St. Simonian church, we cannot see how he can benefit himself by showing off so loudly and ludicrously as a Vicar of Bray."

We have quoted the above article from the first number of a new Sunday paper, called "*The King*," merely to expose the absurdity and ignorance of that portion of the press which professes, in a peculiar manner, to advocate the cause of religion and good morals. Loud pretensions have ever been suspicious, and we have no good reason to think that the laws of Nature have changed, or that she has provided herself with a new set of symptoms. We don't feel ourselves bound in honour to give "*The King*" credit for all that he pretends to. We not only question his orthodoxy and his morals; but we question—what the men of this generation consider of much greater importance—his consistency, in thus scandalously attacking the character of a man, for no greater crime than that of merely acting in the spirit of his profession. It augurs very ill of this new babe of royalty, to defile, by personal abuse, the very first column of the very first article by which it commends itself to the patronage of the public. But the omen becomes infinitely more unfavourable when this abuse happens to defeat itself by its own absurdity, and to throw back upon the author all the obloquy with which he intended to asperge the reputation of his victim. We do not know what may be *The King's*

ideas of a perfect pastoral curate of souls ; but it is evident that a really good and virtuous priest would be an utter abomination in his majesty's sight ; yea, even a stink in his nostrils. It is not fashionable for priests now to exert themselves in behalf of the poor. The established church is not supported with a view to that end. It is a vulgar thing to associate with the working classes, and consult with them upon the best means of ameliorating their condition. No true clergyman of the church ever thinks of identifying himself with the people, or of throwing any reflections upon the present moral character of government and the rich, by inciting the poor to lay claim to a more equitable distribution of the produce of industry. Hence it is very true what *The King* maintains, that the conduct of Dr. Wade is calculated "to lower, not only the established church, but every form of Christian worship, in the estimation of the multitude;" for the truly Christian and benevolent conduct of our reverend friend must put to blush the unfeeling, cruel indifference of the ten thousand shepherds of England, in respect to the physical and moral condition of the people. His "soft dough" is a much more amiable composition than their hard metal, upon which neither the wrongs of the labourer, the tears of the widow, nor the cry of the orphan, can produce any impression that can act as an incentive to general beneficence.

The church is apostate, and the spirit of the age is now declaring it a rebel ; for this reason it is sending forth its hireling advocates to plead its cause, to justify things as they are, whether they be corrupt or not ; that it may a little longer enjoy its honours and its wealth, and save itself the trouble of a change. Virtue is its scarecrow ; it will revile the name of every man who is led by the dictates of a generous sympathy for human wrongs, and it will pour forth its fulsome adulation upon those alone, whose confined views and selfish policy would concentrate all worth and all truth within the little circle of a spiritual aristocracy, even as they would invest the landed and monied few with a legal right to all the produce of industry, and all political control.

This divine and royal moralist is not content with one ungenerous and unprincipled personal allusion in his first article ; he must also have a wipe at the celebrated Dr. Parr, who was one of the first scholars of the age ; a man, too, who professed the highest respect for Dr. Wade's intellectual and moral character, as may be demonstrated by written testimonies and living witnesses. What has all this to do with truth in the abstract ? What benefit will it yield to mankind, if it even can be demonstrated that Dr. Wade is a rogue or a fool ; Dr. Parr as bad, and a sloven to boot ; and *The King* himself most devotionally sincere in his first leading article ? Will all this combined suffice to justify the avarice and apostacy of the clergy, or convict the benevolent and truly pastoral Dr. Wade of a desertion of duty, when he exerts his energies in the poor man's cause, and extends his pastoral cure of souls a little further than the computation of tithes and Easter-offerings, and the equally interested and selfish study of the scale of ecclesiastical promotion ? A short time will soon convince the world that Dr. Wade's is the true Christianity ; and everlasting obloquy must be the fate of those who obstruct the progress of his benevolent designs, who reap that which they have not sown, and put a muzzle on the ox that treadeth out the corn.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

"For there's no motion
That tends to vice in man, but I'll affirm
It is the woman's part."

I'll write against them."

—SHAKESPEARE.

"When all men call us asses, it is time to bray."

—SPANISH PROVERB.

SIR,—In a former attempt to prove the influence which women necessarily have in society, and, consequently, the advantages which would result from allowing them freely to participate in all those privileges which the men now arrogate to themselves, two remarks very likely to occur were anticipated, which it may, perhaps, be necessary to state again, in order that all which they involve may be elucidated, and any objections founded upon them answered and removed. It is enquired first, why, admitting that female influence is extensive, is it that society has been so little benefited by this influence ? It is replied, that the advantages arising from the influence of women have been by no means so trifling as they may at first, and upon a cursory survey, appear to be, and if it were possible for us to imagine a nation composed of men and women, in which, from some strange whim of nature, the latter had no power to influence the former in any manner, we should at once be convinced of the fallacy of the remark, that the sway women necessarily have is of trifling advantage, for it is impossible but that the dullest mind should perceive that, in such a state of society, there would be a total absence of those numberless courtesies and proprieties, of those endeavours to please and excel, of that occasional affection, kindness, and generosity which woman alone can inspire. But as nature says that such a state may not, can not be, the cause of this seeming deficiency must be sought where alone it will be found to exist, and I have no hesitation in asserting, as the result of observation and experience, that it may be traced to the opposition, the ignorance of the men ; for it is a fact well worthy of attention, that when women have been called upon to perform duties the most arduous, and apparently the least suited to their previous habits, in most cases—provided they have been free from counteraction and interference—they have performed those duties well, and with the most beneficial results. The seemingly small advantage of the influence of women is not then to be ascribed to any inherent weakness either in it or in them ; nor, though the effects are not strikingly conspicuous, may we infer that, therefore, society would be better without this power ; for, if we reason correctly, we shall rather conclude that it is because the women have not been allowed the extent and freedom of influence which Nature intended, that even now, the state of the whole civilized world is not far better. How often do we see the power of her lessons of kindness destroyed by the example of unkindness in the man ; the effect of her integrity and truth neutralised by the man's scorn of them ! While she, perhaps, is implanting in the mind of her child feelings of benevolence and forbearance ; the father, with unhalloed ridicule, crushes them in the bud, calls wilfulness a becoming spirit, and declares that his boy shall not be made a snail or a coward ! As an instance of the truth of this assertion, let us look into families where the children, particularly the boys, are left to

the care of a widowed mother, and compare the results with those produced where the father has chiefly directed, and it is certain that the comparison will end in favour of the plans pursued by the former. Indeed, the moral superiority which will be generally conceded to the girls, may be traced to the circumstance that they have been left to the management of women ;* and until the men shall be prepared to disprove this, let them no longer indulge the false idea, that the influence of women, notwithstanding the manner in which it is perverted, or weakened, by the conduct of the other sex, is of light esteem ; let each examine, and endeavour to discover the origin of those thoughts, of those actions, which are the chosen resting-places of memory, and he will, perhaps, be surprised to find that they are owing to the very influence which is so despised or denied. Above all, let there no longer be heard those unmeaning, those cowardly assertions of the ignorance, the incapacity of women. She may be—she is, ignorant. And who has made her so ? With respect to her incapacity, it is flatly denied. Let her have the opportunities to which she has a right, and the names of De Genlis, of Roland, and De Staël, of Edgeworth, Hemans, and Somerville, though they must still and ever shine with their own peculiar lustre, would yet form a part only of that splendid galaxy,

"Deck'd with the glory of a thousand stars."

Some of these observations may, perhaps, have anticipated the other enquiry,—how is it that the influence of women has been so frequently productive only of mischief, nay, of misery ?—an enquiry which demands particular attention, because from the reply it is intended to deduce an important inference. No attempt is made to deny, to palliate, or conceal, that this influence has been, in many cases, most disastrous ; and the more we become conscious of this, the more shall we, as rational creatures, desire to remove the cause ; and that cause is ignorance. Ignorance has perverted the effect of a power which is Nature's own gift ; ignorance has made woman influence badly, even where there has been no intention to do so ; ignorance has induced her to seek for happiness in the gratification of caprice, vanity, pride, and too often in feelings of a more odious and dangerous character ; and hence it follows that, if we would judge of the effects of her power when exercised wisely and naturally, we must remove this blight to her moral beauty, we must withdraw this cloud to her intellectual brightness. Enlarge the mind of woman with useful knowledge ; teach her in what her true interest consists ; cultivate the faculties with which she is bountifully endowed ; enable her to take that comprehensive survey of existence which is necessary for wisely governing, and we shall no longer have to mourn over the sad consequences, which it were foolish and false to deny have attended many of her pursuits ; for

* It may perhaps be necessary to state that, in drawing this comparison, it by no means follows that parental education is recommended. On the contrary, it is believed that education can never be properly conducted until such regulations shall be effected, as will enable each individual to receive the most valuable knowledge of all kinds from those best qualified to impart it, without the blindness of that caprice, favoritism, or anxiety, which commonly attend the instruction of the parent.

the real knowledge she will have acquired will be a sufficient guarantee against either a perverted or mischievous use of her power. The question, therefore, is not, and never should have been, shall she be permitted to influence? this she always must do; but it is, shall she henceforth influence beneficially? shall she be made, as she is capable of being easily made, the rational companion of rational man; whose intellectual and moral character will, at the same time, be immeasurably raised by the exaltation of the being upon whom he entirely depends, during the earliest and most important years of his life, for all the impressions and cultivation he receives? Can he at length understand his interests, and avail himself of her cultivated intelligence? for why should the powers of one-half of the human race be lost, or worse—perverted? Does man need no assistance in learning the lessons of wisdom? Alas! the very possibility of which the banishes those whose high moral feelings would aid him in tracing their harmony and beauty in sufficient answer. In having falsely assumed the incapacity of another, and in having doomed her to all the evils of ignorance, he knows not how rapidly he has cast away his best privileges; and his highest delights depart. Surely, happiness is not so rife that it may thus be destroyed; surely, our pleasure-able emotions are not so frequent that the principal sources whence they all flow, sympathy and congeniality, may thus be neglected. Let it be remembered, also, that to exclude women from advantages of any kind is to interfere with the great law of Nature, which has so organized each individual, that his highest health, his greatest progressive improvement, and his permanent happiness, depend upon the due cultivation of all his physical, intellectual, and moral faculties. And how has this been observed in all regions that regard woman? No more than as if such a law had never been! Physically, she has been trained to please the most vitiated caprices; the diminutive feet of the Chinese; and the shapeless bulk of the African beauty; are but slight deviations from our more civilized absurdity. Fashion decides upon the size of the waist; and so the torment begins, and the anatomist wonders! Nature pleads, and points to the most perfect models of antiquity; but in vain; for who in these days attends to her voice? and this is but one specimen out of many of the way in which health and real beauty are destroyed. Morally, how is she trained? Upon the same plan; for this horrible process is applied to the feelings, to the affections; these also are dressed up and distorted; these are modelled into something as unlike truth as possible. When is it permitted to utter the language of a kind and loving nature? Scarcely ever; this music of life has almost ceased; hardly may it be whispered to the heart that best understands it; and amid the discord and hollow din of artificial society, its gentle sound is altogether inaudible. Are not the most generous impulses repressed by the sneer that calls them "romantic," or the frown that terrifies to subjection and inaction? What become of our finest feelings, our best affections?—they are tried at the bar of a cold world, pronounced "not correct," and destroyed. When, therefore, all these things, and many more equally unjust and injurious towards women, are considered, who amongst them will not exclaim with Lady Macbeth, "unsex me!" that she may be qualified to join

in the Jewish form of thanksgiving? "Blessed," say the men; "art thou, oh, everlasting King! that thou hast not made me a woman." April, 1854. CONCORDIA.

"To which the women meekly respond, "Blessed art thou, oh, Lord! that thou hast made us according to thy will."

MRS. HAMILTON.

A few weeks ago, Mrs. Hamilton, of Paisley, who announces herself as "a female Reformer, on a tour through Scotland!" held forth several times in the Unitarian Chapel, Greenock, to crowded audiences of both sexes. Her first lecture, on church and state reform, lasted an hour and a half. The established church, or, as she quaintly denominated it, "the Old Lady," came in for a principal share of her vituperation—a course of proceeding which, she says, she finds highly useful in opening the doors of the voluntary churches in many parts of the country. The "reformation" of her own sex she declares to be one of the grand objects of her labours. She complained loudly, and in the very delicate terms, of the tyranny with which males lorded it over females, and advised the latter to be ruled no longer. In handling this part of the subject she said the apostles were taught to become fishers of men, and (shaking her fist towards the women) she added, "I will teach you how to become fishers of men"—a sentiment which elicited great laughter and applause. She continued, "The apostles, when met by their Master, had toiled all night and caught nothing; and many of you, my dear sisters, have been toiling all your lives, and have got nothing either; and why were you unsuccessful? Just because your nets were thrown out on the wrong side of the ship; that throw out your nets on the right side, and, take my word for it, you will bring shoals of fresh fellows to land." This declaration was received with great applause. She then detailed her proceedings at the late election at Paisley. The men there told her that if she were allowed to propagate her principles the women would take the country to themselves, and the men would be forced to flee to America; but she told them that she did not care—the truth was her object, and by that she would stand or fall. At her second appearance, after folding up her handkerchief in the form of a brain, and setting it down before her on the desk, she began to describe how all the bad thoughts, words, and actions of mankind were produced from external impressions, made through the medium of the eyes, the ears, and the other organs of the senses, and that all the errors and ignorance, faults and follies of women, were caused by their being exposed to the foul and contaminating moral influence of bad men; and that phrenologists had proved, and she herself would prove, that women's brains were capable of being improved to a degree which would make them equal and even exceed the men in all the better accomplishments of our common nature, and give them power to break the chains of the tyrant and the oppressor, and set them completely free. (Immense applause!) She knew that her doctrine would not be acceptable to some; but she was not going to take the ass on her back to please one party, and again get on his back to please another party. She would pursue the truth in a straightforward and independent cause. Old father Prejudice and old mother Separation would both be displaced

at her proceedings; but she disregarded the one and despised the other; and as for the much-respected Old Lady, she was now getting so worn and wrinkled that it was high time to prepare her winding-sheet. (Great cheering.) After speaking nearly two hours and a half, she concluded with an intimation that a gentleman from Glasgow would deliver a lecture on "Tower of Babelism."

At a public meeting of the shipwrights, shipjoiners, caulkers, smiths, and others, held on Friday evening, the 25th instant, at 12, Portland-street, Commercial-road, it was resolved, "That this meeting deem it necessary to endeavour immediately to unite the whole of these trades, and to take such steps as experience may from time to time dictate, in order to raise every individual from their present degraded position in society, and ultimately to incorporate themselves with the National Consolidated Trades Union, who will act in concert with them for the same object; that is, a fair remuneration for their labour."

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street. Mr. Smith, Sunday morning, at half-past eleven. Mr. Owen, Sunday evening, at seven o'clock. The 51st Social Festival will be held at the Institution, on Monday next, the 5th instant. A Social Tea-party every Sunday, afternoon. The delegates from the several departments will, after this week, meet on Thursday evenings. A public free discussion will take place at Charlotte-street, on Tuesday evening next, at eight o'clock precisely. Subject—"Why are the Working Classes, who produce all the wealth in the world, in poverty and misery?" Each speaker will be allowed fifteen minutes to address the meeting. Unionists are invited.

SURREY MISCELLANEOUS TRADES LODGE. A list will remain open for a few days longer at J. Waller's, Newsvender, 5, Bermondsey-row, Blackfriars-road; where a Female Lodge is in course of formation.

BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS. THE most excruciating pains of Gout, Rheumatic Gout, Rheumatism, and Lumbago, relieved in the short space of two hours; and cured in a few days, by these incomparable Pills, which are so perfectly innocent as to require neither confinement nor attentions of any sort. Indeed, they are a remedy so completely efficient, that they need only a trial to insure their universal recommendation. The following few names are selected from a numerous list of persons that can be referred to, who will gladly recommend these Pills from their own experience:—

Mr. William Hale, nearly 40 years postmaster at Dulwich, Surrey, afflicted with Rheumatism for ten or twelve years, and through which he was superannuated; completely cured by less than one box; there are also several persons in the neighbourhood of Dulwich who have experienced similar benefits, and who can be referred to.

Mr. Charles Price (late of the Phoenix Fire Office), No. 31, St. Martin's-lane, has been twice cured of attacks of the Gout by the taking of three or four doses only each time.

Mr. William Robinson, 30, Eagle-street, Red Lion-square, in the employ of Messrs. Day and Martin, relieved by three doses, and cured by the taking of one box, of a violent attack of Rheumatic Gout, which had confined him to his bed for eight days.

Sold by Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London, (seven doors from Temple-bar;) and, by his appointment, by most medicine-vendors in town or country; price 2s. 6d. per box.

Printed and published by B. D. COLLINS, 18, Duke-street; Lincoln's Inn-fields; and at 378, Strand.

THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 5, VOL. IV.]

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 4.

Mr. Owen lectured.—We have long been impressed with the truth that "man is ever the creature of the circumstances in which he has been placed from birth upwards;" and a little work, illustrative of this great truth, has lately been sent to me, which, of the many works I have read on the subjects therein treated, comes the nearest to my own ideas. I regret that this work was not published in London, rather than the country, but hope some of our friends will communicate with the author, in order to republish it here at a cheaper rate for the benefit of the working classes. This valuable work is entitled "National Education; or the Principles of Morality, Metaphysics, Politics, and Political Economy, elicited and demonstrated. Intended to exhibit the possibility of giving the same clear and satisfactory Demonstrations to all Propositions in these Sciences, as to Propositions in Geometry: to point out the advantages of that method of teaching, and the necessity of adopting it, as the only way to get quit of Prejudices, and secure the progress of Truth. By James Milne, Author of a Treatise on Causation, Theory of the Earth, &c. Hartlepool, 1834." Such is the title-page, with the following excellent motto: "The happiness of man is the ultimate object of all institutions, whether religious or civil: if they do not contribute to that end, they are either useless or noxious." I take the dedication of this work as a text to introduce this evening's discourse: it begins thus, "To the Legislature, Clergy, and Schoolmasters of Great Britain, and to all those who admit that it is for the benefit of the nation that truth should be made known and communicated to all classes; that prejudice and error should be prevented entering the mind; that dissension and hatred should cease; that superstition and ignorance should be removed; and that nothing but truth should be taught to mankind, this small volume is most respectfully inscribed." The great practical point now to take especial care of is, that in the rising generation no prejudice shall be allowed to enter their minds: it is a hundredfold more easy to prevent, than to remove error. How I long to see those arrangements which

shall render impossible the rise and progress of prejudice! I think I see the small cloud in the distance, now gathering into a powerful collection of electric matter to dissipate all obstacles, and enable us at length to lay a solid, clear foundation for forming man from birth to be a rational being. This would be accomplished by the prevention of prejudice, which is the cause of superstition and bigotry, of hatred and dissension. Are there in Great Britain very many persons who desire that man should be taught truth alone? Are there a thousand or more? If, indeed, there be a thousand who are prepared to give up their children into arrangements which shall prevent prejudice, and inculcate nothing but truth, then have we already gained a great point, and I do hope that not merely one thousand, but many thousands, are now ready from conviction thus to act.

"So soon as the instructors of mankind can be made to perceive the truth, they will no longer continue to teach what they believe to be false, in opposition to the best interests of man: *should they be prevented from teaching what they have perceived to be truth, they will teach nothing else.* Of them, therefore, is a perusal of this work most earnestly requested, and to them is it more particularly dedicated." As long as error and falsehood are taught to the world, while daily experience is at the same time giving more and more knowledge, changes and reverses will be rendered inevitable; but when truth alone shall be taught to mankind, the institutions founded thereon will be eternal. The science of morals, politics, or political economy, will then be as solid as that of mathematics, wherein the elementary truth that one and one make two, lays the basis of the most elaborate and permanent superstructure. This little work points out the mode by which every child may be taught to detect truth from error on almost every subject. The dedication thus concludes:—"The author is sensible that malice and slander, from the ignorant, the prejudiced, and the interested, may probably be the first fruits of his labour; but with those to whom he is known, sensible, that it cannot injure him, he leaves it to recoil on the slanderer, and looks forward to a future period when posterity will do him justice." True it is that no individual can come publicly forward upon subjects involving the well-being of hu-

manity without being assailed by all the prejudice, ignorance, and corruption of this present erroneous system of society. To propose a system of truth and happiness, is to contend with instant opposition and opprobrium: these, indeed, may be regarded as certain indications of the right way having been honestly portrayed.

But of what consequence is it to an individual what others may say or do, while he has his liberty; all the blustering of stamped papers is mere idle sound—put the whole into one side of a scale, and a particle of truth into the other, and the former will be found lighter than vanity. In future lectures I shall again advert to this sensible work, and state the extent of my agreement or disagreement with the writer. He appears to be a friend of competition, and it will be a matter of curiosity with me, in going through his book, to see how a mind which has received so much of truth and consistency could come to such a conclusion: I can only refer it at present to his deficiency in practical knowledge.

The past week has been prolific of events in showing forth the spirit of the times, and I expect now that every week will, in its consequences, be of greater importance than any year of past history. First, we have the strike of the tailors, to the extent of fifteen or sixteen thousand men. Second, meetings of the master tailors, with their speeches and wisdom. Third, the Lord Chancellor's speech upon Trades' Unions and the sentence upon our Dorchester brethren. Fourth, the letter of the Grand Secretary of the Executive of the Grand National Consolidated Union. Fifth, my reply to the Lord Chancellor. Sixth, Lord Anglesey's letter on the best mode of conciliating and governing Ireland. Seventh, opinions of the members of the House of Commons on the sentence of our Dorchester friends and on Trades' Unions,—all in one week. It is therefore evident that matters are fast ripening to bring society to a decided point; and I expect, before the end of this year, the overwhelming circumstances thus actively in progress will lead to the universal enquiry whether the system that has been is the best, or what shall supersede it. Any enquiry short of this is mere preliminary matter; we must all come at last to decide these two grand enquiries.

1st. Does individual man form himself to be what he is, or is his character formed for him? and 2ndly. Shall man continue to act on the principle of opposing the whole of the human race, or shall the whole begin to act cordially for the benefit of each?

Respecting the strike of the tailors, it is hard to say, whether it was immediately advisable or otherwise, for all parties require a new acquisition of practical knowledge. The masters seem totally ignorant of their real position: they suppose, their interest lies in the low wages and long hours of their workmen; whereas experience would have told them, that in proportion as wages diminished and the time employed increased, in the same proportion did profits diminish also; and by looking back fifty years, they would have seen that when wages were at the highest, and the time employed a reasonable day's work, the profits were much larger than now and the rates the same. There is in fact, no resource, but that the men form arrangements to make national companies for themselves, to destroy at once the ignorant competition of the masters.

The ministers still turn their backs upon the memorials for our transported brethren of Dorchester; but we must not cease to require their restitution. Great public meetings will forthwith be held in Warwickshire, Yorkshire, and Lancashire. Most certainly these men have been unjustly sentenced to this severe punishment; the legality or illegality of the sentence signifies nothing, for power is always competent to make use of these terms at pleasure; it can make the most atrocious vices legal, and the highest virtue illegal. We have, therefore, nothing to do with quibbles of law, but we ought to know whether the friends of justice and humanity have the power by a great moral union to change this sentence of law into an act of justice. I believe these proceedings to be the consequence of ignorance, in the higher ranks, of the present character of the the working classes: they are still imagined to be weak as heretofore; but, on the contrary, I well know that more valuable knowledge has been acquired by the producers of wealth, during the last year, than has been attained in twenty years past by the higher classes; and the progress still continues at an increased speed, so that the producers should now be enabled to say, "Justice in mercy must govern these lands."

You will be surprised to hear that, in America, where full political rights have been achieved during the last half century, the industrious classes are nevertheless compelled to follow our footsteps. In the papers which I have lately received from the United States, are various documents on the formation of 'Trades' Unions in that country, which, although comprising land enough for maintaining in abundance five hundred millions of population without contest, is yet incapable of providing adequately for thirteen or fourteen millions in a state of competition. This anomaly is the effect of the accursed system of modern political economy; and hence the state of commerce of that country, which is now as greatly distressed as it was in this country in the year 1825. Mr. Owen then read some extracts, which we have quoted below, from the American papers, and concluded as follows: "Governments will probably unite against these Unions; by this our strength will be ascertained, and the end of it will be a treaty, by which the human race will regain their

rights. Meanwhile, let us recommend to all friends who write on these subjects, that they pursue a loftier course, and not irritate without convincing, but convince without irritating. In this lies the greatest possible difference, and is a highly important recommendation.

FACTORY GIRLS' MEETING.

We have been furnished with an account of a meeting of the Girls lately employed in the manufacturing establishments in this village, held at the Court House on Saturday, together with a series of resolutions there adopted, which we give below.

The resolutions evince a knowledge of their rights; a perception of reasons why they are attempted to be deprived thereof; and of the fate to which a surrender would inevitably tend, highly creditable to those who composed the meeting. They proclaim a fixed determination that those rights shall be maintained; and breathe a spirit of liberty and Republican independence worthy the descendants of the heroes and patriots of the revolution—richly entitling them to the proud appellation of Daughters of Republican America. The resolutions, we learn, were adopted without a single dissenting voice, in a meeting composed of more than six hundred individuals, and we hope will be republished in every paper friendly to the cause of equal rights throughout the whole New England States.

In justice to the girls, we feel it our duty to say that their whole conduct since leaving the mills on Friday morning has been marked with the strictest regard to propriety and decorum, and merits unqualified approbation.

Instead of forming processions and parading the streets to the amusement of a crowd of gaping idlers, they have confined themselves for the most part within their respective boarding houses, and seem impelled by no other motive than a firm determination to maintain their just rights, of which they believe it is in contemplation to deprive them.

That our country should have arrived to a situation like the present while yet in its infancy, and while our system of government is regarded only as an experiment, is a fact to be greatly deplored; but it is some consolation to the patriotic mind that the principles of liberty are so deeply engrafted into our national character that even helpless females will rise *en masse* to resist the oppressions of "haughty insolence." The conduct of the Factory Girls of this town is a noble example to those of other places, and an imperishable honour to themselves. They need now the encouragement and assistance of the stronger sex, and they will assuredly receive it. Having proved themselves possessed of a knowledge of their rights, and a firmness to maintain them, there is not a friend of liberty—of the honour and prosperity of his country—and of the happiness of posterity, but what will come forward to their assistance. Though their prospects may appear gloomy, they have only to persevere, and they will inevitably succeed.

The subject is inexhaustible, but the crowded state of our columns admonishes us to bring it to a close by inserting the proceedings of the meeting.

GREAT MEETING.

In consequence of the notice, given by the agent to the females employed in the manufacturing establishments in this town, that from and after the 15th instant, their wages would be reduced, to enable their employers

to meet the "unusual pressure of the times," the girls, to the number of between 600 and 700, assembled in the Court House on Saturday afternoon, to devise ways and means to enable themselves to meet the "pressure of the times" anticipated from this threatened reduction.

The meeting was organized, and a committee of three appointed to prepare resolutions and a report of the proceedings. The notice of the agent, informing them that when the mills were again started it would be upon the "new prices," was then read, and the following resolutions unanimously passed:—

1st. Resolved, That we will never consent to work for the Cochecho Manufacturing Company at their reduced "tariff of wages."

2d. Resolved, That we believe the "unusual pressure of the times," which is so much complained of, to have been caused by artful and designing men to subvert party purposes, or, more wickedly still, to promote their private ends.

3d. Resolved, That we view with feelings of indignation the attempt made to throw upon us, who are least able to bear it, the effect of this "pressure," by reducing our wages, while those of our overseers and agent are continued to them at their former high rate. That we think our wages already low enough, when the peculiar circumstances of our situation are considered; that we are, many of us, far from our homes, parents, and friends; and that it is only by strict economy and untiring industry that any of us have been able to lay up any thing. That we view with feelings of scorn the attempt made by those who would be glad to see us bond-slaves for life, to magnify the small amount of our earnings into fortunes; that their oppressive measures may wear the appearance of justice.

4th. Resolved, That we view this attempt to reduce our wages as part of a general plan of the proprietors of the different manufacturing establishments to reduce the females in their employ to that state of dependence on them, in which they may openly, as they do now secretly, abuse and insult them, by calling them their "slaves." That, while we feel our independence, we will neither be cajoled by flattery nor intimidated by threats, from using all the means in our power to prevent the accomplishment of a purpose so much to be deprecated.

5th. Resolved, That we view both the ungenerous accusation of our effecting "riotous combinations," and the poor compliment of our being "otherwise respectable," with like feelings of contempt: and consider them both as in the last degree insulting to the daughters of free-men.

6th. Resolved, That, however freely the epithet of "factory slaves" may be bestowed upon us, we will never deserve it, by a base and cringing submission to proud wealth or haughty insolence.

7th. Resolved, That it be considered base in any one to depart from the determination expressed by our first resolution.

After the adoption of the above resolutions a communication from one of the members was read, exhorting them to persist in the endeavours to obtain the old prices for labour, and not to work for the new, and to correspond with those of their own sex similarly situated in other places, to encourage them to adopt a like course.

The communication was well received, and

after, it had been read the following votes were passed :

Voted, That a committee of twelve be chosen to communicate the proceedings of this meeting to the girls employed in the factories at Great Falls, Newmarket, and Lowell.

Voted, That a fund be raised and appropriated to defray the expenses of those, in returning to their homes, who may not have the means at their command.

Voted, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the *Dover Gazette* and *N. H. Globe*, and in all other papers printed in this State whose editors are opposed to the system of slavery attempted to be established in our manufacturing establishments.—*Amer. paper.*

Literature.

(Extract from *Hampden in the Nineteenth Century.*)

Fitzosborne.—Self-interest, or a desire for that which produces in us the most agreeable sensations, or, in other words, a desire for happiness, must be always the mainspring of our actions; and it is solely because the Social System will rest upon this foundation that I am confident of its permanence. It depends, however, entirely upon our education, in the most enlarged acceptance of the term, including the influences of our institutions, national and domestic, and the character of our associates, what things will yield us the greatest pleasure. Whatever an individual desires beyond the best food, raiment, habitation, and agreeable society, he in general desires in deference to public opinion. In Holland, some fifty years since, ten thousand pounds were given for the choicest tulip; and however ridiculous this desire appears, it was general in that country, and the possessors of the rarest tulips were looked up to by society. But is it not equally ridiculous to desire a superfluous retinue of servants dressed in tawdry liveries, and painted equipages,—to adopt inconvenient, absurd, and ever-changing fashions, and to be the slave of unmeaning forms and ceremonies? And yet, though opposed to our inclinations, we conform to them; so that, in the present state of society, self-interest prompts a compliance with many things in themselves disagreeable, for the sake of an imaginary preponderating advantage, the sympathy of public opinion. But, under the New System, the institutions of Society and the education of youth will so far tend to the improvement of public opinion, that the individual will have to seek it through his moral qualities, and in a felicitous course alone.

Dr. Bathurst.—Are not these sentiments maintained by many authors of established reputation, and inculcated in religious discourses?

Fitzosborne.—Moral and religious instruction lose half their effect when, instead of receiving the support of, they are opposed by, the institutions of society. While the great majority of the people are not permitted to cultivate the soil upon which they are born, except at the caprice of a comparatively very small number, vice, misery, and folly, the evils of poverty and riches, must continue.

Mr. Peel.—But suppose you were to adopt agrarian division,—do you not imagine that the idle would soon part with their shares to more industrious?

Fitzosborne.—I am no advocate for the Spenn scheme, unaccompanied by the most

highly improved education, and under social arrangements of mutual aid and joint property.

Duke of Wellington.—In the army the soldier on his march is accustomed to wash and cook for himself; but in your domestic economy will not these operations be a subject of dispute?

Fitzosborne.—The young, from the age of ten to seventeen, will attend to the domestic offices, which, however, will not be disagreeable in consequence of the scientific mode of cooking, cleaning, and draining that will be adopted.

Duke of Wellington.—The breaking up of the mass of mankind into such small divisions will put an end to all the colossal works of mighty empires, magnificent even in their ruins.

Fitzosborne.—Far otherwise, my Lord. The sublimest relics of antiquity—the exquisite grace and beauty of ancient sculpture—will all be eclipsed by a more perfect combination of higher qualities, and by the simultaneous movements of larger numbers. The discipline and order of a single regiment enables it more effectually to co-operate with other regiments in a common cause; and thus half a million of men have been directed to bear at once upon the same object. Now what a single regiment is to an army, or the member of society is to the community, each community will be to all others in each nation, and each nation will be to the whole family of mankind,—with this additional advantage, that, besides the influence arising from discipline, they will be directed by one common feeling.

Duke of Wellington.—Who will descend the coal-mines, or work the iron-mines, &c.?

Fitzosborne.—With regard to the working of mines, the increase of mechanic power within the last fifty years has been equal to the additional manual power of six hundred millions of labourers; it could be increased twentyfold, even without any further discoveries, if there was a demand for it; and discoveries are still in progress. This mechanic power is at present employed in making useless fabrics, because those who possess wealth will purchase them: it is only partially applied to mining, because manual labour is cheaper. When, however, under an equitable constitution of society, justice would demand that all should in their turn participate in any essential but disagreeable employments, all would be interested in diminishing the difficulties and offensiveness of such employment, and pecuniary considerations would no longer exist; provinces the most distant would deem it incumbent upon them to send their quota of hands and machinery; and twenty men would be devoted to that which a single individual could accomplish, provided the work that would be irksome and unpleasant to one man could be accomplished in an agreeable manner by a number. Aided by this stupendous power, there is no employment that could not be rendered light and agreeable.

Mr. Peel.—How will you man your vessels? There will not be many willing to imprison themselves in ships, and be exposed to the storms of the ocean.

Fitzosborne.—The first object of travellers will be to improve the condition of, and impart knowledge to, the inhabitants of all parts of the globe, and to extend, by researches in the various branches of natural philosophy, the boundaries of science;—the botanist, the entomologist, and the geologist, and all who are

most ardent in exploring the works of nature, will be the most experienced navigators. Young men, from the age of twelve to twenty, will climb the masts, and do all that their agility best qualifies them for; and as their number will be four times what would be absolutely necessary, they would relieve each other, and there would be no solitary or tedious night-watching. The ships would also be fitted up in the most convenient manner,—furnished with books, instruments of science, music, &c. Indeed; there are so many mathematical studies and interesting pursuits connected with travelling, that there would be no deficiency of nautical aid. With regard to the dangers of the sea, there would be no necessity for any vessel to approach the shores of Britain in the months of November, December, or at any period when the storms prevailed.

Duke of Wellington.—But ships returning from the East Indies and other distant parts could not arrive at any particular period.

Fitzosborne.—They could go into port on the coast of Africa, Madeira, or Spain; for we are now contemplating a period when the System shall have become general, and when a friendly reception would be found in every port.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—From the charitable remarks of your paper in the cause of humanity and regeneration, I am led to request the insertion of the enclosed letter as a great favour to the Dissenting public. If we cannot all agree to a little in our religious opinions, at least let us all agree in improving our moral and temporal condition, as members of society, by being one and undivided.—Your constant reader,

A MASTER BUILDER.

Westminster, May 1, 1834.

TO THE PASTORS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

"The path of the just is as the shining light, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

—Prov. iv. 18.

"Ye cannot serve God and Mammon."

Matt. vi. 24.

LEARNED AND PIOUS BRETHREN,—The professions of our friends are one, and their intentions for our welfare are another. How is it that you, brethren, the Dissenting ministers of religion, who are certainly not the worshippers of Mammon, like the Pharisees of the Church of England, but the advocates of truth and universal charity—in imitation of our blessed Saviour, are not hastening forward in the glorious cause of regeneration, like our beloved and learned brethren Mr. Owen, Dr. Arthur Wade, and the illustrious philosophers who surround them? Are the lay members of society to work this glorious change without the aid of our spiritual pastors, who long so much for the days of peace, when the "swords of the slayers of men shall be turned into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks?" Will you, beloved members of society, deny your brethren your eloquence in the pulpit, and your prayers in the closet, for the advancement of the Lord's kingdom? God forbid! I pray that you, apostles of truth, in every part of England and Scotland may raise your sweet voices of persuasion in forwarding this glorious change from misery to prosperity, from darkness to light, and from sin and error to the glorious truth and wisdom of the Lord, as

the forerunners of the long-looked-for reign of grace! Ye pastors of England, of Wales, and of Scotland, ye learned and virtuous champions in the cause of regenerating a lost and miserable nation, come forward, and let us cling round you as the beacons that may guide us through the days of trial, for the arm of the Lord God will be with us in this glorious cause of "truth, union, and prosperity!" We long for the days to come, when we shall look upon one another as brethren, (instead of enemies, as we do now, on account of the cursed idol of this world, Mammon,) and live to supply one another's wants, according to the counsel of our divine Master. *Aid us, therefore, ye pious brethren; gain converts to the holy cause; show to the ignorant the way to wisdom, to the wicked the path to holiness, and spread abroad the plans by which all may be brought to unite in bringing about the glorious reign of peace and regeneration!* That God Almighty's blessing, the Spirit, may be upon your pious exertions, is the prayer of your humble brother in Christ Jesus,

A DISSENTING UNIONIST
MASTER-BUILDER.

Westminster, May 1, 1834.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. Phillip's letter was received, and will be submitted to the Council.

Mr. Owen has received an invitation from the Managing Committee at Newcastle-upon-Tyne to attend their great ensuing meeting; as also from Friends and Brothers at Manchester, to preside at the festival in Salford-hall, and also to attend the great meeting of the West Riding, Yorkshire.

H. V. W. has also been received. We see the importance of his views; but the public are not yet prepared to take much interest in them: they will, however, be brought forward speedily. The Deliverer must come; but he is only known by his works. We know many who call themselves "The Deliverer," or "Messiah," but there is no use in proclaiming the character till his work is done, and then he shall be acknowledged by popular acclamation. We have received several letters from individuals calling themselves the Messiah, and some of them are very intelligent men. We must just regard these characters as signs of the times—a herald of the true ONE, who will never proclaim himself.

Mr. Mot's letter will be submitted to Mr. Owen. We shall be happy to hear from H. S. upon another subject: he is a good writer, but we must consult the immediate interest of the times. The excitement is not at present in favour of refined metaphysics.

A Mechanic next week.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 10.

THE same spirit of union seems to prevail over all the world. Our friends in America are like ourselves, discontented with the present system of trade, and resolved upon innovations and improvements. The working men of France and Germany are also aware of the evils of competition, and are meditating a death-blow to private monopoly. They are thrust into these new views of production and distribution by dire necessity. Every year is making inroads upon their wages, and sinking them lower and lower in the scale of comfort, so

that they see the point of starvation right before them, and themselves carried with fearful velocity towards it; they are like the unfortunate crew who have been caught by the current of Niagara or the Nile, and feel themselves irresistibly borne along towards the roaring cataract which must bury them in everlasting destruction. They make an effort to escape as soon as they feel their perilous situation; and it is only by making the effort in time that there can be any chance of escape. Nature is their teacher; hence the same spirit prevails over all the commercial world, and hence, also, arises an irrefutable proof of the rectitude, the propriety, and necessity of the movement amongst the working classes.

Our readers will peruse with interest the extract from the American Papers respecting the meeting and resolutions of the Factory Girls of the Cocheco Manufactory Company, and will see in it an earnest of entire success to the poor man's cause, inasmuch as it affords a proof of the universality of the distress, and the universality of the spirit of resistance. We are not alone; we have the world on our side; our cause is the cause of the whole civilized population of industry; our voice is the voice of the people, and, as the Archbishop of Canterbury, in making an appeal to the House of Lords for some legislative measures respecting the Sabbath, observed, when referring to the multitude of petitions upon the subject, that the voice of the people was the voice of God; we take the Archbishop at his word, and call upon him and his compeers to admit of the same argument in favour of the claims of industry, which are much more loud, and raised by a greater number of voices, than the claims of the Sabbath, or any other unsubstantial substitute for moral and physical happiness. But, alas! what is the word of an Archbishop, a Tory, or a Whig? All their promises are deceptive; their tears for human suffering are false tears; and their tones of pity are merely the affectation of sympathy for miseries which they will not sacrifice one jot of their own unbounded wealth to remove. Even our Reformers have stopped short in their career of improvement, and are unwilling or afraid to proceed. Such a simple and reasonable proposal as that of revising the pension list, and ascertaining the merits of each individual who enjoys a gratuity from the public, is treated with disdain. Two hundred and eighty-one males, and one thousand and twenty-two females, receive a yearly allowance from the public treasury, at the recommendation of those to whom it is entrusted; yet the public themselves, who administer this allowance, are refused even a simple statement of the services of these receivers of alms? What more just than the demand; what more unjust than the refusal?

We have no hope in politicians; our

hope is in industry. Let us support each other, and we shall yet be saved. We are happy to hear that the tailors have already commenced upon the new system of working for themselves; some hundreds are already at work upon this principle, and we hope the number will speedily increase. This is the only method of deliverance, and we earnestly call upon all friends of the poor to give support to those social societies of tradesmen, who are thus pioneering the way to universal co-operation. We think they might have begun to greater advantage, by making previous preparations whilst at work with their masters, before casting themselves on their own resources; but now that the deed is done, we shall not only encourage them ourselves, but endeavour to rouse all the friends of the people in their behalf. We have published an extract from the address of the operative tailors of the metropolis to the public, as also an advertisement of the operative tailors of Charlotte-street, to which we recommend the attention of our readers.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNEMEN TAILORS' ADDRESS.

"The masters refuse to accede to the new regulations, calling them unjust; because, say they, the men have six shillings per day, which wages, by the new regulation, would be increased 25 per cent.—an advance, they contend, which is unequal for, on account of the decreased price of provisions, &c.: conceding to them, that if six shillings were simply sufficient to supply the labourer with all the necessities and comforts of life he is entitled to, which it is not, the committee most solemnly assert and maintain that few, very few journeymen, are able in the trade, by almost incessant application, to earn any such sum. In fact, six shillings per day, according to the old system of the trade, is a merely nominal price of wages, which rarely indeed even approach that sum in reality. The public, by the declaration of the masters, are led to suppose that those workmen who are employed in the shops of their masters, are allowed six shillings per day for whatever garment they made, or whatever part of it they may be employed upon; for, indeed, it not unfrequently occurs that four men, nay, six men, are compelled to assist in making the same garment; and never, except in very inferior shops, are there less than three, to execute what, in all other countries, is but one man's work. The masters fix a sum, varying from 15s. to 18s., as the price of a coat; which, if executed in the first place in thirty hours, or in the latter in three days, would certainly yield 6d. per hour. But mark! when is the garment finished in the time allotted? I answer, Never; and, when finished, except in one month of the year, when do they get another job?—perhaps wait for four, six, eight hours, or a day, and then be told by their insolent employer, or his more insolent foreman, they 'must wait.' No man knows one day whether he may have bread for himself or family the next nine months in the year; men kept in the continual fear of poverty, insulted and oppressed; ever and anon threatened with immediate dismissal for the most trifling, the most trivial mistake or misapprehension; loitering and crippling away their valuable time one part of the day or week about the workshops—are harassed, oppressed, or desponding the other. This, with a few exceptions, is the lot of the favoured part of the trade—the fortunate few; what is the lot of the many; let the man of feeling, in whose breast

the milk of human kindness has not been curdled or drawn up, let him visit the branch lodges, and see the pale haggard countenances of the starving many? Let him follow the married man home to his almost unfurnished garret, and see the deplorable condition in which is the famished partner of his misery with him in the like deplorable condition, and then let him say, with the dastardly Times, that the proposed resolution is uncalled for.

"Contrast these sufferings and misery with the stately mansions, the splendid halls, and the costly furniture, the princely fortunes, of the masters, and, with your hand on your heart, say whether the regulation is one not called for."

"Now to the exorbitant, unjust, and tyrannical regulations proposed by these knights of the thimble—to say nothing of the bodkin and shears.—Friends, fellow countrymen, and brothers: I have, without any colouring or exaggeration, given you some slight idea of how men are served out who work in shops. There has been a large portion of the trade, from various seasons, under different circumstances, compelled to work at their homes, if so they may be called—the price of whose labour is necessarily reduced by the cost of extra firing for the irons, for extra candles, and also by the loss of time which they experience in going to and from their employers for their work; moreover, they in general have to find their sewing trimmings, which are always supplied to men when they work in the shops of their masters; and the men working at home are scarcely ever able to earn more than 3s. 6d. or 4s. per day, with the assistance often of their wives and children, and then, as I have before stated, only when they can get work to do. Even these men, working in this manner, at this great reduction, are very frequently days, nay months, without employment, and consequently without pay. If, however, an order comes in to be executed immediately, the journeyman must labour night and day to accommodate the customer and master, and make every sacrifice of health and the only remaining domestic comfort on such occasions, or risk the chance of being discharged from his shop altogether. In the spring he is repeatedly called upon to make these sacrifices; but all the other parts of the year he is never certain of one week's constant employment, by which the pawbroker's shop becomes the only daily refuge of the unfortunate man, ever needy, always wretched, always in debt, always in fear, and if he has the courage to remonstrate, (for many of these masters are as haughty as they are the mean, crawling, bowing slaves of their customers of the aristocracy,) the poor man is discharged with all the horrors of want, without a shadow of hope, to do as he can. Yet any attempts to avert these grievances, or to remedy these evils, is pronounced by the masters as being the very height of exorbitance, injustice, and tyranny; and not satisfied with the direct opposition they themselves have the power of making to the new regulations, they call upon their customers, the aristocracy, and the public at large, to assist in starving the men into subjection, by withholding their orders; and the nobility and gentry, ever ready to lend their aid in suppressing the rising germ of liberty, exult in the cry and are unsparing in their promises of support to the masters. One nobleman (according to the Times) tells his tailor to get him a coat made by women; another says he would rather walk through the street in kilts, than give any encouragement to the journeyman's combination; another says, he would rather go to a funeral in a yellow coat and blue plush breeches, than support the workmen against their masters; then let it be so, we did not expect any sympathy from that quarter—the Dorchester affair to wit.

"All that the men require are the just rights of industry; and even should they fail in the present attempt to gain those rights, they will assuredly persevere in their object until they do succeed.

"The committee have now the pleasure to an-

nounce, that, having made large purchases of some of the very best materials—in cloths, cassimeres, waistcoating, &c.—they have taken large premises, and are about to open all the articles in the trade at prices exceedingly lower than those now charged by masters."—[Orders are received at 25, Little Queen-street, and 213, Holborn.]

TO THE UNITED OPERATIVES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

BROTHERS ALL,—The crisis, so long dreaded by the unjust opposers of the rights of industry, has commenced: the contest between labour and idleness, truth and error, justice and injustice, is progressing to a climax, and, for the first time in the history of your wrongs and oppressions, the great truth "that there is no real wealth but the labour of man," is about to be practically recognised; and by whom? By those numerous and consolidating masses, whose mighty powers and energies the proud patentees of the earth—the earthquakes of the moral world—have for ages, long ages of endurance, so shamefully abused and misdirected! Working men, do ye not see, do ye not feel, an anomaly exists in the wretched system in which ye are placed? an anomaly that would be laughable, did not humanity sternly cry out against it. Yes, the anomaly *does* exist. "Excessive surplus production, and those who give existence to this production in poverty, or the fear of poverty!! But how shall this anomaly be destroyed? Unionists, this is a national question, and is not to be answered by a few hundred brothers suspending labour for two or three months, and by so doing weakening their own powers and the great cause they advocate. No, your aggregate safety, the welfare of your children, of the thousands looking up to you for support, justice to the millions yet unborn, demand caution and wisdom, yet firmness, in your resolves. The truth has gone amongst ye, "That the working classes are the producers of all wealth, of ALL that makes life useful or desirable," and what is now wanted is, a practical recognition of this truth. Yet ere this truth can be recognised, it appears to me that the Unions generally must understand correctly a fundamental principle of justice in scientific legislation, the great moral axiom, "That the laws, rights, and regulations of the nation of operatives must ever remain diametrically opposed to the principle upon which all the governments of the world have hitherto based their actions." Their principle has been, and is, "That power should emanate from the privileged few, and be directed by those few."

Now the only sound principle, the only one upon which wise national results can ensue, is—"Power ought to emanate from the people, but the direction of that power from the greatest amount of intelligence." This acknowledged, the object of the united operatives then is to discover who are really intelligent and capable of directing their extensive powers and energies to good, and not evil, results; for without intelligence, all their operations will, nay must, be unsuccessful; for the ignorant man is as indefatigable in the consummation of error, as the intelligent man is persevering in basing all actions upon fundamental truths. It is undeniable that knowledge only can teach the operatives of all countries who are most proper to direct their arrangements; but if this knowledge does not exist amongst the aggregate body, how is it to be acquired; only, be assured, by large observation and great experience, by conversing with the things about

us through the medium of our senses, and subsequent reflection; for is it not a fact, that the more we observe and try, the more we learn and are enabled to perform. Now, to ascertain whether this knowledge exists amongst those who take the lead of the Unions, I would suggest to the different lodges throughout the kingdom that each grand lodge select two of the most intelligent of its brothers, and that they should meet two from all other grand lodges one or two nights in the week, to ascertain by discussion which amongst them possess a sound knowledge of the first principles of man's nature, and what proceedings are now requisite to produce practical results. These conclusions or discussions of the first moral parliament of the operatives, should also be discussed one, two, or more nights in all lodges throughout the kingdom; and, when proved to rest upon immutable facts, published as the basis upon which all future operations should rest. And if the ignorant, misdirecting patentees will not act in unison with the facts indelibly stamped upon the earth's surface, let them cease longer to assume to possess what they do not possess—knowledge, justice, and humanity; facts so strong, so powerful, that that power (whatever it be) that set the stars revolving in their course, made the stone to gravitate, and water find its level, has also written upon the great book of nature, "All men are born free and equal;" thus proving that no man has a right to enjoy, who does not toil: to dissipate, unless he produces; to absorb, unless wealth flow from him. But, brothers, as long as we remain ignorant of the first principles of man's nature, so long shall we be morally disunited: and as long as we are morally disunited, so long will all our operations prove abortive; for, until the operative classes discuss fundamental principles amongst themselves, and increase the means by which knowledge can be obtained to such an extent that the word "leader" shall be unknown, they will not successfully oppose the concentrated mass of antiquities, customs, prejudices, and passions arrayed against them. By discussions will they progress from truth to truth, act wisely, and gradually remove injustice and inhumanity from the earth. As in the succession of the seasons, each by the invariable laws of nature affects the production of what is next in course, so in human life every period of man's progress, according as is its quality and immutable power, affects and influences the happiness of that period which is to follow. If the spring put forth no blossom, in summer there will be no beauty, and in autumn no fruit. Thus, when nature is turned out of its regular course, disorder takes place in the moral, just as in the vegetable world. The great object, then, of those who would nourish the germs of the moral world, advocate the rights of industry, advance the interests, the just interests of the class, the most numerous, the most poor, and the most oppressed, is to understand correct theory, and what practical power is really possessed by the united operatives of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and, as I have said before, this can be ascertained by friendly discussions, first amongst the most intelligent liberal parties and heads of the Unions, and then by the people themselves; and these discussions will prove that the intentions of the Unions is not a physical revolution, but that industry should receive its rights, and suffering humanity its long usurped, holy, and passionless throne.

ROBERT OWEN'S LETTER TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN.

In reply to his Speech on the 'Trades' Unions.

"SACRED TO TRUTH, WITHOUT MYSTERY,
MIXTURE OF ERROR, OR FEAR OF MAN."

MY LORD,—I have read your speech on the Trades' Unions, as reported in the *Times* newspaper to have been delivered in the House of Lords on Monday evening, 28th inst., and the following extract from it contains its real substance:

"He had received from different persons communications on this subject, for which he thanked them for the kind spirit in which they were conceived towards him. In those communications the writers had expressed a hope, that whoever might be inimical to them, he (the Lord Chancellor) would not be the enemy of Trades' Unions. Now, in answer to that appeal, he would say that it was because he was the sincere friend of the working classes of the country, that he was an enemy to Trades' Unions; and he would add, that of all the worst things, and of all the most pernicious devices, that could be imagined for the injury of the interests of the working classes, as well as the interests of the country at large, nothing was half so bad as the existence of those Trades' Unions."

Now, my Lord, the opinion thus expressed is, perhaps, in its consequences, the most important you have ever given to the public, in or out of Parliament.

It must inevitably bring the whole of the great question between the rights of industry and of capital, and between folly and wisdom, in all public affairs, distinctly before the nations of the world. And for the lasting benefit of the population of all countries, this opinion of your Lordship's is now likely to set this question at rest for ever.

You are aware that I have no other effectual or proper mode of replying to this opinion of your Lordship's, than the one which is now adopted.

My experience compels me to differ from you in toto on the subject of Trades' Unions. The strong, clear, and undoubting conviction on my mind is, that the Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland is, of all the associations that have ever been formed, in any country, ancient or modern, the best calculated to effect, in the shortest time, the greatest amount of substantial and permanent good to the human race.

It is, according to my impressions, the power destined by Providence, or Nature, at once to stay the folly and injustice of all those systems of error and misrule which the ignorance or inexperience of our ancestors have permitted to be introduced and acted upon, to the present time, in this and all other countries.

You have evidently taken your notions of the National Consolidated Union from the independent separate Unions formed by the members of each trade or calling, to support petty contests with their masters, who, with themselves, are involved in an ignorant individual competitive system. But thus judging of the objects of the National Consolidated Union, your Lordship will be sure to be led into the extreme of error. This mistake could not have occurred, if the first petition presented to Parliament on the subject of the Dorchester

Unionists had been attended to, and a Committee of both Houses been appointed, as prayed for, to investigate the principles and objects of the Consolidated Union.

Your Lordship not being a practical man, and receiving all your information from the *non-producers of wealth*, from those less acquainted with the subject of production and consumption probably than yourself, has easily and naturally fallen into the erroneous opinion, as I am compelled to believe it is, which you expressed on Monday night, in the House of Peers, respecting the Unions.

You have said you are a sincere friend to the working classes. I rejoice to hear it, for they do indeed now want a sincere friend in the high station which your Lordship fills. You will best prove your friendship by aiding to have their cause fairly and fully investigated before Committees of both Houses of Parliament, under such circumstances as shall allow those men who have experienced, and who now suffer, the grievous evils to which, under the existing system, the working classes and their children must submit, to explain in their own manner, without any useless restraint upon the expression of their sentiments, what they feel, and the knowledge which they have been compelled to acquire by reason of the increased misery of their condition.

Do not suppose, my Lord, that this question can be any longer set aside. The interest of his Majesty, his Government, and of all classes of the population, now renders it imperative that the present Administration should meet it fairly, or honourably retire from office if they do not wish the subject to be openly and honestly discussed by the legislature and the public press.

I have said that I am compelled to believe that the Consolidated Union is the most useful and valuable association that has yet been formed in this or in any other country; and I believe thus,

1. Because it will *destroy the necessity* which formerly existed for *secrecy* among the Unions, to counteract the violence and injustice of capitalists who had no feelings of compassion for those who created their wealth and produced them all their comforts.

2. It will remove all the mummery, and all secret oaths, in the initiation of members and in their proceedings, and teach the honest producers of wealth and knowledge that the simple yes or no of a man who understands the engagement in which he is about to enter, is more binding and of far more value than any formal phraseology or absurd ceremony.

3. It will put an end to strikes among the separate trades, and make the interests of the directors of trades and the operatives one and the same.

4. It will destroy the cause which induces men to make inferior productions, or to deteriorate those which have been made superior either by art or nature.

5. It will give and insure highly useful productive employment for all who desire to be so occupied.

6. It will insure the adoption of measures to give a sound, useful, practical education to all the children of industry.

7. It will insure a full supply, at all times, of the most valuable wealth, and of all kinds of really useful wealth, such as can in any manner contribute to the permanent happiness of mankind.

8. It will insure a fair, equitable, and just

distribution of this wealth after it has been produced.

9. It will protect the property now in existence for its present possessors.

10. It will put an end to wars and all national contests, or, in other words, to wholesale robbery and murder, for the falsely-supposed benefit of a very few, but to the certain destitution and grievous misery of the very many.

11. It will destroy the competitive system throughout the world; that system which gives far too much for their own benefit some, and far too little to the most deserving many.

12. It will destroy the cause of pauperism, exclude it altogether from society, and render poor-rates unnecessary.

13. It will protect the honest poor and weak against the dishonest and oppressive rich and strong.

14. It will make that portion of society which is now unavoidably ignorant and vicious, and which under the present system must ever remain ignorant and vicious, into an intelligent and virtuous population.

15. It will, among many, many other of the most important services which it will render to the human race, too numerous to enumerate in a letter in a newspaper, destroy individual and national division of interests and feelings, and establish pure charity and genuine kindness among and between all nations and people, and no other power except National Consolidated Trades' Unions can effect this mighty change in the condition of mankind.

For these, and many other reasons, which, if your Lordship will afford me the requisite opportunity, I will explain without reserve, I am compelled to form the highest opinion of the good which this Union, and such Unions alone, can bring to pass; and, in consequence, I strongly recommend the National Consolidated Union to your Lordship's high patronage; and I hope, also, that you will recommend it to the patronage of his Majesty, and the whole of his Majesty's Ministers.

My Lord, pray let there be no longer any unhallowed contest between idleness and industry; between the appearance of knowledge and sound wisdom; or I fear the consequences to the former will not be those which are now anticipated.

The more intelligent of the producers of wealth and knowledge, and their numbers are hourly increasing, begin to think that, to form the human character in the best mould, is not to send children to any of the universities established on the old system of society, because they perceive that the men who have been formed in their mould are the least adapted to introduce any great amelioration into general society.

They also begin to think that it is power alone that makes any thing legal, or illegal; that power can make the most glaring injustice to be legal, and the most praiseworthy conduct to be grossly illegal; and that power has often thus acted. You, my Lord, will, I hope and trust, from our early knowledge of each other, be the last man so to act, or, if prevention is with you, to permit such conduct in others.

If legal proceedings should at any future time not become just proceedings, then would I recommend all men to adopt the Quaker principle, and nominate for a convenient district three honest men, with sound judgments, to finally adjust all matters and differences

which may arise within that district, and decline law for justice.

If useless and highly injurious standing armies should be maintained, as in most countries they ever have been, merely to support the idle, useless, and mischievous, and to oppress the industrious and well-disposed, then would I recommend the population to protest against such waste and misuse of our invaluable powers for the production of wealth, knowledge, and happiness, and contribute to these demoralising measures as the Quakers do, by compulsion only; that the sense and feeling of a whole people desirous of becoming wealthy, peaceable, charitable, and kind, may be continually before the public for its consideration.

And if the masters, who, generally speaking, are made, in too many instances, by their present position in society, the most cruel and unfeeling despots that the world has known, shall separate their interests from the interests of the operatives, then would I recommend the operatives calmly and quietly to form proper arrangements to enable them to appoint judicious and capable agents from among themselves, to perform for them generally the duties which the masters now execute for their own benefit.

The principle of one man or family deriving thousands, tens of thousands, or, in some cases, millions of pounds sterling from the hard labour, or rather degraded slavery, of hundreds or thousands of men, women, and children, their equals at birth, and very often their superiors in high mental, moral, and physical qualities, while labouring for them at a pittance scarcely sufficient to support a wretched existence, under circumstances destructive of all human improvement and enjoyment, is not a useful or correct principle, and will not be much longer submitted to by the most intelligent and the best-disposed of the industrious classes of this or any other country. It is not for the interest of the masters themselves, or of any part of society, that this principle should be longer maintained. While this principle shall obtain, the least amount of the most valuable wealth, and the least amount of useful knowledge, will be produced for society at large, and both will be distributed in the worst manner for the happiness of the entire population.

But, not to take up on this occasion more of your Lordship's time, let me intreat of you and of the Administration of which you are so essential a part, to dismiss from your mind the prejudices which you have received against the separate individual petty Trades' Unions over the kingdom, and enter fairly into the investigation of the principles and objects of the National Consolidated Union, and then I am sure you will discover that it is capable, wisely directed, to prevent more evil, and to effect more good, than all the other societies and associations now existing, and publicly supported throughout all parts of the British empire.

I am my Lord, respectfully, your friend,

And, by the measures which I recommend, the best friend of the Administration,

ROBERT OWEN.

April 30, 1834.

Reviews.

"COMBINATIONS AMONGST WORKMEN CANNOT RAISE THE MARKET PRICE OF LABOUR; THEIR NATURAL TENDENCY BEING RATHER TO DEPRECIATE IT.—If the whole labour of the country were fully employed in different

manufactures, and a perfect unity and understanding were to exist, not only between the individual members of the different manufactures, but between the several bodies of trade, not to interfere or offer any competition with one another, they might increase their demand for wages to almost any conceivable price which the riches of the country could afford. Under such circumstances, combination would be successful for a time in producing a considerable advance in price. But, fortunately for the world, and for the deluded persons who hope by combination to increase their wages beyond their fair exchangeable value, such circumstances never have, and never can be, found to exist. In the first place, the available labour of the country is not at any time fully occupied; and in the second place, whatever union or combination may exist between the members of particular trades, and particular grades of those trades, not to interfere with one another's profits, such a union can never be made to hold between the bodies of different trades, nor even between the different grades of the same business. If, therefore, any particular class of workmen were to combine and stand out for an increase of wages, and every individual of them were to agree, and stick to his agreement, not to work until such increased wages were given them, what would be the consequence? The master manufacturer would at the utmost be put to a temporary inconvenience; the public would, perhaps, remotely feel the effects of that inconvenience; but it would not be long before a supply of hands would be found out of employment, or working in other trades, or in other branches of the same trade, at lower wages, who would gladly take the place of the refractory workmen. Their place would be easily filled up by hands hitherto in a still lower grade of employment, and at lower wages, till at last a quantity of new hands would be called into operation from hitherto unemployed sources; whilst those who first refused to work are, probably, for a long time left to a precarious existence upon what resources they may have saved. But mark the consequence still further—for the change does not stop here! The refractory workmen being now—if they have had resolution to stand out so long—effectually forestalled by other hands, there is not the remotest hope of their getting the increased wages offered them which they demanded. But more—the market being now fully stocked with hands (as sooner or later it must be), there is very little or no demand at all for their services, even if they were willing to take employment on the original terms. There is now a double supply of hands in their particular department, and—such is the force of competition—that the instant they are reduced by poverty to offer themselves to their former employers, the price of wages must fall below what it was before; so that what with the competition of the new hands, who would be willing to take much less wages than they do, rather than the still lower wages of their former occupation, and would therefore be continually underbidding them rather than lose their employment—and what with the natural disinclination of the master to discharge new and ready hands in favour of refractory and discharged persons, they would eventually be obliged to take employment at lower wages than ever, on live upon their own precarious resources, or starve!"—*Monthly Magazine*.

We have made the above extract from the

Monthly, in order to expose the ignorance or sophistry by which the writer endeavours to mislead his readers into a persuasion of the impracticability of any attempt of the working men to better their own condition by union or combination. The writer is quite correct so far as he has gone; his premises are true, and his conclusion is just. He has made no false statements, and been guilty of no incorrectness of reasoning; and yet, by not stating the case fully, he has produced a false impression, more deceitful to the unwary and unthinking mind, inasmuch as it does not carry its own refutation along with it.

Partial combinations amongst working men cannot be successful, more especially combinations which merely aim at an increase of wages, without designing to make an entire change of the system of trade, and the relationship between the labourer and the superintendent of labour; and they must fail, for the reason given by the writer of the above quotation, that "the available labour of the country is not at any time fully occupied." This very circumstance affords an opportunity to the competitive system of providing the market with cheap articles, and thus ruining the well-paid portion of the trade by a powerful rivalry, which always advances upon them. You cannot use coercive laws to prevent a shoemaker from working for two shillings per day, if he is so willing, from distress or want of higher wages, to do so; and were such coercive laws to be enacted, there is no police or genâd'armes, however vigilant of eye or vigorous of nerve, capable of preventing innumerable breaches being committed on all sides. Besides, to pass a law of that kind would merely be resorting to a system of espionage, terrorism, and violence, since the only method by which a transgression of the law could be prevented must be physical power, fines, or imprisonment. As long as we have orders for execution, we have a right to employ whom we will to execute them; and if there are hundreds of idle men willing to work at half-price, it is natural enough for us to select these in preference, more especially if my customers are hard bargainers, and my trade depends as much upon the cheapness as the excellency of our goods. Those master tradesmen who deal with the aristocracy are not perhaps subject to the same temptations to reduce their workmen's wages; they charge a good price, and they may give a good price. But it is only a certain proportion of masters who deal with the aristocracy; the rest deal with those who will go miles out of their way for a reduction of sixpence on a pair of shoes.

This propensity for cheapness will be fed as long as there are masters in existence. It is rivalry or competition that feeds it; the masters themselves regret it, and would rather have a stated price, and a regular trade; but one master is enough to destroy a system of stated wages, by merely reducing his profits, employing the idle at under-wages, and commanding a sale by inferior prices. What can prevent this evil, but trading societies, in which there are no masters, but business is conducted by active committees, and employment doled out to each upon a principle of equality? There could be no individual rivalry in such a case, and consequently no temptation to lower the rate of wages, for the sake of individual gain. But it might be said that this also must be a partial measure; for the aristocracy being the determined opponents of all such

combinations, and resolved to oppose them by any risk, would so far support their master's tradition, as to enable them to offer a wage to working men superior to what the trade society could offer; and the middle untitled classes being equally fond of cheap goods as ever, would continue to give encouragement to those who sweated the destitute for the sake of going cheap to market. This, no doubt, would be the case to a considerable extent, if all the trades were not organized upon a similar principle; but in the case of a general union of the working classes, it would entirely disappear; the aristocracy would be obliged to succumb to the popular will, and the system of private materialism would cease to exist. Such a combination, therefore, as we recommend, is a trading, not a striking combination—a combination for taking the trade from the private masters, and transferring it to the hands of trades' committees. This is a strike of peace, not one of war. It is merely a termination of the old relationship or servile character of the working man, by which he becomes free, being a shareholder in his own trade society; enjoying his share of labour, wages, and profit; having a voice in the management of the society's affairs; and quite independent of the caprice or arbitrary dictation of an individual. By striking for an advance of wages, he does not obtain these blessings; he is still the same servile, obsequious dependent with six shillings a day that he was with half a crown, still liable to be thrown out of employment by the whim of a master; and after having gained his point by a six weeks' strike and six weeks' starvation, he may lose his prize in a fortnight after, by a master's caprice or a foreman's pride. We know the difficulties, however, in which the working classes are placed, and can fully sympathize with their feelings. We believe that the greater proportion of them are aware of the truth of our observations; but they are hurried on to action by an irresistible power, long before they feel themselves sufficiently powerful for successful action; and we have no doubt that this rapidity of movement will have a good effect. It will teach important truths by experience, which mere didactic discourses could not inculcate, and prepare the way for a general motion by means more expeditious and successful than could have been adopted by human prudence, actuated by the fear of creating present suffering. We are not disposed to quarrel with the general proceedings of Nature: we are more disposed to question our own judgments than to suspect our great mother of any absurdity in the direction of her affairs. And what are the movements of the mass, or great bodies of the people, than great movements of Nature in the dispensations of her providence?

TO TRADES' UNIONS.

BROTHERS.—An estate of 3000 acres may now be laid upon the most advantageous terms, and may be taken in the easiest possible manner by any trades' union. Let us suppose the tailors' union to comprise 15,000 initiated brothers; now, let fifty of their unemployed be taken from every 1000; let the weekly allowance of, say, 10s. to each (amounting to 16,000l. yearly) be appropriated to renting this estate, and establishing these six hundred and fifty unemployed brothers upon it. The rent of this estate will be less than the whole

amount of rent paid by the same unemployed in tenements in the houses of London, supposing that each pays no more than 4s. weekly. (I do not here take into account the value of the services of the wives and children to the estate.) All that is here proposed could be easily accomplished; and what it is, away with dirty raggedness, scanty and unwholesome living, and with the sickness and disease of a crowded city! Every union might have such a country establishment, and then who would not rather walk out a few miles, and spend his Sundays or other holidays with his brothers there, than saunter from one gin-palace to another, whose splendour seems to exult over and mock at the ignorance, poverty, and rage of their supporters? Look to this, brothers, and well consider your real and substantial interests.—Your faithful friend,

H. TIPPER, F. O. S. B.

CO-OPERATION PUT TO THE TEST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—On the 8th instant, the Manchester and Salford Community Company sent off a number of members, amounting to twenty-three of both sexes to Cincinnati, or its neighbourhood, in the United States, in order to purchase an eligible piece of land, whereon to try the principle of mutual co-operation, on something like the Owenian plan.

To communicate to you in detail the plans, schemes, and efforts of these honest, industrious, and persevering men, in order to attain the object for which they were established, would take up so much of your valuable paper. I have watched the progress of this society for the last twelve or eighteen months, working like bees for one common stock, and although the amount of subscriptions was but small, when the secretary has announced to them an increase on their monthly nights, it has been received with that pleasure which has given rise to a stimulus for further exertions; and thus, at last, the period has arrived when the object for which this society was instituted will be put to practice.

I saw them leave the Pier-head of Liverpool without a murmur or a sigh at leaving a country which had given them birth, and a circle of relations and friends which must ever be dear to them. Surely men thus determined must be actuated by strong feelings of disgust at society as it is at present instituted to forego such ties of nature, and resolve to seek a happy retreat in a foreign climate.—With every wish for their welfare, I am, &c.

Manchester, April 21, 1834. J. H. W.

OPERATIVE TAILORS' SOCIETY, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

The members of this Society now call upon the friends of industry for their support in endeavouring to place labour in its proper position; and appeal to a discerning public to discriminate between the reasonable request of the operatives to be paid a moderate price for labour, and the extra profit hitherto demanded by the masters. In doing this, they beg respectfully to assure those friends who may favour them with their orders, they may command the most strict attention, punctuality, and the best workmanship; and that they will invariably adhere to a regularity of charges, which will be—the cost price of material, the

amount paid for labour (as now requested by the Operatives), and a sufficient per centage to defray incidental expenses:—the consumer will thereby be supplied with goods which cannot fail to give general satisfaction.—On behalf of the society,

May 3, 1834. G. CAMPBELL.

WOMAN.

Our readers cannot have accompanied us so far without repeatedly feeling some admiration rising in their minds, that the work of which we have thus to speak is that of a woman. There are various prevalent opinions concerning the grace and fitness of the female attempts at proficiency in learning and science; and it would probably puzzle our most subtle analysts of common sense or common prejudice, to trace the thread of rationality or irrationality which runs through such popular judgments. One of the characteristics of the female intellect is a clearness of perception. What they understand, they understand clearly; what they see at all, they see in sunshine. It may be, that in many or in most cases, this brightness belongs to a narrow Goshen. But, from the peculiar mental character to which we have referred, it follows that when women are philosophers, they are likely to be lucid ones; that when they extend the range of their speculative views, there will be a peculiar illumination thrown over the prospect. If they attain to the merit of being profound, they will add to this the great excellence of being also clear.—*Quarterly Review.*

Mrs. Somerville on the Connection of the Sciences.

The learned and scientific society of Geneva, which corresponds in the nature of its institution with the Royal Society of London, has elected Mrs. Somerville a member; the first instance of a similar distinction conferred on a female by that learned body.—*L. Mercur.*

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street.

Mr. Owen, Sunday morning, at half past eleven, and also on Sunday evening, at seven o'clock. The 52d Social Festival will be held at the Institution, on Monday next, the 12th instant.

A Social Tea-party every Sunday afternoon. The delegates from the several departments will meet on Thursday evenings, as usual.

A public free discussion will take place at Charlotte-street, on Tuesday evening next, at eight o'clock precisely. Subject—"Why are the Working Classes, who produce all the wealth of the world, in poverty and misery?" Each speaker will be allowed fifteen minutes to address the meeting. Unopponents are invited.

Institution, Charlotte-street.

We congratulate our friends upon the spontaneous support given by them at the opening of the grocery store on Saturday last; the same principle will be rigidly observed in future, and no opportunity lost of giving them all the advantage of the outer market, under the present deplorable state of our society. One-fourth will be taken in labour notes, for the encouragement of depositors. It is in contemplation to open a butcher's store with a supply of the best meat, upon the same rate as above, in the course of a short time.

LAND WANTED.—To Rent on Lease, or Purchase, from eight to twelve acres, within six miles north of Easton-square. Address, per post, to A. B. Presley's Coffee House, John-street, Tottenham-court-road.

Printed and published by B. D. COCHRAN, 18, Lincoln's Inn-fields; and at 378, Strand.

THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 6, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 11.

Mr. Owen lectured. He read and commented on the following address:

TO THE PRODUCERS AND NON-PRODUCERS OF WEALTH AND KNOWLEDGE.

"SACRED TO TRUTH, WITHOUT MYSTERY, MIXTURE OF ERROR, OR FEAR OF MAN."

FRIENDS,—Circumstances have suddenly occurred to place you in a position to induce you to suppose you are opponents of each other's interest. This is another step in the progress of civilization, and one necessary to insure the continual increase of human improvement.

It is an advance, however, which makes it requisite that another step should be taken without delay, one that will change the present position from being opponents of each other's interest, to sincere friends and promoters of each other's happiness.

This is the grand revolution in progress, and which it is now so necessary should be effected in all countries; and the friends of humanity, among all the various ranks and classes in society, are now called upon to assist, with all their energies, to promote this great change with the least possible injury to society, and to accomplish it with the least possible delay.

You are now in front of each other, threatening open and interminable hostilities, and are highly irritated, even to the destruction of life, on both sides, as was lately witnessed in France; not only in Paris, but in many other parts of that country, especially in Lyons.

This is a most unnatural permanent position for all parties. Are these acts of violence to continue now, or are they to commence in England and Ireland, and, through their example, overspread civilized nations? Or all the British producers and non-producers will show to the world that there is but one interest in society, and prove that it is practicable to unite both parties in that interest, and thereby insure their own permanent prosperity, and the happiness of the population of all countries?

Why these scenes of violence may be prevented in this country, or Great Britain is not sufficiently advanced in sound wisdom to give a safe guide for other nations to follow. Have you not been formed to be producers and non-producers of wealth and knowledge under the past circumstances which have occurred, under which neither of you have had any choice?

Why, then, be angry or displeased with each other? Why apply those terms which must

continue and increase the irritation already existing? and why will you not calmly reflect upon your present unfavourable, although for a time unavoidable, position, and set yourselves in good earnest to make a right use of the experience of the past, and advance from contest and adversity to union and prosperity?

Let us for this purpose view matters as they really exist.

1. Then, the non-producers of wealth have hitherto governed the world, and kept the mass of the producers in ignorance and poverty, and, as far as it was practicable, in slavery also to their will and caprice.

2. But the producers of wealth have latterly acquired knowledge to enable them to discover the cause of their ignorance and poverty, and why they have been the slaves of the non-producers.

3. And they have discovered the disadvantage and injustice of the arrangements in society, which tend perpetually to keep them in this state of servitude and pupilage to the non-producers, and have decided that a change for the better shall now be made.

This is so far correct and straightforward; and no one can justly blame the producers of wealth for this determination, after they have discovered the unfavourable position in which previous circumstances have placed them.

But producers and non-producers of wealth have now to consider how this great change and great improvement in human affairs is to be effected beneficially for the whole population.

And it is now time that both parties meet the difficulty in a spirit of peace and of charity, and as men having acquired valuable knowledge by experience.

It is evident, 1, that the producers of wealth will no longer produce it, without receiving in return a fair equivalent.

2. That the non-producers of wealth, having the old power of society at present in their hands, will not willingly relinquish that power without what they consider a fair equivalent, or without a struggle of contest and violence, which must produce great and perhaps long-continued misery to both parties.

And, 3, that it would be sound wisdom in both parties to agree to such arrangements as will enable both to enjoy the endless benefits now to be derived from the past experience of mankind, and from the universal applications of all the useful inventions, discoveries, and improvements which have been applied successfully for individual purposes, but which may now be used with far greater advantage for the general good of the producers and non-producers of wealth and knowledge. For

without contest, you may now insure to the individuals of both parties, by improved arrangements for the whole business of life, advantages far superior to those now possessed by the most favoured of the non-producers, who mistakingly suppose they have acquired all the enjoyments that human institutions can obtain for them.

The non-producers of wealth must now perceive that new circumstances have arisen throughout society, which are gradually changing their position. And it is evident to those who reflect and comprehend these changes, that if amicable arrangements be not speedily agreed upon between the non-producers and the producers of wealth and knowledge, the place of the former in society must be reversed, and they must become the humble, because the inefficient, assistants of the producers.

But by wisdom and foresight it is now practicable to adopt measures by which you, the producers of wealth and knowledge, may obtain your rightful position in society, and effect the change in such a manner as shall be permanently beneficial to you, the non-producers, and your posterity.

I am, from peculiar circumstances, more intimately acquainted with the power, resources, and real position of both parties, than perhaps any one now living, and from the singular experience which I have acquired, may state confidently that this is the time when arrangements may be made, the most beneficial for you, the non-producers, and at the same time not too disadvantageous for the producers.

Should this opportunity be lost, another so favourable to the non-producers is not likely ever to occur; for, in the nature of the change in progress, the knowledge, and of course the power, of the producers must daily increase.

The advantages of a mutual liberal arrangement between you at this period would be highly important to both, and be the means of saving much misery, not only to thousands, but to many millions.

The outline of these beneficial arrangements would be:—

1. To leave society to proceed under its existing arrangements in all countries, without further opposition from any parties, that it might quietly die a natural death, without any portion of the population of any country being injured by the gradual progress of its unavoidable delay.

2. To rent or purchase land, on terms advantageous to the landowner.

To borrow capital on terms advantageous to the capitalist, and upon the most certain of all securities,

To employ the whole of the industrious classes in combined operations upon land and in manufactures, under such arrangements as would increase the real wealth of all countries much more than tenfold.

3. To appropriate or distribute the new wealth thus to be created, the most justly and beneficially for the whole population.

4. To effect these three results in such a manner, that a new and very superior character, through the influence of new and very superior circumstances, should be given to all, both young and old.

5. To accomplish this change in such a manner that every portion of society may be easily governed, locally and generally.

6. That these arrangements should be fairly and fully discussed and adjusted between parties properly chosen to represent both your interests, and their decisions to be afterwards sanctioned by the separate governments, first of Europe and America, and afterwards of Asia and Africa.

While you remain in contest with each other, great loss will be sustained by both parties, and a greater degree of hostility will daily arise, and the population will become more and more pauperised and demoralized, until property will become insecure, and probably unsafe in the possession of the present holders of it.

The power of the world has been hitherto under the control of the non-producers of wealth and non-producers of useful and valuable knowledge, and the result, among the mass of mankind, is, ignorance, poverty, disunion, crime, and misery. The great revolution in human affairs which is now in active and rapid progress, is the change of the control of this power into the hands of the producers of real wealth, and of the most useful and valuable knowledge. The present year cannot terminate without all who observe the signs of the times becoming conscious that this moral revolution has indeed taken place; that it is a necessary result of the unchanging laws of nature, and that all attempts to alter its direction or stay its course will prove as futile as the vain efforts of man when opposed to the hurricane or the earthquake.

It is now glaringly evident that all the arrangements in practice for improving man and governing the world in happiness, which have been devised by the non-producers of wealth and knowledge, have been now proved, by the experience of many thousands of years, to have been formed when men were in ignorance of the facts the most necessary to be known to insure success on these all-important subjects; and that, in consequence, man is now wretchedly formed, physically, mentally, and morally, and the world is as wretchedly governed to produce intelligence, wealth, union, virtue, and happiness.

The THEOLOGICAL arrangements of the world have failed in their object, because they were not calculated to form man to become an intelligent, virtuous, and happy being; but an imbecile if sincere, an hypocrite if he obtained a little knowledge, and miserable if he detected the ignorance and art of theological professors.

The LAW arrangements of the world have failed in their object, because they were not calculated to administer justice between man and man or nation and nation; but, contrarywise, to divide man from man and nation from nation, and give the strong and the wealthy the power to oppress the weak and the poor.

The GOVERNMENTS of the world being compounded of *Theology* and *Law*, have failed in their object, because they were not calculated wisely to employ, or educate, or unite men or nations, or to insure a continuance of prosperity or happiness to any portion of the human race; but, on the contrary, to control all human proceedings by brute force, or cunning and fraud, to the lasting misery of themselves and all whom they governed, retarding the increase of knowledge, wealth, and happiness to an extent beyond the power of man, in his present state of imbecility of body and mind, to form any accurate estimate or conceive any correct outline.

The COMMERCIAL arrangements of the world have failed in their object, because they were not calculated to produce the greatest amount of the most valuable wealth in the shortest time, the most beneficially for the producers and consumers of it; but, on the contrary, they are well devised to train all men to the habitual practice of taking advantage of each other's ignorance and inexperience, to become systematic deceivers of each other, wishing always to buy cheap and sell dear, and thus the most effectually to oppose each other's well-being, well-doing, and happiness, and frustrate their own object. They might also, from the effects which they have produced, have been purposely invented to destroy in the bud, or prevent the growth of, all the kinder, best, and noble feelings and qualities of human nature.

And the DOMESTIC arrangements of the world have failed in their object, because they were not calculated to insure the general well-being, well-doing, or happiness of parents, children, or society; but, on the contrary, to make all ignorantly, individually selfish, and to undermine all the great powers and capacities of society, by confining them within the narrow circle of self, and opposing the falsely-imagined interests of one family to the supposed interests of all other families, and thereby forcing parents, children, and society to become hypocrites and deceivers of each other, each one, in consequence of unavoidable necessity, being the most grossly deceived.

It is these great errors of society which have so long kept the world in ignorance, turmoil, and misery: errors not of any particular individuals now living, but errors of antiquity in times unrecorded. These errors, you, the producers and non-producers of wealth and knowledge, must now extinguish,—you cannot longer maintain them,—their glaring inconsistencies have gone forth to the world, and it is not in the power of man again to make them appear truths.

Struggle as you may, error must give way; and the great revolution from ignorance to intelligence, from misery to happiness, must now commence in the British dominions, and rapidly extend itself through all the nations of the world.

For these considerations, and, if time permitted, many, many more, which might be added and enforced, but which will readily occur to the better cultivated and informed minds of my audience and future readers, I earnestly intreat you, the producers and non-producers of wealth and knowledge, to moderate your feelings against each other,—to reflect upon your present position,—to consider how completely you have been made the creatures of your respective circumstances, and that this knowledge, properly applied, is well

calculated to give you almost super-human powers; and then call to mind how much evil and suffering you may inflict on each other by the continuance of your senseless contests in opposing each other; and, on the other hand, what endless happiness you may insure to each other, by uniting cordially to promote your mutual advantage, unexclusive benefits, and general improvement.

In the lecture of Sunday evening last, at Charlotte-street, after Mr. Owen had read and commented on "the Address to the Producers and Non-producers," copied immediately above, he introduced and recommended to consideration the following advertisement from the *Working Men's Advocate*, published at New York the 29th of March instant, and informed the friends that Mr. Miller, clerk-seller, of Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, would be able readily to procure from America copies for those who desired them.

"THE PARADISE."

Within the reach of all men without law, by powers of nature and machinery. As Address to all intelligent men, in two parts; by J. A. Etzler.

'Toll and poverty will be no more among us;
Nature affords infinite powers and wealth;
Let us but observe and reason.'

'The wise examines before he judges;
The fool judges before he examines.'

"INDEX OF THE BOOK."

FIRST PART.

"Introduction; The power of wind; The power of the tide; The power of the waves; Burning mirrors; The power of steam; General remarks on all these powers; Eternal motions; Prospect and retrospect of the human condition in general; Systems of machineries and establishments for the application of these powers; Agriculture; Architecture; Flexible Stuff; Objects attainable in general; Plan for the buildings of a community; New state of human life; Occupations in the new state of things; The earth can nourish 1,000 times more men than now exist; Pecuniary profit of the new means; Constitution of an association proposed; General views on the subject; Address to the Americans in particular.

SECOND PART.

"Proposals how to render the new means the most beneficial for the United States; Function of a new state; First period; Second period; Third period; Fourth period; Appeal of the Americans; Comparative view of the condition of man at present and that attainable by the new means; In physical respects; In moral respects; In intellectual respects; Conclusion of the second part; Petition to Congress on the subject; Letter to the President of the U. S.

"This original work shows in the clearest and most convincing manner that nature is over rich in powers and means for human happiness, and is only waiting for an intelligent race to make good use of them. Hitherto idle, may henceforth do for us 10,000 times the work of all the human race at present. A capacity of producing food and clothing, and all objects of human use and enjoyment, exceeding 1,000 times the actual wants of mankind, is in Nature; consequently, nothing but slovenly habits and customs—want of reflection—is the cause of the universal poverty and fear of poverty, and the concomitant evils and miseries."

"The book points out how to make use of these superabundant powers and means in Nature—to create a *Paradise, a new world*, within a few years, provided attention can be fixed among men. It proposes an association similar to those for constructing canals, rail-roads, &c., while in the same time it solicits the attention of the national government. The author offers, to that effect, every further communication required on the subject gratis.

"The objects of the book are too numerous to be here mentioned, too new and too brilliant to be understood, without perusing the book: it is an appeal to thinking minds, especially to those of the sciences of reason. No reader ever has found, nor ever will find, any material objection against the truths stated in this book, though the author eagerly challenges critics on the subject.

"A universal revolution is now unavoidable throughout the whole human kind—a revolution from a universal state of poverty, ignorance, and barbarity, to universal superabundance, intelligence, and happiness.

"Americans! Are you to be the first or the last in this universal progress of reason? time will soon show the answer. Read first the book, then reason!

"Look to the proposed motto, and rank either with the wise or the fools!"

"For sale, in New York, by," &c.

DRUNKENNESS THE GREATEST OF VICES.

(From the *Liverpool Chronicle*.)

DEAR SIR,—May I request you will do me the favour of inserting the following remarks on drunkenness in your esteemed paper on Saturday next. The great object pursued by all living animals is happiness, and in proportion as they act according to the wise and beneficent laws of their nature they will obtain it. Man is made for society. In a savage state he can with difficulty supply his most pressing wants; to the many comforts of civilized life he is an utter stranger. As society advances in civilization and refinement, man's wants increase, and in the same proportion his inability to supply them without the assistance of his fellows. From this state of mutual dependence arises man's social duties; all come into the world with an equal right to the greatest amount of happiness, limited only by a regard to the happiness of each other. The great object, therefore, of all governments, laws, and social institutions, ought to be the greatest happiness of every individual. Whatever principles, actions, or courses of conduct, therefore, produce the greatest order and happiness in society are the most exalted social virtues. If these facts and reasonings be true and correct, of all the crimes that ever cursed mankind none is so great as that of drunkenness, for no other crime has produced half so much disorder and misery.

What is a drunkard? The most slavish, mean, crawling, dirty, disgusting, rascally, dishonest, stupid, obstinate, fierce and savage, in short, the most horrible, and at the same time the most contemptible, of all animals or monsters. The drunkard sells his soul, children, and country at an election for a glass of gin; he is ashamed to beg for bread whilst earning 80s. or 90s. per week, but will cheat his employer by calling a bad article good if he can beg a glass of rum; or he will cheat you by calling a good article bad if you refuse his "allowance." At Christmas these animals of all trades turn street beggars, and prowl over

the whole town from door to door. With the proceeds of their plunder (obtained by insolence, threats, and importunity), and what ought to buy food for their children, you see them staggering along the streets every night late, or every morning early, for a whole week, and their clothes and small clothes covered with the mire of the streets and kennels; * with black eyes, broken heads, bloody faces, and bruised bodies they return home, abuse their miserable wives and famishing children, and lay their nasty bodies down to sleep for a few hours; rise again before half-sober, and as the dog returns to his vomit, so they return to the ale-house or dramshop, and to their wicked companions. But this vice is not confined to the lower walks of life; there have been drunken kings and princes, and even now ministers of state reel drunk into the legislative assembly. Gentlemen boast of having alcohol (wine) enough in their cellars to poison 1,000 men, and merchants calling themselves moderate drinkers are not ashamed to acknowledge that they drink 21 glasses of the best French brandy per week. 10 millions of pounds are spent in wine, 20 millions in spirits, and 22 millions in ale, porter, &c. annually in this kingdom; and nearly all the wine, a great share of the ardent spirits, and no small part of the ale is consumed by the higher and middle classes; thus affording a most pernicious example to all below them, besides depriving themselves both of the disposition and means of removing the wide-spread poverty and misery of the common people. Where do tradesmen meet with the greatest number of bad debts? Amongst drunkards. What clerks, servants, and warehousemen generally neglect their duty and rob their masters? Drunkards. What workmen spoil or leave unfinished their work, and thus disappoint your customers, break your promises, and ruin your business? Drunkards. A bark-cutter in Liverpool who earns 8s. per day, has been drinking half his time this last week; his conduct will cause a loss of 6l. to his employers, his family is starving, he has five ragged children, none of whom knows a letter in the alphabet; he boasts that his pet, the youngest boy, sitting on his knee to receive his instructions, can swear, drink raw rum, and smoke his pipe as well as his wretched father.—A warehouseman, not far from the post-office, earning 29s. per week, was on Sunday week drinking rum with his more drunken wife in bed, at eleven in the morning, in the presence of his six or seven ragged and famishing children.—Another fellow, who lives near him, had the Sunday before spent all his week's wages in drink; there was no bed in his house, scarcely any furniture, no food for five children; and his wife in labour.—A few days before a respectable man, not far from town, came home from the public-house at half-past nine, was found dead the same night at eleven, his eldest son lying drunk at the time on the sofa; his next son had been drinking and raking for a week, and a large family is left without father or mother to the care of these hopeful youths.—In Lancaster I heard of an old customer lying at the point of death, his wife dead, his son dead, himself a bankrupt, and his three little children about being put apprentice by the parish, and all this misery and death through hard drinking, but for which he might have left these poor orphans

5,000l. I might go on multiplying examples almost without end, in proof of the positions I have laid down; but enough has been said to satisfy any men possessing the least portion of reason, that it is the duty of every individual, male and female, of every rank in society, to make all possible exertions for the extirpation of this dreadful and wide-spread evil. Enrol your names, therefore, immediately in the Temperance Society, not merely as members, but as apostles and missionaries, till we have a sufficient number to visit every street, and to reason with, persuade, and convince every inhabitant of Liverpool.—I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN FINCH.

Liverpool, 20th March, 1833.

P.S.—May I just ask our Catholic friends in town whether St. Patrick was a drunken or a sober saint; if he were sober, I am sure they could not offer him a greater insult than by celebrating his day in the manner it has been done this week in Liverpool. Many Irishmen take oaths of sobriety for months before, till St. Patrick's day, and then that day of all others is chosen to get drunk on, and to indulge in greater vices than are practised at any other season. I am sure their own good sense must show them that their favourite saint is anything except honoured by such conduct.

IMPORTANT ANALYSIS OF THE CON- NEXION OF CRIME WITH INTEM- PERANCE.

(From *Buckingham's Parliamentary Review*.)

SIR,—I beg to inclose a document that may be useful to you, as showing the opinion of the justices of the peace in regard to the effects that the use of spirits is working in this part of the country.

I have been this day in the City Chambers, and have ascertained from the official records, that in the Royalty (or city), there were issued for the year 1833-4, 736 certificates for licences. The Royalty contains 55,232 souls, and 11,046 families. There is therefore a licence to every fifteenth family. The whole population of Edinburgh and its suburbs is about 166,000, but beyond the Royalty the licences are mixed up with those of the county, and it is not so easy to obtain a distinct account of them. About three years ago it was said that there were 1700 licences in the whole place.

The following is an extract from a valuable Report of the House of Correction at Preston, Lancashire, drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Clay, the chaplain, for last year.

"With regard to the important question, as to the origin of crime, the chaplain begs to state that, about the end of September, he held a particular conversation with every individual in the jail, as to the circumstances, which in their own opinion, had brought them into their melancholy condition, and taking their voluntary communications as a general criterion, he learned that 48 persons of various ages, and both sexes, committed on charges of felony for trial at the present sessions, the alleged offences of

"24 are directly attributable to the ale-house or beer-shops; 13 prisoners deny their guilt, and decline making any communication; 7 offences seem to have been committed under circumstances of temptation; 4 prisoners plead want as an excuse for their offences.

"Among 37 convicted male felons, 2 attribute their offences to want, 3 to temptation, and 22 to drinking.

* Not long ago seven drunkards left a public-house with eleven black eyes among them.

"Of 36 cases of assault, 3 are attributable to idleness and bad company, 5 to combinations among the spinners, 7 to combinations and drinking, and 21 to drinking alone.

"Of 14 cases of vagrancy, 6 are referable to idleness and depravity, 6 to the plea of distress, and 2 to drunkenness.

"Of 21 bastardy cases, 15 men attribute their condition to idleness and ignorance, and 6 to drinking.

"3 utterers of base coin attribute their fate to drinking.

"2 men confined for neglect of work assign drinking as the cause.

"Of 8 men confined for neglecting their families, 2 plead innocence of the charge, 4 distress, and 2 drunkenness.

"Of 7 poachers, 2 refer their practices to bad company, and 5 to drinking.

"Of 6 men imprisoned for obtaining money under false pretences, 2 plead want, 4 impute their offences to a passion for drinking.

"6 soldiers are imprisoned for military offences arising from drinking.

"Of 10 men confined for various misdemeanours, 1 attributes his offence to temptation, 4 assert their innocence, and 5 impute their situation to drinking.

"There are 14 females convicted of felony, of whom, 1 asserts her innocence, 1 (girl) pleads neglect of parents, 1 pleads exposure to great temptation, 1 is of weak intellects, 3 appear very ignorant and depraved, and 7 attribute their situation to drinking.

"Thus it appears that the passion for liquor is a source of ruin and disgrace, more fruitful than every other cause combined; and that of 189 offenders of all descriptions, there were 116 who imputed their misfortunes or their crimes to the temptations held out to them by the ale-houses and the beer-shops. It remains to be seen whether the recent legislative enactment for the regulation of the latter, will, in any degree, check the mischiefs which they have occasioned or increased. In the mean time, the chaplain cannot refrain from stating the opinion which, over and over again, has been, in substance, avowed to him by the ruined victims of intoxication, that but for the desolating passion, which finds the unchecked means of indulgence at every moment and in every place, our numerous prisons would be almost untenanted."

I have transcribed the above upon the *chance* of the Report not having met your eye.

If we had had longer notice, I have little doubt but that petitions might have been got up from every Temperance Society in the kingdom, praying for the eventual annihilation of distillation of spirits as a *drink*. If we could succeed in taking off the malt and hop duties, so as to place good beer within the reach of the poor, suppress public-houses and beer-shops as much as possible, so as to induce the people to drink their ale at their own fireside, as formerly, and annihilate spirits, some hope might be entertained for the next generation. For years past, Government has been making criminals by the quickest mode, and then punishing them by the most sanguinary code in the Christian world!—I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,

R. K. GREVILLE.

Edinburgh, April, 1834.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

There was no report of the proceedings of Congress sent us: we wrote to the Secretary, but received no answer.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 17.

ALL we fear is the fickleness of the people. Poor souls! they know not how to act: driven to the last resource, by the heartless system of bleeding and purging, which has reduced them to the ghastly skeleton of humanity, their presence of mind forsakes them, their movements become quick, their minds undecided, except for resistance, and they have not the patience that is necessary to project and carry deliberately into execution a grand national enterprise. Had they but the patience, and the deliberation, which always acts as its handmaid, our hope would be immediately converted into faith, and our faith would soon be swallowed up in the full fruition of the happy consequences of popular union and popular justice.

This deliberation will come in due course. Little as we have, we believe that the English nation are more remarkable for this intellectual virtue than any other people. The irritability of the French has procured for them a character for spirit and enterprise, which has not fallen to the lot of our phlegmatic countrymen; but the mercurial disposition of our Gallic brethren rather unfits for the reflective, cool, and prudent action of a national and productive movement. We have heard many of our friends deplore the spiritless and submissive peculiarity of character which distinguishes our nation from its saltatorian rival, as being an unfavourable omen for British prosperity. So far from thinking so, we are more afraid of the volatility of our friends, than their deficiency of courage to make a bold attempt when resolution is demanded. They have yet many important truths to learn, and these can only be learned (it appears) by experience. That experience is painful, and under its smart the temper is apt to gain the ascendancy over the judgment, to create suspicions, to stir up rivalries, and sow the seeds of contention and division.

That there are many intelligent and well-informed men among the people is evident, but there are also many ignorant; yet these ignorant claim an equality with the well-informed, and by their number and their discontentment they often impel them to act in opposition to their own judgments. This has been the case in all ages, and must be so for ever, unless the people become all intelligent, and act in concert as one man, or resign themselves for a season to the arbitrary dictation of an individual in whom they can place confidence. One mind is much better fitted for action than a million; a million minds, like a million voices, produce confusion, an unmeaning boisterous noise; and the music of sound, and the intellectual charm of eloquence and rhetoric, are only percep-

tible in the single utterance of one who is the organ or leader of the whole. He thinks for them; they follow the current of his thoughts, laugh when he is humorous, and weep when he becomes grave and pathetic. Universal stillness prevails in the great assembly; there is but one mind there, and that mind, like a deity, becomes omnipresent throughout the vast assemblage, and forms a connecting link, which unites every individual into one consolidated mass of thought. We can form no idea of unity, without such a link and such a leader.

But where to find him! Where to find the moral power that is necessary to wield such a sceptre as this—a sceptre which is not upheld by those military and magisterial props to which kings have hitherto owed all their stability, and yet a sceptre to which there could be no resistance, because no inclination to resist. Well may we say of such a one when he appears and wields such power, that he is divine.

But even this would be insufficient for the salvation of the people, if not accompanied with knowledge and prudence on their part. The power of an individual is but temporary; and that power is only desirable as a means to accomplish an end, namely, the organization of the people, to enable them to act in the mass. But how can they act without knowledge? Public knowledge is indispensable to the formation of a republic.

But what sort of knowledge is necessary for general action? Only general knowledge. A knowledge of fundamental principles: such knowledge as may be communicated to every healthy mind. These general principles men have actually never yet got. They have been reared in the school of competition, hence all their prejudices are against union, and the process of gathering and consolidating the operatives becomes a task of considerable difficulty. Unions keep aloof from unions, lodges from lodges, leaders from leaders. Rivalries, jealousies, strivings, are as thick as dew-drops on a misty morning, ready to melt and disappear *only* when the true sun has risen upon them.

But a *True Sun* will only increase the mist, and add to the number of the chilling drops, if he don't throw a little more genial heat and refreshing sunshine into his union chronicle than he did upon Monday last, in his article on the Derby Turn-outs. There was something equivocal and designing about the look of the paragraph. There was no harm meant, we dare say; but it was calculated to cast suspicion upon the integrity of all those who have spent their time and their activity in collecting subscriptions for the Derby operatives. What does the *True Sun*, or his informant, mean by such an allegation of the following:

"So far has the Derby affair been successful, though we are bound in justice to admit that

it would have been more successful had the people of Derby placed themselves entirely under the direction of the Executive of the Consolidated Union, or the Birmingham Committee. Their ignorance and inexperience have made them the easy prey of a number of idle and rapacious fellows, who, taking advantage of the circumstances of the turn-out, have been living upon the funds, upon the plea of rendering service in the collecting of subscriptions, and other needless occupations. From these men we implore the operatives to stand aloof. They are men who can only injure their cause, and bring disgrace and odium on their proceedings generally. And now a word to the Unionists at large. We have seen that much remains to be done to render the Derby affair a completely successful one. The statements which have been recently circulated with such industry, have paralyzed the exertions of those who sympathize with these poor people at Derby, and the supplies have, therefore, fallen off.

This is a thrust in the dark; but we think it would have been more satisfactory to the public if it had been somewhat more intelligible. Who are those rapacious fellows to whom the writer alludes? and who more willing to render an account of their receipts, than the parties who are likely to suffer by such an insinuation as this? Did we permit such an article as this to pass unnoticed, we would be doing an act of injustice to the parties upon whom the aspersion is cast; and we should also be encouraging the *True Sun* in the publication of matter which is calculated to sow division amongst the people, and ultimately to injure its own character for truth and impartiality.

We are confident that the article from which the above quotation is made is another misrepresentation of the true state of Derby, and the causes which have brought to its present position. We might make several more strictures upon it, were we disposed to prolong the disagreeable subject; but we desist. We only apprise our friends that we are at our post, and always ready to cry "Hold, Sirrah! Hold!" when we see any of our brethren taking an insidious part, or sowing discord by the propagation of false reports or dark insinuations.

FEMALE TAILORS.

A few days ago, a coat was exhibited in capsid, at the shop of a master tailor, who advertised it as the production of a woman. The work was allowed to be extremely good, the collar was much admired. The measure seemed resolved to feminize the whole trade, rather than yield, and to stir up an uncivil war between the two sexes. We have often thought that female barbers might make a very good thing if they could merely muster sufficient courage to take the gentlemen by the ears. This seems not to have suggested itself to any of our Amazons, who attempt much in an unseemly way of procuring the one-garment. We have no doubt that a female tailor would succeed gloriously, more especially if she did not entrust the measuring instrument to the masculine gender.

TRADE.

Foreign trade comprises exporters and importers, or merchants and the shipping interest.

The producers in Great Britain appear to occupy about 187,000 such farms as employ labourers. Then, taking the land of all qualities at 37,000,000 acres, this is about 200 acres to a farm, or about 66 of good land, 68 of second rate, and 66 of mere sheep-pasture. Their gross produce is about 41. 4s. per acre, or 160 millions, (taking wheat at its present average of 52s.) serving as the fundamental basis of our national resources.

This production employs, or subsists, 1½ millions of our male population, above the age of 21 years, as occupiers, cottagers, and labourers.

Then there are mineral products, of coals, iron, lime, copper, tin, lead, stone, &c., worth about 20 millions more, and employing about 50,000 males, above 21 years of age, besides boys.

To these native products we may add the imports against our machine manufactures, amounting to a portion of the 50 millions of imports, or about 35 millions.

So that our actual income, in products of industry, is about 160+20+35, or 215 millions.

This, in labour or native products, taken at 33 per cent. on the 160 millions, is 53½ millions, and in minerals at 30 per cent. is other 6½, or 60 millions together.

To which may be added, other 50 millions for productions of various arts and tasteful ingenuity.

And the produce of our machinery, applied to foreign raw materials, estimated at 62 millions.

In all, 172 millions, from productive labour, which, added to the products 215, renders the aggregate annual wealth, for distribution and consumption, about 378 millions.

But, if to this be added freights and carriage 13 millions, the total is about 400 millions per annum.

But is with a nation as with an individual, it consumes as it produces. Its wealth is merely its power of comfortable subsistence. It may therefore be estimated, that the population of 17 millions spend, in food and lodging, 1s. per day, or 4s. 8d. per family, or 850,000l., which, in 365 days, is 317,550,000l.

If to this we add 2l. per family for clothing, we get other 70 millions of expenditure, making, for subsistence, lodging, and clothing, 387,550,000l. or within 12 millions of the bounds of production and national labour.

Then, from these are to be transferred 60 millions to annuitants, for state taxes and assessments, and other 40 millions, for rentals of land, to another class of proprietors and mortgagees, making one-fourth of income, and abstracting about a tenth from the pittance of 4s. 9d. per family, and 80l. for clothing. Such is the sum and substance—the beginning and the end—of the state of the British people.

One circumstance, peculiar to Great Britain, is the mechanical agency of fire, steam, and air, in manufacturing. This is expressed, in one of the above items, at 62 millions, as labour on foreign raw materials. In fact, 600,000 men, women, and children, produce as much cotton fabric, by the aid of machinery, as 6 millions; and in wool, flax, silk, and metals, an equal number produces an equal amount of labour, i. e. machinery, in effect, produces an amount equal to 21 millions of men, women,

and children; and it may be observed that this mechanical power neither eats nor drinks, and, of course, pays no taxes.

An exemplification of trading employments, we are enabled, by the unwaried intelligence of Mr. Marshall, to place before our readers a correct analysis of the population of Great Britain, and of the subdivisions of industry in its principle trades. For details, we must, in justice, refer to his separate publications.

It appears that, in Great Britain, in 1831, there were 3,414,175 families, containing 16,962,261 individuals, male and female; or 4.73 in a family.

And the employments which engage about 10,000 individuals in each are, in the order of numbers, as under:

Shoemakers	123,948
Carpenters	103,947
Tailors	74,054
Publicans	61,231
Blacksmiths	58,142
Masons	49,155
General Shopkeepers	38,150
Butchers	35,218
Bricklayers	29,593
Bakers	27,942
Grocers	22,147
Cabinet makers	21,774
Wheelwrights	19,880
Millers	19,708
Sawyers	16,181
Carriers	18,859
House Painters	15,653
Linen drapers	13,601
Coopers	13,246
Plumbers and Glaziers	11,999
Hucksters	10,881
Hatters and Hosiers	10,858
Coach-owners	10,514
Brickmakers	9,984
Plasterers	9,008
Whitewashers	9,543

Mr. Marshall's list descends to those employments of which there are not above half a dozen.

Literature affords subordinate numbers; thus, we have printers 8342, paper-makers 4164, bookbinders 3599, booksellers 8327, stationers (mostly booksellers) 2797, copper-plate printers (including calico) 2663, print-sellers 593.

Of shoemakers, there appear to be 1 to every 26 families; carpenters, 1 to every 33 families; tailors, 1 to every 46 families; publicans 1 to every 56 families; blacksmiths, 1 to every 60 families; and so on, down to those of 10,000 men, and 1 to 341 families nearly.

The cottagers, independently of farmers (above), are 168,815 families; and the distinct labourers in agriculture, males above 21, are stated at 887,167.

The manufacturers in the great staples are 404,317 males above 21.

The merchants, professions, bankers, proprietors, money-jobbers, and annuitants, are about 450,000 males above 21, or one-eighth of the population.

The female-servants are 670,491.

The male-servants are 78,669, and those under 20 are 74,555.

The total in Great Britain, of males above 20 years of age, was 3,944,511, out of a gross male population of 8,163,023.—*Arts of Life.*

UNIONS AND STRIKES.

There never has been any union in society, previous to the present day, except that of the

aristocracy. The ignorance of the operative classes has prevented them from clearly understanding the principle of unionism, for this is the necessary consequence of intelligence. The principle of unionism, it would say, consists in clearly perceiving that the amalgamation of individual interests forms the general good. The aristocracy have always had the advantage of an education, and have therefore better understood this point; now, however, the operatives are beginning to understand this too; it has taken umbrage, as it always does at any thing which imitates it. I, however, hope that we shall only imitate its principle of unity, not its objects, which have always been to enslave mankind: let our's be to redeem it from that thralldom, to place right upon just and equitable principles; for, unless it is so based, it cannot deserve that sacred name. I have shown that the aristocracy is a union, but devoted to bad purposes; so will the Consolidated Unions be, if they pursue the injudicious course of striking for wages. There is something hostile in the term itself; it seems like the combination of a party, not the application of a principle, and must stir up the most inflammable passions, rather than elicit the reasoning powers of the mind; it is, therefore, more likely to produce a commotion, instead of a co-operation; it is, in fact, a course characterised by the impetuosity of feeling, not by the benign influences of deliberative wisdom. I know the operatives are bowed down by accumulated wrongs; but will striking redress them? This is a question that should be seriously pondered over. The commercial relationship between master and man should be deeply considered; their interests are mutual, and cannot be separated without grievous injury to all. Party feeling and strife have no business with the question; they are the elements of discord, not of unity. When the Unions understand, as I have no doubt they will shortly, the grand principle of Unionism, its application to society will necessarily draw all classes into its vortex. To be well-informed, then, of this glorious science, let men attend the enlightened lectures which are given upon this subject, let the Unions form schools of their own, and hold meetings for practical conversation upon this sublime subject: then, indeed, the principle of Unionism will rise like the sun above the eastern horizon, shedding its gladdening and mind-illuminating radiance upon all the sons and daughters of the earth. A MECHANIC.

UNION OF MASTERS.

At a meeting of Cloth Merchants, Manufacturers, and Finishers, held at Oates' Exchange Hotel, in Leeds, on Thursday, May 8th, 1834, it was resolved,

"That the parties whose names are hereunto affixed, will not employ any workman, on or after the 19th day of May, 1834, who will not sign a declaration, promising that they shall cease to be members of the Trades' Union, and that so long as they continue in our employment they will not be members of that Union, or of any similar association."

This resolution was subscribed by a considerable number of firms; many masters, however, and these the principal in the town, have refused to sign the resolution. This has caused considerable agitation in Leeds. The two parties are keenly engaged in warfare upon the subject; several mills have been shut up on account of the determination of the workmen,

and both masters and men have been eyeing with considerable interest the movements of each other.

MISCELLANEOUS LODGE.—Persons desirous of forming Branch Lodges of the Grand Lodge of Miscellaneous Operatives, must apply for instructions to the Grand Lodge.

DEAR KNOWLEDGE AND CHEAP GIN.—What volumes in the mere fact that, in Manchester, there are a thousand gin shops, and (owing to the stamp duty) not a single daily paper! It was too bad that we should make knowledge as dear as possible, and gin as cheap; that we should choke the sources of intelligence, and throw open the means of intoxication.—*Bulwer on the Repeal of the Stamp Duties.*

(From the Bee.)

THE greatest aggravation of human misery is distress in the midst of abundance, and while the far-resounding fame of England's prosperity, based on the amount of enormous revenue, has been trumpeted through the continents of the world, a deep, a lasting, an imperishable blot on the escutcheon of her glory yet remains to be effaced, by removal of the poverty, ignorance, and worse than slavish condition of that class of society that has earned for her those extravagant praises abroad, by which, like the "prodigal spendthrift-husband," her artificial character has starved her family at home. When the philosophic foreigner or tourist, tempted by the vast amount of English production in his own market, visits this "Elysium," his mind, evolving almost from infinitude the increased powers of English productiveness by machinery and other scientific discoveries, presents a glowing picture of universal content and happiness; here, he exclaims, the demon of avarice cannot change man into a monster, and ambition, the instinct of immortality, will be evinced by a noble competition of philanthropy; the genial virtues of humanity must here be developed to an incomparable amount; for England, happy England! can produce three times as much as would render her population not only in the possession of the necessities of life, but even may indulge all wish luxuries, in exchange for her superfluous wealth. Lift but the splendid veil, that at a distance dims his sight, and his entrancing vision is changed into the ghastly spectre of famine, with its attendant, ignorance and crime. He sees the ill-distributed wealth of the productive classes expended on an inefficient government; pensioners dignified for the spilling of human blood; and pharisaical bishops and pluralists affirming, *ex jure divino*, with the Bible in one hand, and the other in their neighbour's pocket, "that dishonesty is criminal, but that they rob for the love of God!"

He will next see immense sums of money squandered at the gambling table, by persons who produce nothing: individuals amassing wealth by "watching the money markets;" and the producers of all the wealth of the country in a pitiable state of misery. This anomaly at first confounds, and next, probably, suggests to his benevolent mind the possibility of an equitable distribution of superfluous wealth, as a remedy; but when he is informed that the exchange of productions can only be effected by gold or silver, that neither can at any time be considered an invariable standard, nor are possessed by those who would effect such exchanges; that the productiveness of the

country is regulated by the facility or difficulty of obtaining this gold or paper; that when it is scarce it can purchase twice as much as at another time; that at one period, when a minister is embarrassed by national distress, he can shed a gleam of prosperity on the land, by issuing five pounds of old rags; and that, when he needs to reduce this mere shadow of real wealth, the nation becomes again embarrassed, he is all more confounded. But let this unprejudiced tourist pursue us in our enquiry. We then ask, what is this money? what its use? it is of any value, except as a medium of exchange for that which is really and intrinsically useful; decidedly not. Then can these exchanges be effected by any other medium than the present, so difficult to be obtained, so variable in its character, so unjust as a measure of exchange, and so beneficial in its capricious distribution? The answer is simple: such a thing is possible, and has been attempted at the eleventh hour, by exchanging all articles *at prime cost* with a trifling per centage to defray necessary expenses; but unfortunately the class most interested in this simple mode of exchange are ignorant of its value, and it is the interest of the idle, and those who live merely by moneyed speculations, to keep them so.

The subjoined synopsis, or Map of Society in Great Britain and Ireland, taken by Colquhoun in 1812, is epitomised to suit the limits of our paper, for the purpose of exhibiting the gross amount of wealth annually produced in England, with its unjust distribution; the producers of all the wealth receiving about the fourth only of the value, of their productions, or 4s. 6d. in the pound; the remainder in many instances being lavishly and uselessly expended by those who may justly be deemed vampires of the youthful blood of the country.

The distribution of wealth is much the same now as it was in 1812, although in the amount of population and wealth, there is a considerable increase.

The substitution of machinery for manual labour, has only tended to increase the sufferings of the productive classes; and that, which by the aid of science should have been a blessing has hitherto, from an inequitable system of monopoly, been a scourge to mankind. A development of the principles of co-operation will show that, if the productive classes are true to themselves, the march of science, far from being injurious, will diminish labour, and increase the comforts of life.

The map divides the population into five classes. The first column of figures shows the average amount received by each individual annually, comprising domestic servants and children. The second column, the aggregate population of each class, and the third the aggregate amount received by each class in society. At the foot of the map it will be perceived, that the total amount is 430 millions sterling in round numbers, from which the producers receive 99 millions, and the non-producers 330 millions annually; the population amounting to 17 millions.

We shall view the millions in units, for the benefit of our readers, who have no taste for abstruse calculations. In 1812, a family of seventeen individuals occupied this little island, nine of whom worked from morning till night to support the whole family, and produced 480 pounds annually; but the eight who produced nothing, took from the other nine 30 pounds annually, leaving them but 450 pounds.

FIRST CLASS.

THE LABOURING POPULATION.

The Producers of all Wealth.

	Individual Income.	Aggregate Population.	Aggregate Amount.
	£	Numbers	£
Agricultural and mining labourers	11	3,154,142	33,396,795
Aquatic labourers and seamen	11	400,000	8,100,000
Mechanical and manufacturing labourers	11	4,343,389	49,054,752
Umbrella, parasol makers, embroiderers, chair coverers, lace workers, &c.	12	150,000	3,800,000
Artists, sculptors, &c.	56	25,000	1,400,000
Pauper labourers	5	774,200	3,871,000
Pensioners receiving for labour	2	46,000	420,000

SECOND CLASS.

DISTRIBUTORS, SUPERINTENDENTS, AND MANUFACTURERS.

Necessary, but too numerous.

Farmers	23	1,540,000	33,600,000
Capitalists in manufacturing and mechanical operations	134	264,000	35,376,000
Ditto in clothing, &c.	36	218,750	7,875,000
Ditto in building and engineering	60	43,500	2,610,000
Ship builders and ship owners	124	46,750	5,652,000
Merchants, wholesale dealers, brokers, and bankers	140	200,000	28,177,600
Shopkeepers and retail dealers	40	700,000	28,000,000
Innkeepers and publicans	14	437,500	8,750,000
Clerks and Shopmen	14	262,500	6,750,000
Hawkers and pedlars	11	5,600	63,000
Physicians, surgeons, &c.	60	96,000	5,400,000

THIRD CLASS.

GOVERNMENT.

Much too numerous and expensive.

The Royal Family	1670	300	501,000
Persons in higher and lesser civil offices	77	114,500	8,330,000
Judges, barristers, attorneys' clerks, &c.	80	95,000	7,600,000
Army and navy officers	26	65,000	6,295,000
Common soldiers, militia, seamen and marines	94	770,000	17,004,680
Lunatics, and keepers of lunatic asylums	48	4,700	195,000
Half-pay and pensions	244	60,500	1,486,600
Persons included in the above, receiving incomes from funds and church	...	...	5,211,063
Prisoners for debt	6	17,500	105,000
Paupers	74	774,200	6,000,000
Vagrants, prostitutes, rogues, gipsies, vagabonds, in and out of prison	12	308,741	3,704,892

FOURTH CLASS.

INSTRUCTION AND AMUSEMENT.

Indispensable and eminently useful.

Clergymen, working	40	87,500	3,500,000
Dissenting ministers	38	20,000	500,000
Universities and chief schools	150	3,496	524,400
Lesser schools	84	210,000	7,140,000
Theatres, concerts, and musicians	50	3,500	175,000

FIFTH CLASS.

The most wealthy and least useful.

Nobility and Bishops	300	18,000	5,400,480
Dignified clergymen	100	9,000	1,080,000
Baronets, knights, and esquires	200	122,915	25,022,110
Greater and lesser landholders and freeholders	20	1,485,000	40,250,000
Gentlemen and ladies living on incomes in the funds, &c.	100	280,000	28,000,000

Total amount of wealth created annually in Great Britain and Ireland
 Amount received by the productive classes
 Amount received by the non-producers

430,521,272
 99,742,547
 330,778,725

Total number of the productive classes
 Total number of the non-producers
 The whole population in 1912

No.
 8,892,731
 8,910,072
 17,802,803

A SKETCH.

This morning dawn'd; the anxious, dreaded morn!

The streets were teeming, and the countless throng

Were seen with solemn march to wend their way.

Arrived, the rendezvous was marshalled out

With all the skill of military art;

And each beneath his banner took his stand.

The car* moves forward 'midst one deafening shout,

That reads the welkin and ascends to heaven.

Hark! 'tis a nation's voice that now ye hear,

The voice of supplication and of woe,

Borne on the living flood of scalding tears,

Wrung from the widow's and the orphan's eye.

But prayers avail not—tears are shed in vain,

For mercy dwells not now in regal halls,

And human sympathy has been expell'd

From that relentless, callous lump of stone,

A sordid statesman's heart. What wizard power

Enchains their faculties and seals their eyes

To things now passing round them? Do they deem

A nation's energies can be suppress'd,

Made to succumb, to flatter, cringe, and fawn,

If but a monarch or his minions frown?

Know they not all nature is progressive?

The mind, advancing and expanding still

With each succeeding generation, claims

New and improved enactments. Folly 'tis

To hope the edicts of the gothic age

Can suit the freemen of the present day!

As soon can they arrest the solar course,

As lay the spirit time has conjured up!

Not all their menaces, their martial forces,

Their arms, their ammunition, flashing steel,

Cannon, or bayonets, in dread array,

Though they retard a moment, can prevent

The change from vice to virtue; for each breast

Contains within itself a slumbering fire,

A deep volcano, kindling into flame;

Which, should the breath of despotism fan,

The fierce combustibles would vomit forth,

And desolate the horror-stricken world.

True, we might perish, perish in the strife;

Our blood might stain the scaffold, and the earth

Drink up the rich manure; but from each drop

A thousand heroes instantly would spring,

To pay the debt of vengeance on the heads

Of parasites and legal murderers.

Could statesmen know the quenchless hate

which burns,—

The maddening passions roused by cruel

wrongs,—

The sense of injury,—the stern resolve

To brave the gates of hell, and all between,

But we will wrest our freedom from the hands

Of life-destroying tyranny, and give

That boon to our posterity untouched

Which nature, as their birthright, gives to all—

They would not thus reject a nation's prayer!

Perchance, into an act of cowardice

Our quiet, calm deportment is construed?

Is that the case? Why, then, it plainly shows

That those who govern should more frequent mix

With that society which they despise.

They then would find millions of hearts as brave

As ever throbb'd upon the battle-fields

Of Poitiers, Cressy, or of Bannockburn,

Still panting eagerly for freedom's goal:

Who, should the tocsin sound one warlike note,

Would feel their native daring swell their veins,

And emulate the prowess of their sires.

There was the task to wade through crimson seas,

To follow glory through the field of death;

Investing with a gorgeous diadem

The ingrate brow of him whose perjured soul

Ne'er sought the weal of those who bore him up,

And placed him on ambition's pinnacle;

But as a mistress, when satiety

Has cool'd the ardour of her paramour,

Is cast aside to mourn o'er broken vows,

Her ruin'd reputation, spotted fame;

To see youth, health, and beauty fast decay,

Her charms declining with the power to please;

Consign'd to infamy, disease, and want;

And, blighting thought! to know the damning

fact,

A hated rival shall supply her place:

So they, their chieftain's objects well secured,

Were left to struggle with the thousand ills

Which war inevitably must entail.

This the reward which every knave has given

To mercenary love, and party zeal,

From the first conqueror to —

The times are gone when men rush'd blindly on,

At the fierce mandate of some brainless wight,

To carnage and to slaughter; we have seen

Whole towns depopulated, cities sack'd,

Fire with its dreadful ravages wide spread

O'er fields of fairest promise; famine next,

With its companion pestilence, has stalk'd

With hideous visage thro' each thoroughfare,

And, penetrating to the drear abodes

Of poverty and loathsome wretchedness,

Has struck its venom'd fangs into the heart

Of those who 'scap'd from the un pitying sword.

This has been oft enacted—and for what?

To sate the demon-passion of a wretch,

Who, like the Indian pagod in his car,

Looks down with triumph on the mangled heaps

Of human victims offer'd at his shrine!

The game is up, the race is nearly run;

The sand has dwindled to the smallest grain;

The tiger, tracked and hunted to his lair,

On his pursuers turns, and stands at bay.

The losing gamester desperately stakes

Life, credit, fortune, on a single cast,

Resolved to restate himself, and win

His former chances back by any means

That falsehood, fraud, or cunning can devise.

The die is thrown! the cheat presents itself,

And the delinquent, overwhelmed with shame,

To the thick covert of disgrace retires;

Yet, ere he falls by suicidal hand,

In the wild paroxysm of despair he fain

Would hurl a dagger at his rival's heart;

But he, expectant, watches for the blow.

And with cool purpose wards its deadly aim.

Reader, look round, and find the parallel!

The stakes are ours, and we with all the craft

Of wise Ulysses must defend those rights;

By cultivating well the arts of peace,

We balk the Cyclops of their draught of blood.

J. BANKHEAD, F. S. O. C.

* The car, or platform, on which the petition was carried, signed by nearly three hundred thousand persons.

LIBERTY.

Hence, Separation! haste thee! get thee hence!

Already round thee hear the tempest howl,

That soon shall reach thee in thy last defence,

And from thee send the enscock and the cowl;

Then shalt thou rave, and foam, and scarcely

scowl—

Thy courses roll as distant thunder by,

Harmless—disclosing yet thy practices foul;

E'en as the miscreant about to die,

Leaving the world serene as noon's empurpled sky.

Then shall the golden age again appear,

Although Cimmerian gloom so long has reign'd.

Ye who are halting betwixt hope and fear;

Ye who have been by custom long enchained;

Ye whom the world's hypocrisy has pain'd;

Ye who have been by fraud and falsehood clay'd,

Come join our host, and see the battle gain'd,

Nor wait until the enemy's destroyed:

Come early to the feat, and life shall be enjoyed.

Much has been done; but more remains to do.

The task is arduous, but the toil is sweet;

The harvest's great, the labourers are few,

Who bear the winter's cold; the summer's heat

And you, ye fair, whose breasts responsive beat

In thrilling unison with ours, shall ye

Be found to shun us, when your smiles should

greet?

You, whose endearing fondness, all agree,

Twines closely round our hearts, and lends our

destiny?

If there be aught of evil to remove,

Or aught of good untasted to possess;

Lives there one being who may claim your love,

Husband or friend—the infant ye cherish—

One piteous object pining in distress—

One abject wretch, who plenty ne'er has known;

Come, lend your aid, your gain shall be no less,

Since Unity henceforth ascends her throne;

Supplying others' wants, we cater for our own.

Who can preserve a calm, unaffric'd mind,

Nor feel one pang, sustain one harrowing thought,

When the amount of misery is seen

Your sex endures so long as love is bought?

No generous mind, by virtue ever taught,

But shrieks abhorrent, and would gladly close

His eyes for ever from a scene so fraught

With want, and vice, and wretchedness; from whom

Never to terminate till death brings sweet repose

Youth, beauty, promise-blasted ere they grow

To their full ripeness; cast away, defiled,

Pluck'd and polluted by a sordid crew.

Which every sense of honour have reviled,

Insulted, mock'd, with wrong on ruin piled;

And, worse than all, the mother, from whose womb

The poor condoning victim—hapless child!

Derived existence, ratifies the doom;

Fill'd with relentless rage, pursues her to the

loom!

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THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 7, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1834.

[Price 1d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, MAY 18.

Mr. Smith lectured on "ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT."

There are only three different species of government, and these are monarchy, oligarchy or aristocracy, and democracy; and men have divided themselves into parties on each of these different systems, as they have upon almost every other subject. But upon these they have fallen into the very same error which has bewildered them elsewhere. They have always attempted to prove that one is better than the other, and that one ought to be adopted to the exclusion of the other two. They had no idea that a combination of all was capable of presenting the most perfect system of organization of which human society is susceptible. But we may lay it down as an incontrovertible fact, that no exclusive system is good, and that it is only by a combination of the peculiar advantages of all systems that a perfect system can finally be established.

This truth has been theoretically admitted by many, and is to this day, amongst the aristocracy and their parasites, the boasted principle upon which the constitution of the British empire is founded. That our British government is nominally an equal compound of king, lords, and the people is quite true; but that the nominal character of the British Government is the true character, is a matter not very disputable; for it is evident to every one who knows the distinction between hard and soft, bitter and sweet, that it is not. The power has almost entirely resided with the king and his ministers, and the wealthy caste from whom these ministers were selected, and whose interests they always represented. It was impossible that it could be otherwise until a few years ago. The people are naturally scattered over an immense track of land, and the intercourse between them is, even at the present day, so difficult that it is hardly possible to make them all acquainted with the measures of government. It is only sixty years since the parliamentary reports first began to be published in the newspapers. Many of our old men remember it well, as well as the little interest which the public took in the ministerial proceedings. In those

days it was impossible to institute a popular form of government; and had it been practicable it would have been very impolitic, for the people were very ignorant of every subject connected with the administration of affairs. It is true that the government were also ignorant, as their conduct sufficiently demonstrates. But this general ignorance of government and people was one very good reason why the public affairs should fall into the hands of a few, for an ignorant republic is one of the most confused and Babylonish scenes of anarchy and intemperate feeling which the imagination can conceive. This men have learned from experience in all ages, and therefore republics have invariably merged at last into oligarchies and absolute monarchies.

In order to form a proper government, there must be a unity of interest in the government. This it was impossible for our fathers to effect in a popular government. The people were divided in interest; one trade was at variance with another trade, and so jealous of its own rights and privileges, and so selfishly disposed to prosecute them exclusively, that a government of the people would have been nothing else than a general engagement between tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, &c., each claiming his own exclusive rights, and regardless of the rights and indifferent to the wrongs of others. Look at the spirit which actuates all men at the present day, even at the men who are most loud in demanding a better remuneration for their labour. Are they not themselves as guilty of screwing down the other trades, as other trades are of screwing them? When the tailor applies to the shoemaker, does he not haggle and beat him down to the lowest fraction? and does not the other treat him so in return? This is still the case, and it was formerly much more so; there was no common feeling amongst working men; they were actuated by an exclusive selfishness; they looked at individual, and not at general interests, and for this reason they could never act in concert. This has been so evident in all ages, that the idea of a republic was ridiculed by the people themselves as the visionary project of blind enthusiasm. Even in the ancient cities of Greece and Rome it was impracticable, and there the government was confined to the city alone; how much less practicable must it

be when the sphere of its operation is several hundreds of miles in every direction, containing innumerable towns, villages, and hamlets, all separated by impassable roads, and having no free communication with each other! It never was attempted; the attempt would have been as foolish as the attempt of the Babylonians to scale the heavens by means of a tower.

It is evident, then, since all classes could not, by any possibility, be united so as to form a government, that the government should consist of a smaller number of one class only, who had a uniting principle, and could act in concert. This class could only be the great nobles or landed proprietors, for they alone could hold intercourse with each other. They were all of one profession; they had all one common interest. This bound them together, gave them consistency and power, and, however foolish and tyrannical their proceedings, still their unity and their consistency always enabled them to defy the fickle and inconsistent commotion of the public mind; and it may be safely affirmed that the government of the country was much better in the hands of the few than in those days it could have been in the hands of the many. Our forefathers were a rude and illiberal race of men, who, if they had been allowed by the supreme authority to have given vent to their feelings, would have desolated the earth with bloodshed and violence. Look, for instance, at the popular hatred which existed against the Jews in this country, which was carried to such an extravagant height, that, had they not been restrained by the moderation of the laws, they would have murdered every Jew in the country. They did murder the greater portion, and banished the rest; and when the tyrant Cromwell granted them liberty to return and settle in England, he was loaded with reproach by the populace. The fact is, that, bad as our rulers in all ages have been, both in respect to ignorance, illiberality, and oppression, the bulk of the people have been much worse, and really required a species of monsters to govern them.

There is and can be no such thing as a republic, in the ordinary sense of the word. Power must reside in one or more parties, and these parties form the government. There is and can be no such thing as a monarchy.

A king cannot reign alone; he must have counselors to assist him; he must have ministers of state, and they must have associates and servants, and all these together form what we call an aristocracy; yet there cannot be any such thing as a pure aristocratical government. These must have a leader, to whom they entrust their power, and by whose judgment or arbitration all their measures are directed; and the people have always an indirect influence on both. Thus we see that neither monarchy, aristocracy, nor democracy, is practicable. The only practicable species of government is a mixture of all the three. Moreover, there never was a government in existence which was not a mixture of the three. We want no new thing, therefore, to renovate society; we want only a more equitable proportion of the different ingredients. Hitherto there has been too much of the monarchical and aristocratical ingredient; the people, though they always have had an indirect influence upon the governing power, have never yet enjoyed an equal proportion. The progress of society, however, is gradually raising them to this equality; the cry becomes louder and louder daily, and it must finally become irresistible.

This cry is raised by calling aloud for universal suffrage. Universal suffrage is democracy; but this universal suffrage is demanded for the purpose of forming an aristocracy—that is, of delegating a certain number of individuals with the power of government. It is evident that nothing can be more just than the demand for universal suffrage; but it is also evident that universal suffrage could never be of great practical utility, unless bestowed upon a well-informed and intelligent public. Ignorance is always sure to go astray; and if it be our lot to be led by ignorance, it is better to be led in some sort of order by an ignorant few, than be driven in tumult and confusion by an ignorant multitude. But an ignorant multitude could not even drive; for ignorance is sure to divide, and form itself into parties. Jealousies are for ever arising in the people: one leader being successful, excites the envy of another; that other whispers tales of slander into the public ear; these tales are eagerly listened to, and credited immediately. The public divides; the strife goes on, until the victim is sacrificed, and the suspicions are lulled; then the same scene again commences; another favourite is brought on the stage, and he becomes a victim in his turn.

To bestow what is called universal suffrage upon the people, before they have come to something like unanimity upon fundamental principles, could not be productive of much good. If we may judge from the number of petitions sent to the Houses of Parliament in behalf of the Sabbath Bill, we have good reason to believe that, were it submitted to the universal suffrage of the people, the Bill, or something very much resembling it, would pass the legislature. But our government, with all its faults, is much more liberal than our religious public; it is a kind of medium between bigotry and liberality; and as religious bigotry is still in the majority, we have reason to congratulate ourselves that, in so far as this bill is concerned, we are not under the control of the people. There are many points of legislation on which the mass of the people would legislate correctly, because they would legislate on behalf of the poor; but there are also subjects in which the immediate influence on the poor man's condition is not perceptible,

where the ignorance of the people would produce the confusion and lamentable mistakes. Nor would universal suffrage at present produce any salutary or successful change of the fundamental principles of government.

We all want to see a system of universal suffrage established. No other system is consistent with the idea of liberty. Men are equal by nature; they are all entitled to support and education, and a proportionate share of authority, without which there can be no liberty; but there are two ways by which this universal suffrage may come, and these two make the principal difference between the old Radicals and the Trades' Unionists. In the first place, universal suffrage may come, as the Radicals would have it come, by extending the franchise to the whole male population (for no one ever proposes to give the women a vote). This would be almost exclusively a political change, which would give rise to numerous discussions in parliament, and elsewhere, on the best means of delivering the poor, and preventing a revival of poverty; but it would give all the activity to the representatives of the people, the people merely acting the part of listeners to the debate which was going on within the walls of St. Stephen's. This, however, no doubt, would do good; it would communicate instruction, it would suggest new and important truths to a great majority of the population, and pave the way for more active measures on the part of the people themselves.

But is very evident that the Trades' Union, or Co-operative system, could as yet find no place in such discussions. The public are not co-operators; they see no further than the present system; therefore, they would merely stimulate their representatives to humble the church, humble the pensioners, and reduce the burden of taxation. We should merely have a political struggle, if universal suffrage were gained in this way. But I am disposed to think that a commercial struggle is the first step in the process of reformation, and, if so, the universal suffrage must come very differently: it must come in a way which will make the people not politicians, but tradesmen, producers, and distributors of wealth. Government or politics is out of their sphere; it is an unproductive employment; it can neither feed them nor clothe them. The principal use of government is to preserve tranquillity; but there is a higher and more important duty than that of government to fulfil, and that is production. This is of primary importance, and it is a department in which the people ought to have some skill; it is a department also to which they can attend without any sacrifice of time or of interest; a department to which they can devote themselves without proving detrimental to the interests of the rest of the community: it is the people's department. In this department of duty they also require universal suffrage; but it is a suffrage which does not at first extend to the government, but merely confines itself within their own sphere of duty; a suffrage which gives every man a share in the government of his own particular trade, and in the government of the trades in general, but does not divert and confound his mind with the extraneous matters of civil politics, until he has become thoroughly versed in the elementary principles of discipline and good order. There is only one way of learning, and that is, by beginning at the elements, taking the simplest tasks first, and then proceeding to the most difficult; not beginning with the most difficult, and then

condescending to the simplest; and what can be a more simple lesson in government to a tradesman than the government of his own trade? Let him first learn to manage its affairs well before he attempts to rule the destiny of the whole country. If the people cannot rule the trades, they cannot rule the country at large, in which there are a thousand interested which they have no idea, and of which they have never heard the names mentioned, nor the name described. Government is too wide a field for the infant legislation of the people; they will benefit themselves by commencing like young sailors, with a little model first, and advancing step by step until they mount the shrouds of a man-of-war.

The people have very happily been led into these ideas. The present era is not a political era; the public mind is taking a new direction, and the producers of wealth are about to raise a rival government, which shall by and by dispute the mastery with the other, and finally supplant it. They have begun at last at the right end; their progress now is upward and onward. If they fail, they will gain experience without doing mischief, and every failure will only increase their energies: they will move on like the traveller against the wind, who, instead of yielding to the blast, only redoubles his efforts as the gust accumulates.

The most perfect idea of a government is threefold, embracing the distinguishing features of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy: a single individual, as king or president, gives unity of action to the whole, when unity of action is required; the sovereignty of the people gives division of the sovereign power amongst all the various departments of life, and this also is requisite for the prudent management of the affairs of a community. One man can obtain but a limited share of knowledge; his sphere of vision and of action is extremely confined; he has only the experience of an individual; and as an individual is therefore incapable of superintending the minute details of the affairs of a nation, democracy supplies this defect by dividing the king into as many individuals as there are active members in the society; and thus the king becomes intimately acquainted with the meanest and most trivial circumstances, and the united experience of all parties gives decision and wisdom to their plans of action. But still there is a defect; one leader is not enough for the people; a king may unite them by his delegated authority, but his authority is useless without subordinate officers to communicate between him and the people. One general could never lead an army; his voice could never be heard over the whole host; he gives his commands to his officers, and they communicate the instructions to the men. This is the only practicable form of government, and this brings in the aristocratic principle—the medium between the division of the people on the one hand, and the unity of the monarch on the other. There never was another species of government, and there never can be another; it may be modified a thousand ways, some better and some worse, but the original features must for ever remain the same. At one time we have too much of the monarchy, at another too much of the aristocracy, or another too much of the democracy: in general, the aristocratic principle has prevailed; and that is the principle which ever must prevail. The best, the wisest, and the most experienced, shall be the aristocracy of the new world, and these, in their deliberate wisdom, shall rule

the destinies of men. They shall not be an aristocracy of birth, like the rulers of this generation; neither shall they be an aristocracy of wealth and of arbitrary power; they shall be an aristocracy of worth, and they shall mingle with the people as equals and brothers—neither treating the poor with harshness, nor scorning to associate with the meanest of the people.

Why, then, should men divide about the different forms of government? All the three forms have something good and indispensable in them, without which no government could be conducted. The only way of reaping the advantages of this good quality in each is, therefore, to unite them all. Hitherto men have been so illiberal and exclusive in their notions as to separate the elements of nature, and clothe one of these elements with all perfection. They have divided truth into a thousand fragments, and idolized each fragment as a standard; one had a leg of the goddess, and he protested that he had the whole; one had a finger, a nail, or even the paring of a nail, and he was equally confident of having the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Having failed to convince each other, they are almost tired of controversy, and a new principle is starting into being which will lead to a collection of all the fragments, and the reappearance of the long-lost image of eternal Truth, who may be broken, and scattered, and dissipated to infinity, but never can be annihilated; her scattered limbs can be gathered and united again, and are sure to be so united when men have imbibed the principle of unity, and sworn to act in concert as brothers, instead of weakening their strength, and thwarting their own happiness by a division of interest.

It is by the union and the organization that the amount of intelligence is discovered. We never attribute intelligence to division and confusion. When an army is disorganized; when the ranks do not obey the orders of the general, or do not understand the orders which he gives; when the inferior officers rebel against the superior, and no single voice has power sufficient to move the whole, the army is useless; it has lost its intelligence, and a very small number of opponents is sufficient to cut it up in detail. It is better to obey a stupid and inexperienced leader, in such circumstances, than have no leader at all.

Though we recommend unity, and reprobate every thing like division and party feeling, it is impossible for us to say how division is to be prevented, except by long experience of its evil effects. Divisions are necessary at first to bring men to a common understanding, to teach parties their own defects, and enable them to understand one another; and the consequence of these divisions is a final adjustment of differences. When men begin in ignorance to transact business, it is impossible that they can do it in a satisfactory way: there must be complaints, and these complaints cause divisions; if there were no complaints, there would be no improvement—no sufficient stimulus to exertion: complaints are like spurs in the side of the charger; they increase his mettle, put vigour into his limbs, and give dignity to his movements.

There is, however, a difference between complaint and opposition. A party may complain against the powers that be, without aiming at their overthrow; the complaint may be made for the purpose to stimulate and do good. Friends may complain of friends without quarrelling with them; they often reproach each other

without any loss of affection; there is rather a gain; there is a better understanding created by a more intimate knowledge of each other's peculiarities. The quarrels of lovers are the food of love; if, therefore, we cannot attain to perfection, so as to conduct all affairs to the complete satisfaction of all parties; if we cannot silence all murmurs, and all occasions for murmurs, let us at least complain in a friendly style, and aim at the general good in all our censures: if we do so, we shall be sure to keep together, and thus baffle the expectations of our enemies, who seem to be sanguine of our ultimate failure, by the jealousies of the parties composing our associations. Let us show them that these jealousies are the jealousies of lovers, the effect of mutual kindness and of ardent zeal for the final and speedy success of our plans of amelioration.

SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 18.

Mr. Owen lectured.—He said he would begin this evening's lecture with the subject of EDUCATION, because, after the fullest investigation into the principles of society, we should discover the most important of all practical proceedings to be a right education for the young and for the adults. The work on this subject which he had lately spoken of, he would now quote a little further: "Milne on National Education."

"The object of all education is the pursuit of truth, taking it for granted that the discovery of truth contributes to happiness, which is the ultimate object of all our actions."

"Education has been greatly improved of late in many respects; this country is perhaps more indebted to Lancaster, Bell, and Wood, than to any other three contemporary individuals in it: they have rendered learning easy and delightful, and have given it a locomotion which will probably increase with accelerated speed, till true knowledge cover the earth."

"The greatest improvement in education, I apprehend, is however still to be effected: improvements hitherto have been chiefly calculated to render learning less difficult of acquirement, to smooth the road and increase the celerity of communicating the branches commonly taught, without enquiring what are the branches that are most essential to man's happiness."

"It requires very little penetration to perceive that a man may be profoundly learned in mathematics, chemistry, and physics, and at the same time be very ignorant of the principles upon which his own happiness and that of the community depend."

"It is this kind of learning that has hitherto been a desideratum in the systems of all education, I mean that branch of education which shall clearly show to man how his own happiness is most effectually to be attained."

"Happiness is certainly the ultimate object of all education, but there is one branch which points out more particularly how that object is to be attained, and that is a system of morality; not a system of what is termed moral philosophy taught in colleges; it must be a system calculated to convince the young as well as the old, that in abiding by the laws of morality they have by far the best chance, not only of insuring the greatest degree of happiness to themselves, but also the best chance of acquiring wealth, respectability, and honour in society, and of arriving at the highest degree of human felicity; it must likewise point out

in strong, but not exaggerated colours, the impracticability of acquiring happiness by a contrary course, the innumerable chances that every attempt to acquire wealth by unlawful means has to frustrate all chance of effecting the very object wanted. The effect of the loss of character should be strongly insisted on: a single detection of dishonesty blasting for ever all future prospects: nay, the very suspicion of dishonesty may often have that effect."

"It must also be a national system of education; it must be extended to every individual in the empire. The method of carrying it into execution I shall not at present consider, but I conceive it quite practicable, without trenching on the liberties of any individual, sect, or religion; from the progress education has been making in other countries, it cannot remain in the present state much longer in Britain."

"From infant education much benefit may be derived to mankind, but it must be considerably modified from that presently taught, or it will remain only a hot-bed for prejudices."

"Infant education is chiefly of use in giving a direction and tone to the feelings or passions; to love, gratitude, pity, and benevolence, and to familiarise children to be social, obliging, good natured, kind, and honest. Where they may also be made acquainted with the productions of nature and art, to read, write, and cast accounts; but they ought not be instructed in any thing they cannot comprehend, which is disputable or uncertain, till their minds have arrived at that stage when reason is more matured. They ought to be cautioned that whatever they are taught at that early age ought to be recalled to the bar of reason when they are older, and that they ought to keep their minds open to conviction in case they receive any new information."

This work, said Mr. Owen, is far from perfect, yet it contains more truth than is usually met with. The author says truly, that 'the greatest improvement in education is still to be effected.' The improvements of Lancaster, Bell, and Wood, have been merely in the mode of teaching, not in the matter to be taught. Herein lies a vast difference, and nothing is more common than to apply the best manner of instruction to the worst matter. The theory of this author will in some parts be found defective; he appears entirely ignorant of the science of human nature. Wealth is the summum bonum of writers of the present day; whereas, if they knew practically the resources of this country, they would know that, if these resources were scientifically employed, wealth in the most overflowing abundance would be created for all with the same regularity as the seasons, with the munificence of the mountain-streams, and with a free openness to all the human family."

It is true that education to be effective must be national, because an individual has the power to give it his children but in a very partial degree: the government and religion of a state are the main sources of education, and it is by far the highest interest of the state that all its children should receive equally the best instruction in the best manner."

With regard to infant education, the author seems unacquainted with the fact that at New Lanark, under my own inspection, for thirty years, the plan had first been introduced and most successfully continued; and this experience has taught me that the character of a human being is decided before six years of

age, and that if rational instruction be given to childhood up to this age, it is scarcely possible to destroy its beneficial effects.

Mr. Owen then proceeded to another subject, which, he said, engrossed at present the attention of all classes, namely, the Trades' Unions, and more especially the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland. Shortly there will be but two divisions in this nation, the members of the Consolidated Union, and those who are not members; but he had no doubt that every man and woman who united honesty with intelligence would immediately join this Union. He most earnestly exhorted all individuals so to do.

The following document was then read and commented on; also the Memorial of the Consolidated Union, of which Mr. Owen highly approved; and, lastly, the advertisement relative to the new mode of marriage adopted at Birmingham, which shows that the people have already carried out their decision of doing away with the power and profit of the clergy in this respect.

PRELIMINARY OBJECTS OF THE GRAND NATIONAL CONSOLIDATED TRADES' UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Some of the earliest objects of the Consolidated Union are, or ought to be, to prepare the public mind.

1. To unite all the industrious and intelligent in this Union, that they may aid each other to obtain the rights of industry and of humanity.

2. To unite the industrious and intelligent with the non-producers of wealth or knowledge, in friendship, in order to induce all to desire to become active promoters of the general happiness of mankind; and,

3. To devise and adopt efficient arrangements to enable the producers of wealth and knowledge to insure a regular and full supply of both for the aggregate of society. To effect the first object, all secrecy should be at once abandoned in all their proceedings, except that which is necessary for order and regularity; and the initiation or introduction of members into the Consolidated Union should be founded on legal and correct principles, and made to be as agreeable to the general feelings of society as is compatible with the permanent establishment of the Union, and as attractive and dignified to plain, sound-thinking men, and men of cultivated and superior minds, as it is capable of being made, consistently with the general success and advancement of the ultimate important objects of the Union.

With this view, whatever might have been necessary in the initiatory ceremony at the commencement of the separate Trades' Unions, it does not appear to be compatible with the principles of the Consolidated Union that any mystery should be introduced into the initiation of its members, as its principles have no other object in view than the substantial improvement of mankind, through the establishment of the "rights of industry and of humanity;" no secrecy, therefore, is necessary, or can be otherwise than injurious. None should enter upon this new and glorious career except with a clear understanding of what they are going to do, and with their mental and bodily eyes fully open to all the consequences of their proceedings.

As union and the increase of it to the earliest possible extent among the producers

of wealth and knowledge is the first and most essential object to be secured, every minor consideration should be made to give place to it; therefore, whatever remains in the initiating ceremony that is a means of cementing or extending the Union, let it be retained by all means; but whatever is futile, useless, or calculated to create division of opinion, and is objected to by a large majority who have become members, and have experienced their effects upon themselves, let such parts be altogether abandoned, or be left for each lodge to use or not as the majority of its members may incline. The second great object of the Consolidated Union should be to unite in friendship the producers of wealth and knowledge and the non-producers.

It is true that the non-producers, who were formerly the instructors of the world in learning, have become, through the progress of science and the general increase of real knowledge derived from facts, not only a useless portion of society, but truly one that is now highly injurious to the best interests of the human race; for it is this division of mankind that now keeps the world in mystery and ignorance, and inflicts in all countries the most grievous injustice and oppression in ten thousand forms, and more especially upon those who provide them with all that they use and enjoy, and with the very implements and means, of every description, by which these lamentable evils are inflicted.

This portion of society forms the real obstacle to every important permanent improvement proposed to be adopted in this and every other country. The human race cannot be well employed, cannot be well trained, cannot be united for their permanent good, cannot be made rational or intelligent, as long as the directing powers throughout society are non-producers of wealth or knowledge; and the governing powers now, whatever they might have done formerly, do not assist to create any wealth, to promote the extension of knowledge, or to govern wisely; but they are, under the present system, the most formidable obstacles in the way of the creation of the one, and of the promotion of the others.

Under the arrangements which now exist, and necessarily exist under the present system, neither wealth nor knowledge can be created but to a very limited amount, and that amount, to a great extent, consisting of the least real value in both to society. Not one per cent. either of the wealth which the population is capable of producing, or of the knowledge which it is capable of receiving and understanding, can be obtained while the present mal-arrangements of society shall be maintained.

But before this lamentable state of error, in theory and practice, of all our proceedings can be changed, it is necessary that new views and feelings should be created between the producers of wealth and knowledge and the non-producers, that the obstacles which the latter place in the way of the greatest advance ever made by the human race may be removed.

To effect this necessary and now most desirable change between the two parties, to obtain, upon equitable terms, the union of the capital of the one and the industry of the other, the actual position of each must be made evident to both.

It is true that, by patience and perseverance, the producers of wealth and knowledge may, after some time, create all the capital necessary

for their purpose, and make themselves wholly independent of the non-producers; but these, again, may, for some time, greatly annoy the producers by applying against them the old power of society, of which they may for some time retain the control. It will be, however, far better for both parties that they should now cordially unite for their mutual benefit, and at once put an end to the senseless competition and contest existing between them, and to which there can be no other termination except by the destruction of the non-producers. If both parties can be now induced to listen to reason, and to discuss their supposed difference of interest calmly and with a sincere desire to discover what would be the best for both under the new circumstances which have arisen, they would soon perceive that it would be greatly for the permanent advantage of both that the irritation which now prevails to so great an extent between them should be moderated, and eventually made to cease altogether; that the angry and degrading epithets which the parties now apply so ignorantly to each other should be abandoned, and each be induced to treat the other as men who must ultimately coalesce, before they can safely and surely enjoy the full extent of the happiness which belongs to improved humanity.

By this coalition, the third great object of the Consolidated Union, that is, "to devise and adopt efficient arrangements to enable the producers of wealth and knowledge to insure a regular and full supply of both for the aggregate of society," may be easily effected. For between the two parties it will be discovered that there is far more capital than is necessary, and also far more skill and industry to make a right use of that capital, than can be required to insure the production of whatever human wisdom may wish to possess and enjoy. At present there is only a part, and a very small part, of manual industry properly applied to produce the most valuable wealth, and that small part very ill directed; while there is but a mere fraction of the scientific power that might be in action for that purpose, and that, too, most unwisely directed.

In fact, the difference between the random proceedings which are now universally in practice, and those wise systematic measures which would bring the whole of our national powers into beneficial action under a union of design for the general good and advantage of society, is far, very far, beyond what untaught, or mistaught, and inexperienced minds can comprehend, until they can witness it by ocular inspection.

And it is greatly to be regretted that any parties can be found, in this advanced age of science, who have been allowed to remain so far ignorant of their own interest and happiness, and the interest and happiness of their fellow-creatures, as to give any support whatever to a system for the government of society founded on the palpable misunderstanding and perversion of the most common and underrating facts, and therefore false in principle and daily leading to the most injurious and lamentable consequences in practice.

The parties who support this old system presuppose that it is impracticable to form arrangements to enable the population of this and other countries to produce a sufficient quantity of wealth, and give a sufficient amount of knowledge, to insure a regular and full supply of both for the aggregate wants of all; and more, that these arrangements cannot be

made to keep up even the present deficient supply of both for the many, except by individual competition.

These false notions arise from not understanding the following plain and simple facts:

1. That man is capable of being trained to become a far more powerful machine for producing wealth than he has ever yet been formed to be; and that these powers in the individual may be made to increase as the general population of the world shall increase.

2. That man is capable of being trained to become a far more intelligent and intellectual being than he has ever yet been formed to be; and that this knowledge may be increased in the individual as the population of the world shall increase.

3. That man can be made a far more powerful machine for producing wealth, and a far more intelligent being for receiving and diffusing knowledge, by practical arrangements which shall exclude all individual competition, than while that evil principle of division shall be retained.

4. That all the notions respecting the existence of an over-population, and an over-population at present in any part of the world, are futile and childish, and are opposed to all facts and experience, and to common sense.

5. That any future increase of population can be far more effectually well provided for without, than with, individual competition; because more can be provided for by unity than by opposition and division.

6. That this change from the individual to the general interest in the government of society, can be the most speedily and beneficially effected by the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland; and that it should be now the especial business of this Union to devise and adopt efficient arrangements to enable the producers of wealth and knowledge to effect it in the shortest time, and thus to insure a full supply of both for the aggregate of society.

7. That the Consolidated Union can now adopt measures, in friendly conjunction with the government and non-producers of wealth or knowledge, to insure an abundant production of the best of all kinds of wealth, its just and beneficial distribution, and a rapid increase of real knowledge to all; and it can effect these changes for society without creating any convulsion, or deranging prematurely or injuriously the existing order of things; and,

8. That the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union should disseminate these views through all its lodges, and as widely as possible among the public in Great Britain and Ireland, and over Europe and America.

But many of the members of the Union, from want of experience in arranging extensive and complicated measures, which require unity of design and action, err greatly, and most unfortunately for themselves and others, in supposing that large numbers of men with equal powers, and many of them untrained and unused to devise such arrangements, and direct their multiplied operations to achieve some important result, can ever succeed in governing many men and extensive measures well and wisely, and more especially when they are opposed by a formidable, well-organised, and trained power, acting in concert under one or a few superior and experienced leaders.

The evil is, perhaps, equally, or even more, mischievous under the individual system when one or a few irresponsible men obtain, by any

means, the power of governing the many; for, trained as men have been, they almost always suppose that the people, the great mass of the population, were made for them to govern and use for the sole benefit of the governors, instead of the governing one or few being appointed to govern for the permanent benefit of the many.

Now it is practicable, in the constitution of the Consolidated Union, to avoid these two errors, and to insure as good a government of its interests, for the general benefit of all its members and for the public generally, as the present state of knowledge among them will admit; and it may be made to be both efficient and responsible, as well as removable when the general interest should require a change. But this part of the subject must be deferred to another evening, when it shall be explained.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Tipper's letter in our next.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 24.

WE have much pleasure in publishing the two official documents of the Executive, contained in our present number. We have so long been labouring to instil such principles into the minds of the working classes, that it amply rewards us for all the anxiety which we have for some weeks past been experiencing upon the subject, to find such a judicious and conciliatory mode of procedure recommended by the leaders of the Union. Sharp-shooting and skirmishing we detest. If we must fight, let us fight all together,—let us give a decided and a conclusive stroke when we do strike, and not content ourselves with merely pricking the enemy, or annoying him by flea-bites. Flea-bites may tease and destroy the rest of a warrior, but they won't kill him; they will only rouse his energy, and give fury to his courage. The Executive have recommended a milder, and consequently a more prudent species of engagement; they recommend peaceful measures for a season,—contentment with present wages until the Union be complete, and the demand for justice can be made with authority, and not as now by a doubtful, and at the same time wasting, conflict upon unequal grounds. We hope that this counsel will be unanimously followed by the working classes; that they will resolve to oppose despotism, not by despotism itself, but by peace, its natural enemy; that they will first secure their own brotherhood, and then present to the astonished world the holy phalanx of "co-operative industry," blunting the arrows of the foe by number, cordiality, and good humour.

The Dissenters are making strenuous efforts to effect a separation between church and state, and have stirred up this year a flame of discontentment which is not likely to be smothered until their utmost wishes are gratified.

They are rapidly gaining ground, and gathering around their standard some of the most distinguished men in the country, both in respect to rank and talent. Mother Church must be brought to the bar of justice. She has hitherto claimed, and succeeded in obtaining, "benefit of clergy;" that is, the privilege of being tried by the established clergy alone: and, on that account, she has withstood all opposition. But the host of opposition clergy is now overwhelming, and the population is divided pretty equally upon the merits of the case. If property is in favour of the church, number is against her. Her enemies have the start; the Dissenters are becoming lords of the ascendant. The doom of the old lady is fixed, and, in her stead, the many-headed hydra of sectarianism must come, which will effectually unchristianize the government, and realize the saying of Christ himself—"I came not to send peace, but division." Of division we have already had abundance, as some think. But we are of opinion that all evils cure themselves, and that, if we had a little more, men would stand a chance of coming to some terms of reconciliation. Some of the zealous non-conformists have already so far rebelled as to take the marriage ceremony out of the hands of the parsons, and make a kind of Greta-green marriage by acknowledgement. This was done by four parties at Lawrence-street chapel, Birmingham, on the 4th ult. Carlile is finding followers even amongst the religious Dissenters. All will be friends at last. The Dissenters have really great grievances to complain of. Mr. Wilks, in his speech at the great meeting at the London Tavern, enumerated several of them; viz. the marriage laws, the burial laws, especially respecting Baptists under a certain age not being permitted to bury in the parochial burying ground, churches not paying brick duty, whilst chapels and conventicles do, and Dissenting clergymen compelled to pay saddle-horse duty, whilst the High Churchmen enjoy an immunity. He related the following curious story:—

"A lady of talent and education, resident at Wool, in Dorsetshire, was most anxious for the education of the poor. The clergyman of the parish held three other livings; he was not resident at either, but his practice was to preach at each in succession. The lady alluded to being alarmed lest the poor children of the parish should, under this system, be neglected, succeeded in getting up subscriptions for them, towards which her own contributions were considerable. The former rector had approved of the plan; but the new rector, on his appointment, refused his sanction because the lady was a Dissenter, and he threatened that if she went on with it, none of the children who attended her school should be allowed to worship God in the chancel of the church. The lady, with tears in her eyes, gave way, and for a time did not open her school; but she sent a letter to the 'Home Missionary Society,' relating the circumstance. The society sent a missionary, for whom the lady provided a house, and they were about to take the poor children under their care, when the incumbent again interfered, and said that no missionary should come meddling there. He moreover took other steps, in consequence of which the missionary was compelled to return to London. The lady then sent a letter to the Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty; that society interfered, the clergyman gave way, and the missionary was again sent for."

It is vexatious to think that, in a scientific age like the present, such intolerance should prevail amongst the teachers of the people. What would such a priest, as this have been under the pious and bloodthirsty guidance of Bonner and Gardiner! He would not have been content with mere interference. Her ladyship would have been reminded of the sanctifying influence of fagots, fire, and pitch, and drilled into submission to the orthodox method of keeping school, by a much more summary discipline than modern Dominicans can employ.

Official Document.

17th May, 1834.

THE best probable mode for the operatives in towns to adopt, to improve their immediate condition, until the full and perfect plans of united labour can be carried into execution, is—

First. To continue to subscribe a fixed sum weekly, to form a fund, to become the foundation of a general bank for the working classes, which fund should be sacred, and not applied to any other purpose whatever.

Second. To engage the most honest and experienced butcher, baker, cheesemonger, grocer, &c., to become their agents or tradesmen upon the following conditions:—

1. That they purchase the best articles in their respective branches of business, in the best markets for money only.

2. That they add a fair per centage to the price to remunerate them for their experience and trouble, and charge the same price to all.

3. That they sell for ready money or cash only, that there may be no risk, or necessity to make an additional charge for risk, of bad debts.

4. That all the Union, without exception, who can buy with cash, make their purchases at the shops and stores of these, their tradesmen only, that by this ready, fixed, ready-money custom, the tradesman may be enabled to buy largely, and sell upon the best terms to his Union customers.

5. That there should be the fullest confidence, most open communication, and best understanding, by fair and honest dealing on both sides, between the tradesmen and customers; and the former might thus make a good, comfortable living, as all honest, industrious men are justly entitled to do.

6. All the operatives should keep in constant employment, upon the best terms they can obtain, until such terms can be made by the Consolidated Union with the non-producers of wealth and knowledge as shall liberate all the producing classes from the slavery and degradation in which they have hitherto been and now are.

7. That no more violent language or angry proceedings take place on the part of the operatives to their employers.

8. That every thing be done to instil principles of general and genuine charity and real kindness among all the operatives of every trade and calling, that they may, in due time, be prepared to unite in one great and grand interest, formed by the Consolidated Union, for the permanent benefit of themselves and their children; when measures shall be adopted to prevent poverty, or the most distant fear of it, from all who shall become honest and industrious, and without being slaves or servants to any parties.

On behalf of the Executive;

E. C. DOUGLAS.

A MEMORIAL

From the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland, to the Producers and Non-producers of Wealth and Knowledge.

It is evident that the materials superabound in Europe and America for producing more permanent and annual wealth than the population of those countries can advantageously use or consume, although the population should increase in its natural course for many hundred years; and that the idea now acted upon by most of the old governments of the world, that there can be at the same period a surplus population and surplus production, is too much opposed to the common sense of mankind, as well as to the cultivated judgment of the most enlightened minds, and to the men of the most extensive practical experience in the science of production and distribution, to be retained as a principle on which to legislate.

It is also evident that there is a very large proportion of the population, both of Europe and America, living in a state of ignorance, division, and destitution, so degrading to human nature, that none, no, not one of the human race should be permitted, by those who govern, to be so debased and miserable, while they hold the means of making him either what he is, or an intelligent, good, rich, and happy being.

It is equally evident that the knowledge of making use of these invaluable materials for producing a surplus of wealth, improving the general condition and character, and of insuring the happiness of the human race, does not exist among the governments of Europe and America, or among the non-producers of wealth and knowledge, who form, control, and direct these governments. It is thus evident, because it would be greatly for the interest of every individual, without one exception, among the non-producers of wealth and knowledge, that these materials were called into action, and properly used; so that the superior knowledge, qualities, and qualifications previously mentioned should be given to the whole population, and that their physical condition in all respects should be improved in the same proportion as their means of enjoyment and their knowledge were increased.

It is evident, also, that the existing governments of Europe and America are conversant only with the old notions of governing, derived from former times, when the mass of mankind were barbarians and irrational, or incongruous and grossly inconsistent in all their thoughts and actions; and that these governments have no conception how to form an intelligent and superior population, or how to govern wisely for the happiness of mankind.

The Memorialists, however, know that sudden great changes of the governing powers are hazardous experiments; and ought, if other more rational and peaceable measures can be adopted to effect the fundamental changes now required in human affairs, to be avoided.

The Memorialists also know that the present state of Europe and America may be easily and advantageously adapted to introduce, superintend, and perfect the great changes now rendered unavoidable by the progress in the knowledge of facts; and that the individuals now at the head of these governments may, as well, or perhaps, in some respects, owing to their experience in directing old governing powers, better assist to direct this good and great end than new men, less accustomed to control national and complicated movements.

The Memorialists know that the change from these old errors and evils must now be made, but it is indifferent to them who the individuals may be by whom the great work shall be achieved; they are decided only upon giving all the faculties and energies, including all the physical and mental powers of body and mind, of the producers of

wealth and knowledge, to those governing parties who shall openly declare that they will now honestly and faithfully adopt, without delay, those measures in practice which your memorialists know can alone give health, intelligence, peace, wealth, peace, truth, and permanent happiness to the population of all countries.

Let no one, therefore, henceforward be deceived respecting the objects of the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland; for this association has not been formed to contend with the master-producers of wealth and knowledge for some paltry advance in the artificial money-price in exchange for their labour, health, liberty, natural enjoyment, and life; but to induce to every one the best cultivation of all their faculties, and the most advantageous exercise of all their powers, physical and mental, that they may be enabled wholly to apply the inexhaustible materials provided by nature, to give to every human being the full extent of the happiness which his individual nature so cultivated and exercised is capable of receiving and enjoying, without interfering with the well-being and happiness of his fellow-men.

The Memorialists are therefore ready now to enter on general negotiations with the governments of Europe and America, to devise and decide upon the mode, the least injurious to all parties, by which this change may be at once effected in the principle and practice of governing; that the barbarous language, ignorant violence, and irrational legislation, now general throughout Europe and America, may cease and be for ever forgotten; that all men and parties may be instructed and employed in a superior manner to produce real wealth and sound wisdom; that by degrees these countries and every portion of the earth may be so well cultivated, and the inhabitants so much improved, that it shall become the terrestrial paradise, which the industry, skill, and knowledge of man are now competent to form.

And as old society is breaking up in all its departments, and rapidly advancing to general disorder, the Memorialists are desirous that the misunderstanding between the producers and non-producers of wealth and knowledge should be adjusted, for the benefit of both parties, with the least possible delay.

On behalf of the Executive, in council assembled,
JOHN BROWN,
DAVID WATKINS,
JOHN DOUTHWAITE.

(From the Birmingham Journal.)

NOTICE.

At Lawrence-street Chapel, Birmingham, May the 4th, after the Morning Service was over, four Christian Dissenters desiring the congregation to stop, "took the marriage affair into their own hands," in the following manner:—

(Copy.)

Before this congregation I, Charles Bradley, jun., give you, Emma Harris, this ring to wear as a memorial of our marriage, and this written pledge, stamped with the impressions of the "United Rights of Man and Woman," declaring I will be your faithful husband from this time henceforward.

(Signed) CHARLES BRADLEY, JUN.

(Copy.)

Before this congregation I, Emma Harris, receive this ring to wear as a memorial of our marriage, and give you, Charles Bradley, jun., this written pledge, stamped with the impressions of the "United Rights of Man and Woman," declaring I will be your faithful wife from this time henceforward.

(Signed) EMMA HARRIS.

(Copy.)

Before this congregation I, Roger Holmworth, give you, Mary Louisa Bradley, this ring to wear as a memorial of our marriage, and this written pledge, stamped with the impressions of the

"United Rights of Man and Woman," declaring I will be your faithful husband from this time henceforward.

(Signed) ROGER HOLINSWORTH.
(Copy.)

Before this congregation I, Mary Louisa Bradley, receive this ring to wear as a memorial of our marriage, and give you, Roger Holinsworth, this written pledge, stamped with the impressions of the "United Rights of Man and Woman," declaring I will be your faithful wife from this time henceforward.

(Signed) MARY LOUISA BRADLEY,
(Witnesses) CHARLES BRADLEY, SEN.
HANNAH BRADLEY,
WM. HARRIS, SEN.
ELIZABETH HARRIS,
THOMAS TENNANT,
FRANCES BRADLEY TENNANT,
EDWIN BRADLEY,
CHARLES SQUIRE,
And forty-two others.

THOMPSON'S WILL.

ROLL'S COURT, DUBLIN, THURSDAY, JAN. 14,
CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.
Thomas Dorman, Sarah his Wife, and Lydia Thompson, v. John Jagoe and others.

Mr. Sergeant O'Loghlen, with whom was Mr. Woulfe, K. C., on the part of the defendant, Mr. Jagoe, showed cause why the conditional order made in the last Term for the appointment of a receiver in this cause, should not be made absolute. The plaintiffs filed their bill as judgment creditors of the late William Thompson, formerly a merchant in the city of Cork, and afterwards of Clonkeen, in the county of Cork. Mrs. Dorman and Miss Thompson were the surviving sisters and heirs of William Thompson; they did not by their bill claim the estate as heirs, but proceeded merely as judgment creditors, in right of judgments obtained so far back as 1897, against his son, by the late Alderman Thompson, whose personal representatives they are. The late William Thompson, on the 9th of March last, made his Will, duly attested, and thereby devised the estate to trustees, thirteen in number, of whom Mr. Jagoe is one; most of those trustees are resident in England, and eight of them have refused to act; there were, however, five acting trustees, and Mr. Jagoe had the sanction of his co-acting trustees for every thing he has done; he had a power of attorney from the other acting trustees, and eight new trustees had been appointed in the room of those who had declined to act.

Master of the Rolls.—Is not this the case in which some passages were read to me from a very extraordinary will? I recollect it is a very peculiar case. A question arises whether the trusts of this will can ever be executed, or whether, by reason of their immorality and illegality, the estate is not now vested in the Crown.

Sergeant O'Loghlen.—That question cannot be discussed now; it can only be raised upon the hearing.

Master of the Rolls.—I wish to hear it now.

Sergeant O'Loghlen.—There are many persons, my lord, who think that these trusts ought to be executed, and there are actually persons ready to advance money for the purpose.

Master of the Rolls.—The law will decide between these parties. I see that this cause will go on, and that this testator has furnished a fruitful field for litigation.

Sergeant O'Loghlen.—Whatever questions may arise hereafter, this is a simple motion for a receiver, and what I object to is, a summary order taking the property out of the hands of the trustees before they have had time to answer the bill. Surely, if all the trustees were willing to act, there would be no pretence whatever for the interference of this court. To get this order, the plaintiffs have imputed insolvency to Mr. Jagoe. I am not

driven upon this motion to argue the trusts of this will; this is too doubtful a case for the court to grant a receiver in the first instance. The plaintiffs claim as judgment creditors, but admit that they proved the debt under a commission of bankruptcy which issued against the testator; this displaces them as judgment creditors.

Master of the Rolls.—Was not interest paid in 1831?

Sergeant O'Loghlen.—I assert that the payment was made, not on account of interest on those judgments, but of a charge of £1500, created by the deed under which Thompson took the estate. The learned Sergeant then insisted that there was no case whatever made by the plaintiffs but alleged insolvency.

Master of the Rolls.—What does Mr. Jagoe say on that subject?

Sergeant O'Loghlen.—He swears he has two hundred pounds a year, and a first charge on a fee simple estate for over four thousand pounds; that he is worth several thousand pounds above his debts, and he distinctly denies embarrassment; besides, he has the authority of trustees, some of whom are admitted to be most opulent; and we have, in addition, the affidavit of Mr. Hitchins, one of the new trustees, who ratifies his act. We have clearly displaced the allegations on which the plaintiffs relied, namely, insolvency, and that Mr. Jagoe acted without authority.

Master of the Rolls.—Before you finish, Sergeant, read to me the trusts of the will. I wish to hear the part which prescribes laws for co-operative societies, and to consider their legality. These trusts must be tested by the standard of the law.

Sergeant O'Loghlen.—The estate is devised to thirteen trustees, with a power to raise money or to sell. The will then directs that the sum "raised on the estate, or procured by sale of it, over and above the legal charges thereon, must be lent by said trustees at interest of five per cent., or at the legal rate of interest if less, to trustees, or others, legally entitled to act for co-operative communities in England, Scotland, or Ireland, founded on the general principles laid down in a book which I have written, Practical Directions for the Speedy and Economical Establishment of Communities, on the principles of Mutual Co-operation, United Possessions, and Equality of Exertions and Enjoyments.—London, 1830. W. Strange and B. Wilson; but not more than one thousand pounds is to be lent to any one community."

The learned Sergeant then insisted that the trusts of the will had nothing to do with the present motion; that the will was duly attested; that its execution was not questioned; that the legal estate being in the trustees, they could not be displaced by this summary application.

Mr. Warren, K. C., and Mr. Ball, K. C., for the plaintiffs. The plaintiffs claim not only as creditors by their judgments, but also for the charge of fifteen hundred pounds, to which they are undeniably entitled as the personal representatives of Alderman Thompson. They go further, and allege that all their claims were fully admitted by William Thompson in a will made by him in 1825, and they revived their judgment in 1827. They also make case of a deficient fund, for they assert, and it is not denied, that the entire property will be insufficient to pay their demands if established. Who is the person coming into this court to dispute the claims of the heirs and creditors? A mere volunteer. He produces a power of attorney, alleged to be from the other acting trustees, but he has not disclosed the first name to it, and there were good reasons for concealing that name; it is that of Mr. John Scott Vandeleur. If we are to credit public rumour, he was a very proper person for Mr. Thompson to put forward as a trustee for co-operative societies; he is a person admitted to have had but little regard for the laws of property as they at present exist in this country. But they say eight new trustees have been

appointed. We are not, however, told when or how, or by whom. The will, not admitting for the present its validity, directs no act to be done until the entire number of trustees be full. The power produced by Mr. Jagoe, and signed by only five, completely falsifies his authority. We have not contented ourselves with vague charges of embarrassment; we have stated distinct facts. It is sworn by Mr. Bennett that Mr. Jagoe was lately arrested, and that he escaped from the bailiffs, and that Mr. Jagoe lies on board his boat to avoid arrest. Mr. Jagoe answers this by saying that he has been absent to England consulting the trustees of the will, and that he lived on board his boat, making enquiries into the fisheries on the south coast of England, which he says has only occupied him about five weeks.

The Master of the Rolls.—How does he answer the charge of the rescue?

Mr. Ball.—The charge against him is, that he escaped from the bailiffs by the aid of his boat's crew, and by presenting fire-arms. The answer of Mr. Jagoe is, that he did not use any fire-arms, that is, that he did not discharge any. The learned counsel was then proceeding to detail other facts, such as an execution, and a process at the suit of a proprietor of a newspaper in Cork.

Master of the Rolls.—It appears to me that you have two strong facts: the habitual residence of the defendant on board his boat to avoid arrest, and the fact of the rescue not denied.

The Learned Counsel then submitted that a clear case had been made to show that Mr. Jagoe ought not to be entrusted with this property. Now, as to the trusts of the will. The will directs that the trusts should be executed according to the book. The book distinctly avows an intention to abolish marriage.

Mr. Woulfe, for the defendant, objected to reading the book.

Mr. Ball.—We have a copy of the book presented by the author to his friends, with his own handwriting in it.

Master of the Rolls.—The will distinctly refers to the book; you have a clear right to read it.

The Learned Counsel then read, amongst others, the following passages:—

"The young members, particularly the women, could have no inducement to subject themselves to the irrevocable despotism of the marriage laws of society at large, plucking up for food, or for a short-lived and artificially magnified gratification their personal independence. Every community would probably form within itself certain regulations for the intercourse of men and women, entirely on principles of utility, being those of enlightened reason, having happiness solely in view, instead of principles of covetise or selfishness adopted by different sects without the remotest concern as to the misery or happiness to be produced by them, forbidding all enquiry, because incapable to afford reasons.

"As an intercourse amongst the sexes out of marriage within a community, the regulations for the intercourse might be so arranged, both with respect to the gratification of this most innocent and kindly-disposing of human passions, and to the imprudent increase of numbers, as to accomplish at the same time beneficially both these objects; and all intercourse tending to happiness or a preponderance of good over evil might then be termed marriage, to gratify those who have been accustomed to associate merely with the letters forming certain arbitrary and entirely unessential conventions.

"Under the auspices of the real and equal personal independence of both sexes of all adults, in a co-operative community, the burden of the increase would fall naturally, and as a matter of course, on those whose organization was best adapted to it; the healthiest, the finest formed, and those likely to suffer the least inconvenience.

"Those whose organization, delicacy, or disease, rendered unfit for contributing to the in-

crease, would, as well from the influence of public opinion, as from personal prudence, gladly throw the care of such increase on those to whom circumstances and organization would render it the least burdensome and the most certainly repaid."

The Learned Counsel then contended that these doctrines, seeking to annul marriage altogether, were contrary to the laws of God and man; and that the will of a testator, tending to promulgate and perpetuate such immorality, ought not to be sanctioned by a court of justice.

Sergeant O'Loghlen.—It is very unfair that we married men should be debating this topic; it ought really to be tried by a jury of matrons.

Master of the Rolls.—My impression is so strong with the plaintiffs that I will not trouble you, Mr. Ball; I wish to hear you, Mr. Woulfe.

Mr. Woulfe, K. C., then submitted that the bill did not impeach the will, nor did it question either the power of the testator, its execution, or its trusts. He then contended that upon this bill, so framed, no court could entertain either the legality or validity of the will. It was a mere creditors' suit, and it passed by altogether the questions now for the first time raised. If the sanity of the testator was doubted, it was a question to be tried at law. Mr. Jagoe, acting under the best advice, in order to put the question in a train for trial, had distrained; he had, however, taken only one beast from each tenant; there were seventeen replevins pending, any one of which will enable the validity of the will to be decided by a jury.

Master of the Rolls.—The Plaintiffs, who, I think, have made a *clerical* *forte* case of creditors, wish to avoid scrambling and fighting for the rents, and very properly come to this court to protect the property. I am disposed to consider this a case of waste, and I'll not allow the rents to be swept away.

Mr. Woulfe.—The court has no right to interfere in the present stage of the cause. No creditor, not even a mortgagee, can before answer take such a short cut as this. In order to justify interference, a special and clear case of insolvency ought to be made out. The bill in this case does not even allege insolvency; it is silent altogether upon the subject. Mr. Woulfe then cited a case in which this court refused to grant a receiver over the assets of a man of the name of Nowlan, because the alleged insolvency of his executor was not distinctly put in issue by the bill.

Master of the Rolls.—Mr. Ball, have you imputed insolvency in your bill?

Mr. Ball.—No, my lord, but there is a sufficient reason for that, as it is sworn that the fact did not come to our knowledge until long after the bill was filed.

Mr. Woulfe.—That won't do; why not now amend your bill? the court was imposed on in granting this conditional order—it was induced to do so by unfounded allegations as to Mr. Jagoe's solvency, and as to the trusts of the will. Mr. Woulfe then contended strongly that neither of those questions could be entertained by the court.

Master of the Rolls.—You have very forcibly, and to my mind successfully, shown that the will is out of the question, but the plaintiffs' claim is paramount to the will.

Mr. Woulfe.—We have altogether displaced the imputation of insolvency; every charge has been substantially answered. He trusted that his lordship would not allow his judicial mind to be influenced by passages which had been read from the will, such as that in which he calls the different sects of religion "various editions of superstition." The learned counsel said he was not there to defend either the moral or religious opinions of Mr. Thompson, but he submitted that on principle and authority the present application could not be sustained.

Master of the Rolls.—I intend to decide this motion on grounds distinct from the will or its trusts. The plaintiffs appear to me to have made out a satisfactory *prima facie* case as creditors.

They distinctly allege a deficient fund, and thereby render the interference of this court necessary, on the principle of preventing equitable waste. They have established a necessity for preserving the property, and preventing it from being perverted to purposes from which it could never reach the creditors. I fully agree with the defendant's counsel, that this court rarely or never interferes summarily on behalf of a creditor to deprive a man of his estate. It presumes the debtor to be in possession by the acquiescence of the creditor, and never displaces him before answer, when the whole facts of the case are before the court. But this is quite a different case. Here the debtor is dead; and a new succession has occurred; neither is this the ordinary case of a person claiming the usufruct of land; here the defendant and those acting with him are merely trustees, and it being a probable event that the property will ultimately belong to the plaintiffs, who are as well heirs as creditors, one would have imagined that the defendants would themselves have sought, instead of resisting, the protection of this court. The very will under which they claim raises a difficulty, for it appears to me that by the refusal of eight of the trustees to act, the powers of all are suspended; that there is in effect a ceasing of the estate until the eight new trustees should be duly and regularly inaugurated; until, in fact, the whole number of trustees be full. Although I agree with Mr. Woulfe, that the case made respecting Mr. Jagoe's solvency would not be sufficient as an independent ground, nevertheless it is, in my mind, a strong adjunct fact. There is a case in 13th Vesey, where the court summarily interfered, and appointed a receiver on the simple ground, that trustees differed as to the management of a minor property; and this case appears to me stronger even than that. The plaintiffs have a right as heirs to dispute this will, but they admit it would be a waste of money to do so, as the fund will be insufficient to pay what is due to them. Without entering, therefore, into the contending claims of the heirs or devisees, the court prefers the rights of specific creditors. Finding the succession open, and that no person will be either displaced or injured, the court interferes in the administration of the funds with a view of applying them to purposes paramount to the will altogether. I shall therefore make the conditional order for a receiver absolute; but as the testator has involved Mr. Jagoe in this suit, I shall direct the costs of this motion to abide the result of the cause.—Conditional order for a receiver absolute.

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street.

Mr. Smith, Sunday morning, at half past eleven.
Mr. Owen, Sunday evening, at seven o'clock.

A Discussion every Tuesday evening. Chair taken at eight o'clock.

The 54th Social Festival of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, June 2.

EASTERN INSTITUTION,

12, Portland-street, Commercial-road.

On Thursday Evening, May 29, a Lecture will be delivered by ROBERT OWEN, "On the Present Condition of Society." Doors open at Half-past Six o'clock, and the Lecture to commence at Half-past Seven o'clock.

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J. WALLER, Sec.

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The superintendents of the Moral Union, who have neglected to transmit a list of the names of those who have subscribed to the land fund, specifying the amount paid by each in their respective classes and deposited with Mr. Austin, as Treasurer, are hereby again required to forward the same to F. Bate, secretary to the Social Land Community, Community Coffee-house, John-street, on or before the 1st of June, 1834, on which day a general meeting of those concerned will take place at ten o'clock, p.m. If this notice be not attended to, future claims on that fund will not be recognized.
May 25, 1834.

TO PARENTS and Others. Mrs. FREEMAN, No. 17, Cirencester-place, Fitzroy-square, respectfully informs the Advocates of Rational Education, that she intends opening a School for the instruction of Female Children in all useful Branches of Knowledge, without any mixture of Superstition and Fear, or any of the Prejudices usually impressed on the Infant Mind.—On moderate terms. To commence on Monday, June 2.

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"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 8, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1834.

[Price 1d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, MAY 25.

Mr. Smith lectured on "HABIT AND CHARACTER." Jeremiah xiii. 23.

It is difficult for us to say how much of our natures we owe to habits of action, and how much to original nature. We are not at present properly circumstanced for making such an inquiry. When we institute a comparison between the male and female sex of our own species, we see an astonishing difference in the nervous constitutions of each: men, daring, cool, and determined, strong of body, strong of mind, and firm of purpose; women, on the contrary, timid, warm, and irresolute, weak of body, and indecisive of mind, subject to an infinite variety of complaints from mere fear and nervous agitation. Very few men in the vigour of life are ever known to shed tears; these only trickle down the cheeks of old men, women, and children. A man in full bloom is scarcely capable of expressing his grief in this manner, and if occasionally the moisture of sorrow should suffuse his eyes, the blush of shame immediately retards its progress, and dries up the fountain. Women, on the contrary, in the full bloom of health, plentifully indulge in this mode of venting their sorrows and alleviating the pains of mental suffering. So exceedingly susceptible of impression is the nervous system of some of the softer sex, that they scream and fall into fits at those things which merely excite the merriment of men, or make no sensible impression upon them. A stout and spirited woman is shocked at the sight of a mouse or a black-beetle. If a spider chance to get upon her clothes, or a mouse seen foraging upon the floor, she gives a shriek which alarms the whole household. Every one runs to see what is the matter, — every countenance is clothed with anxiety to know what unfortunate mishap has befallen her: a blood-vessel burst, or a limb broken, a throat cut, are ideas which occur to each, they run to the chamber whence the fearful sound has issued, and, breathless with haste and fear, whilst each inquires what is the matter with her ladyship? she replies, with a faint, languid sigh, "O, I saw a mouse; I frightened I am!" Yet this same lady would speak of the mouse as an inferior animal, here is scarcely a man in existence whose

nervous system would be so paralysed with such a trifle; but the question is, whether has nature originally made this extreme difference betwixt the male and the female, or is it the result of education and habits of life? There can be little doubt that the cause resides partly in both, for we know by experience that such susceptibility of nerve is not perceptible in the hardy peasant-girl or housemaid, whose rude and laborious employment has created different habits of mind and body, and given a greater degree of health and independence to the nervous system. Such delicacy is only to be found amongst the pampered daughters of the wealthy, and those whose false ideas of female perfection have led them to follow their example. But in whatsoever way it was acquired, it becomes irresistible when once the system has become habituated to it; no medicine, no resolution can withstand it; it is a disease which is as incapable of being removed as the blackness of the Ethiopian's skin, or the spots of the leopard; and they who are its victims have good cause to regret the folly of that system, which has cultivated all the weakness of the one sex, when it was developing all the powers of the other.

This nervous habit may serve as an illustration of many other peculiarities of human nature, as exemplified, in different countries and in different ages, where men and women are cruel or kind, frisk or reserved, hospitable or inhospitable, according to the habits of life which have been created by different climates, different governments, and different religions, which peculiarities there is only one way of removing, and that is by changing their position, changing the government and religion, and producing an entire revolution in the external system of society. So, in like manner, our female or male character may be changed by adopting a new system of education for boys and girls, and giving some more healthy and invigorating employment to ladies and gentlemen.

The nervous system is the origin of all our movements, both of mind or body. If we have strong nerves, we are bold and resolute; if we have weak nerves, we are timid and reserved. To attempt to teach courage to a man of weak nerves is vain. If by chance you rouse his energy, it is by the use of some unusual stimu-

lus, and his courage is more like rashness and obstinacy than cool determinate fortitude. He always relapses into his usual and natural temperament, and feels as great a depression of spirits after the excitement as formerly he felt of elevation. Timidity and fortitude, therefore, are merely nervous affections, dependant not upon the will of the individual, but upon the susceptibility of the chords of sensation and motion. Hence arise all the various degrees of love and hatred, zeal and indifference, selfishness and generosity, all which are beyond the reach both of medicine and moral resolution.

Upon this infinite variety of nervous character there are causes which produce an infinite variety of action; there are bodily weakness, and bodily deformity, and poverty. These operating upon a person of weak nervous system will produce fretfulness, discontentment, envy, jealousy, and a thousand other disagreeable passions, with the same certainty as acorns will bring forth oaks. Operating, however, upon a person of strong nerves, the effect is very different; much of the evil influence is destroyed by the power of resistance which is afforded in the vivacity and activity which are the invariable attendants of health and vigour of nerve. A similar variety of effect is produced by favourable causes or fortunate circumstances. Beauty, health, and riches, upon weak nerves, produce all the refinements of luxury and high life; on strong nerves they produce chivalry, gallantry, adventure, and all the gay and enterprising heroism of the great.

These general truths may serve as a useful lesson to us all upon the important subject of the formation of character. They will teach us what species of education is necessary for training individual character, what checks are to be employed to prevent the deterioration of the faculties, and what circumstances each should be placed in, in order to cherish the better feelings of his nature by promoting his individual comfort. It is no common or ordinary task this, for it is a task which requires a very great degree of knowledge of human nature, of the diseases, both mental and bodily, to which men are heirs, and the causes which give birth to these diseases. The same treatment won't suit every member of society; the

same education bestowed upon all would only develop the faculties of some, of that some whom fortune favoured, by rendering them better subjects by nature for the education which was blindly bestowed upon all indiscriminately. There are some men whom difficulties invigorate and stimulate to greater exertion. There are others who are humbled by the slightest opposition. There are some who delight in bodily, some in intellectual occupations; some who prefer the employment of the legs, and others who prefer the employment of the hands; some prefer standing, some sitting; some who can bear to thwarted more than others. Now all those it is quite possible to make either good or bad members of society as you please to treat them. Take a very nervous, sensitive person, and give him an employment which is disagreeable to him, and you not only render him miserable, but you destroy his temper, and make him instrumental in tormenting others. I have known a nervous person quarrel with his bed-fellow merely because he was guilty of the unconscious sin of snoring in his sleep. He said that he parted with sorrow, but the snoring affected his system so strongly and irresistibly that he could obtain no rest. He lay sometimes for a whole night without sleep, and he had the disagreeable mortification, over and above, of listening to the incessant proofs of repose and unconsciousness which his monopolizing companion had stolen from him, and appropriated solely to himself.

This looked like an affected cause of quarrel, instead of a real one; but what is really offensive to one, may be music to another. It is impossible for us to judge of each other's feelings; and when these feelings are constitutional or permanent, it is a vain attempt to reason ourselves or others out of them: we ought to remove the cause, if we cannot get rid of the effect. To place such an individual as the above in circumstances where he would be continually annoyed with sounds so offensive to his ear, would be placing him in circumstances which would deteriorate his temper, injure even his intellectual faculties, and probably have a pernicious effect upon his bodily health.

To change man's nature from good to evil, therefore, it is necessary to have a great, a universal movement of society,—a universal suffrage,—by which the whole system of life should be simultaneously changed, a suitable division of labour effected, and an accommodation of employment to the peculiar tastes and physical constitution of all parties. The private attempts of individuals to cure themselves of any moral defect must always obtain but a very partial success. The resolution of the saint may sometimes blunt the arrows of temptation; but it cannot ward them off, or entirely destroy them. The poor man can never be reconciled to poverty by preaching, nor the wounded man be reconciled to the agonies of his personal suffering. The balm of consolation may be poured into each by the eloquence and impassioned oratory of a favourite teacher; and the clergy have met with very great success in thus lulling the restless tumults of the troubled spirit of men by the hopes they have cherished of future bliss when all the trials of this life are at an end. But still poverty is an evil, and health is a blessing; and the greatest of all relief to the poor is money, and the sweetest balm of comfort to the afflicted is health and vigour. The preach-

ing of the priests, if it has eased the burden of grief at times, and rendered a life of diversified suffering more tolerable to many, has effected its purpose as a dose of laudanum effects it—by deadening the faculties and destroying sensibility. This is the great secret of religious consolation: a stupor and insensibility to the pleasures of life, created by an intense application to the prospect of another state of existence, and a blinding of the eyes or a total shutting of the senses to the pleasures of this. Thus the physician, who has found a patient, whose pains are intolerable, and create an uninterrupted agony of body, relieves him for a season by administering a powerful sedative, which acts upon the nervous system, and destroys the perception of pleasure as well as the feeling of pain. The clergyman or the moralist can do no more: he is merely an opium-eater or a dispenser of opium pills. He cannot cure the complaints of human nature; he merely renders the patient less susceptible of pain by a repeated ministration of quack medicine, and, like his brother quack in the physical or corporeal world, he cries it about and puffs it aloud as a universal restorative,—a panacea that effects a complete deliverance.

The tendency to habit is one of the most striking peculiarities of the nervous system, and it is mainly by this tendency that we are enabled to perform many of the simplest actions of life. The act of writing appears to us to be a very simple operation, yet nothing requires more minuteness and nicety of attention: we have not only to think of the subject of which we write, but of the spelling of the words and the formation of the letters; yet, by continued practice, we can not only write with facility, but we can even write and spell correctly while the mind is engaged upon some other subject. How often, also, in reading, have we found that we have read over every syllable of a page without knowing the subject, or having a single impression left behind upon our minds, which all the while were roaming in the regions of fancy, whilst the nervous system has of itself been performing the task of reading the page, without being able to comprehend the meaning! This facility has been acquired by practice; it is a habit of body, and is carried on by mere association,—just as the organist frequently finds himself running correctly over the keys when his mind is entirely absorbed with some other subject.

It is in this manner that we account for all those curious phenomena of walking in sleep and other involuntary actions, which require the operation of the mind at first to learn, but, when learned, are often awkwardly kept up by the body alone. This is a great mystery; so great, indeed, as to excite a degree of reverential awe and fear in the most courageous mind. We are fearfully and wonderfully made; the greatest of all mysteries is our own selves; that with which we are most familiar is that which we least comprehend. Nothing can unmythify such a deep and sublime subject as the nervous system: but there is one single observation connected with it, which may suggest some new and important ideas to the reflective mind. If the religious faith of the twofold nature of man be not satisfactory to every mind, there is, at least, a twofold nervous system, which can be disputed by none who are acquainted with the mechanism of the human body. These two systems are essentially distinct; they are both necessary to life and motion; but the one is subject to the will, and

the other is not; the one is freedom, the other is necessity; the one is the system by which we perform all the voluntary actions of life, such as walking, eating, drinking, speaking, &c., and the other is the system by which we perform all the involuntary actions, such as breathing, the pulsation of the heart, the circulation of the blood, with the involuntary movements of the brain, and its faculties. These two sets of nerves are differently formed: the voluntary nerves are like threads, but attached to each other in great numbers, so as to form a species of cords; the involuntary nerves are woven together like a species of network. Here are two distinct natures: the one subject to our will, and the other not subject to our will; but they are so connected together that they work into each other's hands; so that, after the voluntary nerves have performed a set of actions for a certain time, the involuntary nerves imitate the lesson, and repeat the actions without an effort of the will, and frequently in spite of the will itself. Thus, in process of time, the will, which at first is free and uncontrolled master of the movements of the body, becomes a subject, and is obliged to yield to the resistless law of its imperious master. The drunkard, who at first had supreme control over his actions and his appetites, and could indulge or refrain without any irresistibility of impulse or effort of mind, is at last reduced to the worded necessity of yielding to the demands of a new master of his own creation,—a master, who neither obeys the dictates of his will, nor cares for the health of his body or the promotion of his happiness,—who must be obeyed, or, in case of refusal, imposes so severe a penalty that the unfortunate victim invariably yields to the usurped authority, and rushes headlong to destruction.

This same law of nature prevails in general society as well as in the individual body. We have national habits as well as individual habits, and these habits are as difficult to eradicate as those of an inferior order. In fact, the whole system of government under which we live is nothing else but a national habit, and the arguments by which it is justified are nothing else than the same arguments by which the drunkard, or any other slave of custom, justifies the policy of his own conduct. The drunkard says that his nervous system requires it. There are many who are fit for no employment, unless they have their glass of brandy, gin, or rum, in a morning; there are some whose nervous system is so agitated that they cannot even use their hands to eat food, without having a spiritual stomacher beforehand. The argument, therefore, is good by which they demonstrate the necessity of persisting in the destructive habit; but who imposed this necessity upon them, but their own folly in persisting voluntarily in a pernicious habit, and the involuntary principle obtained the ascendancy, and demanded a repetition of it in spite of the will? So it is with our laws and customs; we have brought ourselves into a fatal necessity of continuing them, in order to continue the system in life: they are all bad, all destructive of peace and goodwill, but to relinquish them would be to relinquish the whole system, and cause a political earthquake. Hence, like an habitual drunkard, our legislators are compelled to persist in policies which are ruinous and oppressive, only because the system of society requires them, and would die without them. We might investigate some of the political evils of the country

by economy and retrenchment, but we never could entirely get rid of them. There is not a single curse (and these are innumerable), there is not one with which we could entirely dispense, without an entire revolution of politics and of commerce and trade. We must have the law, and all its harpies, to keep mankind in order; and the officers of justice and good order will never fail to secure a goodly portion of comforts to themselves. We must have clergy to moralize to the people, and attempt to blunt the force of those temptations which are flying, like Macadam's dust, around the heads of the whole population. We must have military to keep up our national independence, and preserve us from the rude attack of those who would pounce upon us as soon as they saw us defenceless. We must have police to preserve tranquillity in the streets, to secure our persons and our property from the merciless hands of those who have been rendered unfeeling and insensible of right and wrong by a system which is much more savage and merciless than themselves. What is it that we can want of all these evils? They are necessary evils, says the advocate of the present system; but so says the infatuated drunkard: his poison is a necessary evil; he is miserable without it, and it is to allay that misery that he quaffs to excess the debilitating and intoxicating draught.

A species of infatuation possesses the whole human race: they resist every suggestion of a new order of things, as if it were a natural impossibility; and, conscious of misery, they merely strive like the drunkard to drown their cares by using those temporary cures, which have the pernicious effect of creating more cares, and increasing our load of misery. The government is unhappily in the hands of those who do not desire a change, or fear to run the risk of experiments; and these are guided more by a desire to let things remain as they are, than by a sense of justice. Thus, the very plans which our government adheres to with a mother's fondness, are shrunk from with a species of abhorrence by the government of other nations. The sense of justice is entirely wanting; governments are merely the creatures of habit like individuals; they think all is right that they have been accustomed to do; and a foolish old habit is consecrated by the name of an institution of antiquity and the wisdom of ages. Our rulers have rejected with disdain a bill for the emancipation of the press, merely upon the shallow pretence of poverty, although the trifle is so small that, for the sake of the boon, the working classes would willingly make up the deficiency out of their own pockets. The French government were lately requested to impose the same restrictions upon their press that our government now imposes upon ours. They rejected the proposal with abhorrence, as putting shackles upon knowledge, and precluding the public from the means of instruction. The one government refuses to take it off, the other refuses to put it on; yet both are equally tyrannical and censorious, though actuated, apparently, by two very opposite motives; but though apparently opposite, the motive was the same—the disinclination to change. This is the great secret of governors, all whose measures of reform are merely the effects of popular compulsion, extorting by violence what the governors never would bestow upon them by goodwill; and so rooted is this aversion to change in the minds of the great, that it must be evident to all that reformation can come from the people alone; from those who are now in ad-

versity, and suffering from oppression; who have all to gain and nothing to lose by a change of system.

SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 25.

Mr. Owen commenced with the subject of Education, in continuation from last Sunday, on the work lately published by Mr. Milne.—Many parts of this work are true in the extreme: he appears to have gone farther than any other writer in rational views of a sound, intellectual system of instruction, while, in other parts of his work, he falls into the same error as other non-practical men, who have had no experience of the enormous powers of creating and distributing wealth which might now be brought under the control of society, for the general advantage.

Certainly, the present system of education is as absurd as can well be imagined; inasmuch that those individuals said to be of the best education, are the last to perceive the evidence of the most simple truths, and will be, probably, the last to retrace the errors in which they have so long been trained.

Our author says, in the following quotation, that there are but three states in which the human mind can exist, and this statement is as plain as it is highly important. Mr. Owen then read the conclusion of Mr. Milne's Introduction, as follows:

"It is clear that a child cannot be a judge of what is error, and, therefore, unless we wish him to be the slave of opinion, and to forego trusting his own reason and judgment, he ought to be cautioned not to give implicit belief to any thing merely because he was told it as truth, though told by his own father: he ought to be encouraged to exercise his own judgment; he ought to be informed that it is criminal and unmanly, and leads to error, to trust to the judgment of another; and that there is nothing criminal in any belief if there be evidence for it. The first and most important duty of a teacher ought to be to warn his pupil against admitting as truth any statement, on any important subject, without a demonstration of it, and if that cannot be given, the mind should be kept open to conviction till the truth appears.

"The present plan of education, by instilling into the mind questionable propositions as truth, is to accustom it to admit statements as facts which are often false, and even absurd. No tests are pointed out by which to discriminate truth from error. Tests are not only not pointed out, but the present practice and system taught seem most effectually calculated to prevent the pupil's mind from ever being able to discriminate truth from error.

"If a child is led to confound his ideas, by being taught nothing can be made something, or that something and nothing are the same thing, that two and one do not always make three, that an impossible action is not impossible, and that we ought not to trust to our judgment in determining what is truth; then he is prepared for believing any thing, however absurd; the twig is bent most unmercifully, and the higher it grows it can only deviate the more from the vertical line of truth; unless the mind possesses uncommon vigour and favourable circumstances, it can never recover itself, or eradicate first impressions. Some, indeed, seem from their nature incapable of being eradicated, such as a belief in witches, brownies, fairies, ghosts, and other fabulous phantoms of the brain, because, however improbable their existences may be, there seems no way of demonstrating their non-existence.

"There are only three states in which the mind of man can be placed with regard to all his information:

"The first is, that if any proposition, or information, or statement of any kind is self-evident, or has been demonstrated to be true, *the mind believes it*.

"The second is, that if the mind finds the proposition or information in contradiction of some self-evident truth, or has been demonstrated to be so, *it disbelieves it, or believes it to be false*.

"The third is, if the proposition or information has neither been demonstrated to be true, nor shown to be false, *the mind must remain in suspense*, and be undetermined as to whether it be true or false, because it has received no conclusive reason for believing either way.

"When the mind perceives a sufficient reason or cause for believing a proposition, it is evident it must believe it; it would be absurd to say one had seen a sufficient reason for believing a statement, and could not believe it.

"On the other hand, when the mind perceives a reason or cause for believing a proposition untrue, the mind must believe it untrue, because it has seen a sufficient reason for it.

"When there is neither a demonstration of the truth nor of the falsehood of a proposition, that is, when there is no clear cause or reason shown to convince the mind either way, the mind in that case cannot believe it to be either true or false, because there is no reason or cause for doing so, and it must remain in doubt on which side the truth rests.

"The truth of these observations are also evident from the absurdity that would follow the contrary supposition, which would be to admit that the mind was capable of believing a proposition to be false which at the same time it concluded to be true, or disbelieved what it had reason to believe.

"Here it is evident that *belief of any kind, or unbelief of any kind, does not imply moral guilt*, because no man can help his belief more than he can help the colour of his skin: he must believe what his judgment tells him is true, disbelieve what his judgment tells him is untrue, and doubt what his judgment has not perceived sufficient reason for believing to be either true or false.

"There is no crime without a breach of some moral law; but here there is no breach of any moral law, but the fulfilment of an imperative law of nature, which impels us to believe what we see reason to believe, and prevents us from believing what we do not see reason for believing.

"In the following sections it is intended to demonstrate—

"1st. That from prejudices *alone* arise all difference of opinion.

"2nd. That from difference of opinion *alone* arise dissensions and all their attendant evils.

"3rd. That to prevent difference of opinion, it is only necessary to prevent prejudices from being imbibed.

"If this is practicable, then to prejudices must be ascribed the *origin of all difference of opinions and the origin of all dissensions*; and hence the *origin of almost all moral evil*.

"Much error, ignorance, and superstition have been ascribed to early prejudices, but I apprehend very few before discovered the extent of the evils they engendered.

"To prevent or remove these evils, it will be necessary, as before stated, to remove the cause

of them; they must be prevented from entering the human breast, from ever finding place in that sacred soil; for if once they are allowed to vegetate, it will be impossible to extract their contorted roots from the ground: like diseases, they are easier prevented than removed, and all that would be necessary would be, *that no teacher should be allowed to inculcate as truth, on either young or old, any proposition, whether in morals, religion, politics, or metaphysics, without a clear demonstration of its truth.*

"It will, no doubt, be asked, How is this to be accomplished? The answer is, In the same way that mathematics and geometry are taught. A few self-evident propositions or axioms are first stated, so obvious and clear, that every person perceives their truth: these are what are termed first principles, but are in fact nothing different from any proposition, except in being clear and indisputable. They are called first principles because they are those that are first begun with, and are of use in assisting to demonstrate the propositions that follow. Definitions of the terms used are also indispensable, and with these the truth or falsehood of the succeeding propositions are ascertained: they are nothing more than propositions explaining the meaning of the words or terms used, for the purpose of preventing misconception."

The whole system of society, as now constituted and now governed, rests upon the very opposite of these self-evident propositions, and the present age of the world appears to be the first period in the history of mankind when truths the most essential for happiness can be openly announced without the liability of being burnt for such utterance.

I have often declared the origin of moral evil to be the dogma that we are formed by nature to believe or disbelieve at will, and to feel or not to feel at our pleasure. Our author's argument goes clearly to show the contrary of these false, and, while acted upon, ever-prejudicial assumptions; but unless he insists equally upon the errors of both, he will prove himself to be only half-way acquainted with his subject.

If governments and others would only reflect that, if evils exist, there can be no relief but by removing the cause, they would be in a train to acquire, in a short time, the knowledge how to eradicate, with the greatest ease, almost all, if not all, the evils which afflict the human family. Instead, however, of acquiring this knowledge, 99 teachers in every 100 throughout the world occupy the greater part of their time in teaching prejudices which are in opposition to all facts, and this circumstance is sufficient to account for each single calamity of which we have reason to complain.

Nothing can be more wise or important than the habit of early practice in tracing effects to their legitimate causes, and every cause down to its consequences; by this means knowledge becomes as a map, in which the past and future are distinctly laid down.

Recommending you to reflect upon the tendency of these observations, I pass on to other subjects, also of great importance and great urgency. The progress of the human mind is going forward at an accelerative speed; every week sees a prodigious advancement, and, I trust, the time is near at hand when one and all shall say, Let us at once give up this system of error, which leads to every kind of evil continually, and adopt that which shall safely conduct us step by step to all the happiness our

nature is capable of enjoying. Hitherto, in this respect, human beings have been inferior to the animals of the field or the grove. Man is not a hundredth part of the quality he may become, nor can he be so while trained a mere theologian, a mere lawyer, a mere physician, a mere statesman, a mere philosopher, or any other of the exclusive, petty divisions of society.

After further observations, with a copiousness and energy which our limits cramp us in reporting, Mr. Owen read and commented upon the following paper, written by himself:—

TRUE AND FALSE PRINCIPLES.

SACRED TO TRUTH, WITHOUT MYSTERY, MIXTURE OF ERROR, OR FEAR OF MAN.

Until mankind shall be instructed to distinguish between true and false principles, and clearly perceive the difference in their results, when carried into practice, to themselves and their posterity, the world must remain the chaos which it is, and ever has been, in religion, morals, and commerce.

False principles have alone hitherto influenced and governed the feelings, sentiments, and actions of men. The whole arrangements of mankind are, in consequence, erroneous in principle and injurious in practice; and it is in vain to expect that any power in man can remove his miseries while these errors in principle and of practice shall be permitted to remain.

It is also now vain to attempt to hide or mystify this subject from the public, for the knowledge of facts which will develop it is too extended among the mass of the population, in the most civilized states of Europe and America, to permit the people to be longer kept in ignorance of the false position in which these erroneous principles have placed them.

This progress in real knowledge has now rendered it imperative upon the governments of the civilized parts of the world to change their system of governing; and it is far better that they should at once meet the subject fully and fairly, and abandon the false principles and injurious practices, and adopt the true principles and advantageous practices, without further useless struggle between them and the producers of all which they have that is valuable. For useless struggle it must be when the millions of producers shall be united, as they soon will be, and arrayed against the non-producers of wealth and knowledge, and the strenuous opposers of truth, virtue, and honesty.

True it is, and useless to deny it, that the whole of the existing arrangements in this country, and throughout Europe and America, must produce evil, and cannot produce good. All the great divisions of society, and which emanate immediately from the false principles by which society has always been governed, cannot produce any other results than those already experienced,—than those from which the population of the world hourly suffer the most grievous evils.

While these divisions of society shall be allowed to continue, man must be formed to be a poor, insignificant, helpless, irrational, and miserable being, greatly inferior, in the most essential qualities of sentient existence, to many of the animals who live in their undisturbed natural state. These artificial divisions of necessity train man systematically to be opposed to man, and associations of men to associations of men; and each individual

thus becomes but a very small and very inferior portion of what a man ought to be, and what, under true principles and action, every human being would of necessity become. While men shall be trained to be mere theologians, mere lawyers, mere medical professors, mere soldiers or sailors, mere merchants, manufacturers, bankers, tradesmen, or operatives, or in any of the senseless divisions called statesmen, or philosophers of words, or mere any thing of the numerous mental or physical occupations into which society has been divided, man cannot know what manner of being he is: he must remain ignorant of the giant powers of united human nature, and of the unspeakable intelligence, excellence, and happiness, of which he is individually, in unity, capable of attaining.

The time, talent, and money expended in the theological profession are far worse than merely lost or wasted. It is, of course, intended to improve the human character, and increase the happiness of mankind; while it is, in reality, by far the greatest obstacle to the improvement and happiness of man, and will be so until it shall be purified of all its errors, and simplified in a manner that all men may know what it is, understand its origin and practical utility, and derive benefit from it.

As this division of society is now conducted in the British dominions, the population suffers by it, directly and indirectly, a loss of wealth far exceeding the amount which may now be purchased by a hundred millions sterling, and a loss in character and happiness beyond all estimate. Theology, as it is now taught and practised over the world, makes men of necessity ignorant and presumptuous demons, hating, despising, and opposing each other, even to death and utter destruction, solely on account of their theological instruction, and consequent irrationality. While the human intellect shall be thus deranged, and its feelings thus misdirected, whatever may be the progress in the knowledge of the physical sciences, man must remain a degraded and miserable being. Instead of this mind-destroying division of society, each individual will be trained to have far more correct and practically useful knowledge upon the subject of religion than any priests have ever acquired in any age or any country.

The time, talent, and money also expended on the profession of the law are also much worse than lost to society, although in the British dominions it costs directly and indirectly far more wealth for its support than one hundred millions of pounds sterling would now purchase. Law is often connected in words with justice, while, when stripped of its phraseology, it is nothing more than a cunningly-devised expedient to enable the strong in purse or station to oppose and tyrannize over the poor and the inferior in station. It makes worse than waste of the naturally finest intellects of the human race, opposes their interests to the interests of the mass of the people, and, instead of effecting justice between man and man, it is itself a firebrand to light up the flames of discord and all the evil passions, and keep them in perpetual activity, to the destruction of the order, harmony, and happiness of mankind. United with theology, it tends perpetually to perplex the understanding, confound the judgment, and to irrationalize the whole conduct of man from his birth to his death. As long as the codes of laws now in existence shall be supported by the governments of Europe

and America, as they are all evidently founded on false principles, both with regard to man and society, so long will the human family be kept in a state of ignorance, division, turmoil, and discord, and man will be opposed to man, and nation to nation.

The time, talent, and money expended in the profession of medicine, are also, in a very great degree, lost and wasted. Society rightly constituted will not require, in any branch of this profession, one for a hundred with which it is now burdened. Were wisdom known among men, no one man or woman would be placed by society in a position in which their apparent interest and duty should be opposed to each other; folly alone would suffer such an arrangement to be formed. Now the members of the profession of medicine in all its branches are peculiarly so placed. It appears to be their interest that all human beings, except the members of the profession, should be kept ignorant of the principles, laws, nature, and practices, a correct knowledge of which would enable society to prevent, to a very great extent, the existence of the cause of disease in man, and thus render the use of medicines almost, if not altogether, unnecessary. In another state of society, founded on true principles, and with practices in accordance with them, it is extremely probable that man would scarcely know disease either of body or mind. Surgical skill might be occasionally, but very seldom, required, in consequence of accidents; but in a state of society rationally constituted, accidents would be diminished by the adoption of measures of prevention to the lowest amount, and surgical knowledge and practice would constitute a useful part of universal education, and it would be easily acquired if properly taught.

The time, talent, and money, expended in the military and naval professions, are likewise very far worse than lost or wasted. They are professions in which men are withdrawn from being useful producers of wealth or knowledge, to be trained to become unthinking machines, to be employed at the direction of others to rob, maim, and murder their fellow-men, women, and children, not in accordance with wisdom of any degree, but in direct opposition to every good principle and sound reason. Right reason, sound wisdom, and just principles, direct to create and preserve property, and to save, cherish, and render life happy. As long as the profession of arms shall be one of the separate divisions of society, and standing armies shall be permitted and supported by any association of men, so long must the mind be kept in slavery to the body; so long will each individual be unjust to himself and to his posterity; so long will man be unjust to man, and oppress him; so long will nation oppose nation, and the strong oppress the weak; and so long will the world be ignorant, vicious, in turmoil, irrational, and miserable. While the professions of arms and standing armies shall be permitted to form one of the great divisions of society, property, and life, and virtue, must be insecure, and the unjust and the cruel will tyrannize over and oppress the just and humane. Until his division of society shall be rendered unnecessary, and cease altogether, nations must continue to be governed by force and fraud, and not as it would be for the best interest of every human being, by reason and kindness. Among the first indications of man becoming a reasonable and intellectual being will be his abandonment of force and fraud in the government of man over man. So soon as man shall become

rational, he shall be justly entitled to assume the name of a rational being, and shall understand that which is essential to his own highest and most permanent happiness; truth, reason, charity, and kindness will alone direct and govern all his private and public proceedings, and the military professions and standing armies will cease to exist, and force and fraud will be withdrawn from the government of all nations and people. The wealth expended, directly and indirectly, in support of this wretchedly degrading system of force and fraud, is beyond estimate; suffice it, however, to state, that there would be no difficulty in demonstrating that it destroys, uselessly consumes, and prevents the creation of more wealth, many times multiplied, than all the wealth that is now produced and consumed annually throughout all nations, and that, consequently, it cannot be the real interest of a single individual, in any part of the world, that this division of society should be longer maintained; and when man shall cease to be mentally blind to his own interest and happiness, he will cease also to be a quarrelsome and fighting animal.

The time, talent, and money expended in the existing arrangements to buy and sell wealth for a money profit, are, in like manner, far worse than lost or wasted. Perhaps the most unfavourable circumstances which can exist for the formation of a weak, useless, and fraudulent character, are those which surround the buyers and sellers of wealth for a money profit. They create nothing for mankind, but daily feed the vanity of the wealthy; they consume the fruits of the producers, and give them nothing whatever in return; they are systematically trained to deceive and be deceived; they are trained within circumstances to make them sycophants and slaves to their customers, while they are dependant upon them for their gains; and to be purse-proud, ignorant little tyrants in their limited circle, when they have obtained what they deem a pecuniary independence, or, in other words, defrauded the real producers of wealth of a large proportion of the fruits of their industry, even of more than one half of it; for there are more distributors or buyers and sellers of wealth, who are not producers of any of it, than the whole number of those who actually produce all the valuable wealth which the population consumes. Buyers and sellers of wealth for a money profit are altogether useless, unnecessary, and highly mischievous. For the benefit of these individuals, almost as much as for those who are obliged to work at least four hours per day extra to maintain them, this division of society should be abandoned, as being one of the most injurious to the individuals engaged in it, and to all the productive classes.

To be continued.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Several Correspondents will be inserted or answered in our next.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 31.

WE have received a letter from "an Operative," questioning the truth of a doctrine which we are in the habit of instilling into our readers, namely, that there is an excess of production.

In reply to the above letter, we beg leave to call our correspondent's attention

to the difference between production and the power of production. Production is regulated by the demand, and is, in every department of industry, greater than the demand, but not so much greater as to subject the trading capitalist to the certainty of a loss in the event of a glut of the market. Speculation only ventures a little way beyond the immediate calls of the consumers; but this arises entirely from fear of loss, and not from inability to produce.

Moreover, the demand is regulated in a great measure by the condition of the people, as capital or general prosperity increases the demand, and, consequently, the production keeps pace with it; but as that capital has hitherto been engrossed by a party, the demand has arisen entirely or principally from that party in whose hands the property lies. They are, therefore, the principal consumers, and are never at a loss for abundance to themselves; nay, they even feed their dogs and pleasure-horses with food that the working poor would be glad to make use of.

But, then, it may be said in reply, Is the production at present so great as to support the whole population in the same luxurious ease and repletion as the aristocracy live in? We answer, decidedly not. Were an equal distribution of wealth at present to take place, the aristocracy must needs be stripped of the greater proportion of their luxuries, unless the latent powers of production were brought into action. But were these hitherto-dormant powers aroused, enough might be produced to give a sufficient supply of all the comforts and luxuries of life to the whole population; for then each member of the community would become useful, and the ingenuity of man be directed to the important subject of providing for the increasing demands of increased population. And who can set bounds to human ingenuity? It was calculated by Lord Lauderdale that this island is capable of providing for one hundred and eighty millions of inhabitants, by proper cultivation and the use of vegetable food; and Baron Cuvier was of opinion that the time would soon come when the discoveries of chemistry would lead mankind to the ultimate discovery of the means of preparing many species of food from the substance of the earth, without the aid of vegetation. Let men merely do justice to each other, and there is no fear of their finding support: Nature never decays; her resources are never exhausted. We shall return to this subject in our next.

Our hopes have been blasted once more on the subject of the emancipation of the press. We do not often notice the proceedings of Parliament, for our legislators are merely employed in patching an old garment; but this is a subject which touches the tenderest chords of our heart, and we cannot refrain from making allusion to it. Some years ago, if any one had

told us that Henry Brougham and his coadjutors could have been guilty of such a dereliction of principle as this, we should not have believed it. We should have replied that, even though the love of office, or the change of circumstances might corrupt the heart, still the sense of honour and consistency would have precluded the possibility of such an apostasy. But Lueffer is fallen! is fallen! His gold is become dim, and his most fine gold is changed; his virtue is not proof against the corroding influence of power and place.

We admired Mr. Bulwer's manly and liberal exposition of the question. His arguments were irresistible to a mind that was determined to be actuated by reason and justice; but the motives of legislators it is hard to divine, for good argument seems at all times to be lost upon them; truth and reason pass o'er their heads "like the idle wind, which they regard not." Mr. Bulwer evidently demonstrated the certainty of an amazing increase of revenue by the repeal of this obnoxious stamp-tax, either, in the first place, by imposing a postage of one penny upon every newspaper sent by the post, or merely by the increase arising from the paper-duty alone. This latter he estimated at 150,000*l.* more than the present profits of the stamp-duty. This additional income would accrue to the government without being felt by the people. The unstamped papers at present pay this duty to government, and the government thus become gainers in proportion to the amount of the unstamped; for we will not suppose that the free press has been the means of diminishing the circulation of its brother in bondage. Add to this the important advantages which would be gained by the population at large, in the multiplied opportunities of acquiring useful information, and then judge if there be any truth in the alleged excuse of poverty, made by Lord Althorp, for the noncompliance of ministers with the wishes of the people. If they want to raise money, they cannot do better than redeem the press; but they seem to be less afraid of poverty than of increasing the intelligence and contentment of the people. We must have patience for a little, and we shall shame them out of their priestly dread of the intellectual light of heaven. Why should they tax both the physical and the spiritual light? cannot they indulge us in one sweet mouthful of liberty? are they afraid of whetting our appetites for more? Generous fellows!

TAILORS' STRIKE.

The tailors are still resolutely standing out; but the rumours are so various and contradictory respecting them that we cannot say anything decided upon their present condition; in general, however, they are very sanguine of success. Several masters have yielded to the demands of the men, but some, who professed to yield, required of the journeymen after their return a renunciation of the Union and its principles for ever. This the journeymen boldly refused to submit to, and unanimously resolved to strike once more. Several masters have since dismissed their men upon refusal to abandon the good cause. The following is a copy of the document the journeymen were required to subscribe, with an official comment of the Executive upon it:—

"We, the undersigned, foremen, journeymen tailors, and others, in the employment of _____, do declare that we are not members of the Trades' Union; that it is not our intention

to become members of any such association, nor do we now, or will we in any way, directly or indirectly, contribute to the support of any such associations; in attestation of which we hereunto subscribe our names this _____ day of _____, 1834."

We have been requested to publish the following manifesto of the Executive of the Central Committee on this projected measure:

"Perhaps a more ignorant and despotic document than this has never issued from any body of men. It is saying, in plain language, that unless you, the operatives, will become by your own act and deed the most helpless, degraded, and pusillanimous of the human race, greatly beneath the present black slaves in the West India islands, we, the rich and opulent master tailors, will not, if we can prevent it, permit you to work, but we will force you and your families to starve.

"Brother operatives in all trades, the naked truth is now before you: will you submit to be thus made the mere senseless tools to accumulate wealth for individuals, often your inferiors in the best qualities of men, who only use you that they may riot unjustly in the fruits of your honest industry?

"Let this document be printed and circulated in every part of the kingdom, until it becomes familiar to every operative in every trade and calling, and let the children of the industrious be thus taught what they have to expect from those masters whom their severe and unhealthy toil has made rich.

"Brothers, you must immediately arouse yourselves to understand what you have now to do. Reflect well before you resolve: be calm, but be firm and determined in carrying your resolutions into execution. Let no man or woman, from one end of the kingdom to the other, sign this document: it would be far better to resolve to die, rather than thus be compelled to be the lowest of such slaves to ignorance and presumption.

"Let every operative, man and woman, in agriculture, trade, and commerce, join some Union, and then let these Unions be incorporated with the National Consolidated Union, and let no one afterwards flinch from his post, whatever event may arise. Let one and all abstain from all manner of intemperance, and let the large sums that will be thus saved be severally applied to support this great and glorious Union, which is the only salvation of the working millions. It is true, the want of experience has hitherto retarded our progress, but we are daily acquiring the most valuable knowledge, and discovering our defects. The moneys of the working man have often been misapplied in useless strikes and other ways, from want of knowledge, and not from intention; but a new arrangement is established. The receipts and payments of the whole Union will be as correct and as public to every member of the Union as the accounts of the first bankers are made to the partners of each house.

"Remember, it is only in union, honesty, determination, and confidence in each other's good intentions; that you can successfully overcome the degradation in which you are, and the far worse with which you are threatened. Arouse, therefore, and be resolved to take your own affairs into your own hands, and that they shall be well managed. All should now subscribe their quota, freely and regularly, to support the members of the Union who have been or may be turned out, because they are members of this just, necessary, and holy alliance of the industrious classes. All levies, subscriptions,

and donations, that shall be paid on account of the Union, shall be conveyed to, and received only by, the Executive, at No. 213, High Holborn, and be disbursed by them with the assistance of the Metropolitan Central Committee, who will weekly audit their accounts, and state the general result in their official gazette.

On behalf of the Executive and Central Committee,
E. C. DOUGLAS.

THE DERBY TURN-OUT.

Two weeks ago we censured the *True Sun* for an article which we thought calculated to do much mischief, both to the feelings of those benevolent individuals who spent their time and their zeal in the collection of subscriptions, and also to the people at large in giving encouragement to jealousies (to which the working classes are too prone), without adducing the slightest proofs in justification of them. The *Pioneer* the week following took up the subject in the same strain as ourselves; and last Sunday the following article appeared in the *Weekly True Sun*, which we publish with pleasure, which is a sort of palliative, tending to assuage the angry feelings of the parties aggrieved:—

"We find an article in the *Pioneer* of this day, in reference to the statements we made the week before last, about the turned-out workmen at Derby, and from which—as well as from Mr. Hall—we regret to find that we have unintentionally done some wrong to individuals connected with the management of that affair. Before we say any thing further of this, however, we may be permitted to say a word as to ourselves, and the tone assumed by our correctors. We did think that we had given sufficient proofs of our devotion to the cause of the injured and oppressed of all classes, but especially of the labouring classes, to induce the kindest constructions to be put upon our motives, when we may chance to differ with them in opinion, or to fall into error as regards their proceedings. We are not inflexible, nor are we above the liability of being imposed upon by the mistakes of others; but we are wholly incapable of misrepresenting any fact, for the purpose of serving any cause, however laudable and desirable it may be. Now, then, as to the statement in question. The whole of the facts embodied in that statement (with one exception) were communicated to us by Mr. James Hall, one of the central committee, with a request that we would make use of them in the *Weekly True Sun* of the following day. While writing the article we had promised, Mr. Browne, the Secretary to the Executive, called at our office, and suggested that we should render the Union an additional service by cautioning them against certain idle and rapacious persons who were living upon the Derby funds, and further suggesting that all funds should pass through the hands of the Executive, or of the Birmingham Committee. This is our authority for the statement we made, and which has given such pain and just cause of offence. We much regret that we should have been made the unconscious instruments of doing injustice to the character of any person, but we leave it to our readers to say, whether we had not reason to believe that we were doing only an act of justice and kindness towards the Derby people and the Unionists at large, in making the statements complained of."

DISCHARGE OF UNIONISTS IN YORKSHIRE.

We last week stated that the manufacturers in Leeds had resolved not to employ any men who would not sign the undermentioned declaration, namely:—"We whose names are hereunto subscribed do declare that, from and after the 12th May, 1834, we shall cease to be members of the Trades' Union; or have before disunited ourselves from that body; and that so long as we continue in the employment of ———, we will not be members of that Union, or of any similar association." We take the following particulars from the *Leeds Times*:—

Early on Monday morning a meeting of the operatives was held on Woodhouse-moor, Mr. S. Marshall in the chair. Upwards of eight thousand persons were present. Messrs. Buckley, Brook, Farrar, and others, addressed the assembly. No resolutions were submitted, on account of the rapidity with which the arrangements had been made; but the whole meeting, by an unanimous show of hands, avowed their intention of resisting the demand of the masters, and their firm determination not to sign the proposed declaration. Immediately after the termination of the proceedings the people quietly separated, and retired to their homes without any processional array, any thing that bore the remotest resemblance to confusion. We have said that the show of hands was unanimous, because only eight hands were held up in favour of the abandonment of the Union.

The following paper was profusely placarded on the town on the following morning:—

"**MASTER MANUFACTURERS' AND WORKMEN'S COMBINATIONS.**—The day has now arrived when the predictions of the prophetic organ of the combined master manufacturers' and cloth dressers' association, for the suppression of the associations of workmen, and consequently, of their freedom, appear, in part, to be fulfilled. The war-cry of masters has not only been sounded, but the havoc of war—war against freedom—war against opinion—war against justice—and war without justifying the cause—has actually commenced. A large number of workmen have been discharged from employment for refusing to sign a declaration derogatory of their secession from the Trades' Union, with a promise that they will again belong to any such or similar association. This is a species of dictation which we justify, and which calls for, the most determined resistance. By such an act, if it can be carried into effect, the workmen will not be left without the means of protection from the grinding selfishness of the most unprincipled of mankind, but will also be brought to a state of submissive servitude, which every man having the least spark of manly feeling and generous sentiment must abhor. Had there been some real grievance of which masters were to complain, and of which their present proceeding was a consequence, they might, to a degree of plausibility, resolve upon the experiment of throwing out of employment hundreds and thousands of workmen; but in the evil is merely imaginary; when the offence they complain of is the workmen belonging to a Trades' Union, surely they find no vindication of their conduct in creating hostilities and rancorous hatred between thousands, which would never have been, had employers been guided by dictates of kindness and charity, instead

of treating with contempt and disregard those whom they term misguided and deluded men; but whom they have seldom endeavoured to convince of such delusion by any practical lessons of their own well-wishes for the well-being of their dependants. When they do that in sincerity, and when we find them endeavouring to conciliate what they call the prejudices of the workmen by offices of kindness, and to some of the masters we would say, by the spirit of Christian sympathy which they profess, then, perhaps workmen may discover what they now are trying to compel them to believe and to acknowledge,—the inutility of union as a means of promoting the workman's welfare; but it will not be discovered till then; and howsoever harsh may be the measures adopted for the suppression of Unions of workmen, they will eventually fail till masters and legislature shall carry into effect such measures for the benefit of the labouring classes as shall render them unnecessary. It has been asserted that the evil of which masters complain is only imaginary. If it is not, let them at once come forward and prove from facts that it is otherwise. They are called upon to state where the Union, or the Union Committee, ever made unreasonable demands upon any one of their body; whether or not the Union has been a means of enabling workmen to obtain unjust acquirements, and where it has done so? All that the workman wish, is to have the subject properly understood, and that assertions may give place to facts. Calumnies have had their day sufficiently long, and slander, and low cunning, and the most despicable falsehoods, have too long been at work to prejudice public opinion against Trades' Unions; and the most oppressive and selfish among employers have evidently been labouring by such means, and have but too well succeeded in an attempt to induce their less designing brethren to enlist in the unholy crusade! There are of the number of those who have discharged their workmen, gentlemen, with whom the Union has never interfered, and with whom their workmen never entertained the thought that they should differ; but these are they who have not, from the very moment they had the power, been continually 'grinding the face of the poor.' It will be remembered that in October last the Union expressed its willingness for a settlement, on equitable terms, of all existing differences, and addressed a note to that effect to Mr. S. Webster, chairman of the masters' meetings; but that gentleman never thought proper to return an answer, though the proposal was declared by the editors of the *Leeds Mercury* to be 'perfectly fair and honourable.' The following are the resolutions passed at the time referred to, and which still breathe the sentiments of the Union generally, and by which the workmen are ready to abide:—Resolution 3d. 'That, for the purpose of achieving the object that the Union had in view—a reasonable reward for the labour of its members, it has only employed those means which were thought both legal and reasonable, and no such intention ever existed as to desire, in any respect whatever, to embarrass the affairs of a just and upright master.—4th. That, as opinions contrary to those expressed in the third resolution appear to have established themselves in the minds of several master manufacturers, merchants, mill-owners, and others, employing workmen in the woollen trade, this meeting would be glad to discuss the question with any

equal number of gentlemen the masters may appoint, and at any time and place they may think proper; and after the question has been coolly and deliberately examined, will pledge itself to abide by an impartial decision. If masters choose to act on these, or any other equally fair terms, they will be promptly met, and it will not be the fault of workmen or the committee of the Union, if differences are prolonged, which must inevitably produce disastrous consequences both to workmen and masters.

"SIMEON POLLARD, Secretary."

But the masters soon evinced their inflexible determination not to accede to these renewed propositions for the settlement of the dispute, and in the course of the day they posted a bill, signed by the firms—J. Binns and Son; Brigg and Son; J. Buckton and Son; Coopers and French; R. Dorrington; W. Eyres and Son; E. Halliley; J. Hargreave and Son; Hirst, Bramley, and Co.; J. Holroyd and Co.; Robert Jackson; W. Lupton and Co.; Stephen Mitchell and Son; P. Nevins, Pearson and Son; Ripley and Ogle; J. Robinson; G. Sordy and Co.; W. and G. Stead; O. Willans and Son; and offering, on condition of renouncing the Union, work upon the following terms:—To hand-raisers and giggers, 22s. per week, and to knife-men and shear-men, 21s. for sixty-four and a half hours' labour per week; and in the same bill they declare that they had agreed to offer their most decided opposition against any attempt to reduce the wages they had offered.

Two others, one in the cloth-dressing and the other in the scribbling department, had, however, sent for their men, and set them to work on Tuesday morning. The other masters have kept firm to their resolution; they have adopted measures to carry it into the fullest possible effect; and it is affirmed that some of the shopkeepers have been applied to, to give no credit to the unemployed Unionists.

In the mean time, the resources of the men have been arranged for the struggle. Since the stop has taken place, the other trades in Leeds, and the Unions in the neighbouring towns, have avowed their determination to afford pecuniary supplies; and from places at a considerable distance (Birmingham for instance) the same assurances of support have been transmitted. An appeal from the Clothiers' and Dressers' Committee has also been circulated. The circular states—"In consequence of a number of master-manufacturers and master cloth-dressers in this town having determined not to employ any workman who is a member of the Trades' Union, upwards of three thousand were, on Saturday last, reduced to the alternative of being thrown out of employment, and being dependant upon their friends for assistance, till they could find justice, or unconditionally surrender their valuable right at the shrine of selfishness and dictatorial pride. Confiding in the justice of their cause, and the generous sympathy of thousands of friends, they choose the former. This is, therefore, to solicit your attention to the subject, and as friends and brothers in the great common cause, we trust you will lend a helping hand in the struggle. By doing so, you will do a kindness to thousands, who will have to thank you as a means of rendering them an essential service, and who will not fail to remember it in future." On Thursday morning, another meeting of

of the Unionists was held on Woodhouse-moor, and about three thousand persons were present. They were addressed by Mr. S. Pollard, the secretary of the Union, and by Mr. M. Scholefield. Mr. Pollard commented upon the tacit refusal of the masters to accede to overtures of accommodation; he rebutted the charges of recent intimidation brought against the Union; he affirmed that the handbill which had been issued by the masters was only intended first to break the Union, and then to enable them subsequently to reduce the wages; he stated that some of the masters had gone to the flour-shops to prevent any trust being given to the Unionists; he declared that the contest could be supported six months, or twelve months, if the masters thought proper to continue it; he alluded to the fact that a number of special constables had been sworn in; he affirmed that all such precautions were perfectly unnecessary; he earnestly exhorted the people to give no advantage to their adversaries by any violation of the peace; and he concluded by stating that, without union, the workmen would find it to be in vain to expect that their condition would be ameliorated, or that their cause could be sustained. The second speaker read a letter which the Union had received two years ago from Mr. Pim Nevins, asserting that the Leeds' rate of wages was twenty per cent. higher than that of the west of England; the fallacy of this assertion he demonstrated by appealing to a pamphlet, published in that manufacturing district, which stated that the rate of wages in the west of England was eighteen per cent. higher than existing in Leeds. Another ratification, by show of hands, was then given of the determination of the men not to sign the declaration; it was announced that another meeting would be held on Monday at eleven o'clock, and the assembly broke up without any appearance of disorder.

Several meetings of trades were held yesterday, when it was unanimously resolved to support the clothiers and dressers.—*Weekly True Sun.*

CORPOREAL SENSIBILITY.—What is science? A series of propositions, which all relate to one general and original principle. Is morality a science? Yes, if in corporeal sensation I have discovered the sole principle of which all the precepts of morality are the necessary consequences. It is an evident proof of the truth of this principle that it explains all the modes of being of mankind, that it develops the causes of their understanding, their stupidity, their love, their hatred, their errors, and their contradictions. This principle ought to be more easily and universally adopted, as the existence of corporeal sensibility is a fact allowed by all, as the idea of it is clear, the notion distinct, the expression determinate, and, lastly, as no error can mix itself with so simple an axiom.—Corporeal sensibility seems to have been given to man as a tutelary angel, charged to watch incessantly over his preservation. Let man be happy: this, perhaps, is the sole view of nature, and the sole principle of morality. When the laws are good, private interest will never be destructive of that of the public; every one will be employed in pursuing his felicity; every one will be fortunate and just, because every one will perceive that his happiness depends upon that of his neighbour.—*HELVETIUS.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—By the recommendation of several of my friends, I have again intruded upon the notice of my brother Unionists, through the medium of the press. In my last I laid before you the easy means of obtaining the land, and also the necessity of taking this step. To impress upon the minds of all classes of society the immediate necessity, I will now place before you the most easy method of beginning this important work. Suppose four thousand smiths in union divide themselves, and I will take one from every five hundred at a contribution of one halfpenny per head weekly, which would amount weekly to 12. 0s. 10d. There would be eight smiths, twenty-six tailors, eighteen shoemakers, sixteen builders (a proportionate number of each), carpenters, bricklayers (including labourers), hatters, curriers, butchers, bakers, brewers, dyers, &c. and a few others, such as schoolmasters, teachers of music, and every other necessary and useful trade for instruction of every kind. Every fifty members numerically shall elect their man, and be answerable for his weekly wages, amounting to 12. 0s. 10d.; each trade having elected their number, and one more to collect the halfpenny, free from every expense, and transmitted to them on the land. Those from every trade shall board together under their joint expense, until their first crops come forth. Every member so elected, and placed on the land, shall produce for the society so much in labour as he shall receive from them in wages, and render a correct account once a month to those by whom he is elected and supported, in order to give them the most satisfactory information to create all those desirable objects. After the second year, no member should go back to work against his brothers, but all should assist to draw off from the large towns as many brothers and sisters, with their children, as possible, or as there may be five hundreds to support them. You may bid farewell then to want of any kind; the children would in four years support all their parents, and pay the purchase-money. Let me recommend you in your lodges to discuss this important question, and I am prepared to lay before you all the means to effect his desirable end the moment you are ready, and be happy to wait on you at your respective lodges, and explain all the details.—I am yours, faithfully,

BROTHER TIPPER,

5th Lodge of Carpenters, F. S. O. B. P. S.—I recommend 3000 acres, and not less.

CO-OPERATIVE AQUATIC EXCURSION, Under the superintendence of the Stewards of the Festivals at the Charlotte-street Institution.

The Stewards beg respectfully to announce to the Friends, that they have engaged, on the part of the Committee of the Institution, the spacious and superior steam vessel, the *HERO*, for Monday, June 23. It will leave the Pier, at St. Katharine's Lock, at 8 o'clock precisely, and arrangements have been made that the Friends may embark and disembark without charge. It will thence proceed to Gravesend, Sheerness, and Rochester-bridge, passing the Royal Fleet in the river Medway.

The excellent amateur quadrille and concert bands of the Institution, consisting of above thirty performers, have kindly consented to assist on the occasion. The dancing will consist of quadrilles, cotillones, and c. c. c. Such of the company as may choose to go on shore, may do so at Gravesend, or Sheerness, and the vessel will take them up again at Rochester, or on its return. Tickets 4s. each; Children under twelve years of age 2s.; to be had at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, and at other places which will be announced next week.

MISCELLANEOUS LODGE.—Persons desirous of forming Branch Lodges of the Grand Lodge of Miscellaneous Operatives, must apply for instructions to the Grand Lodge.

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, Mr. Smith, Sunday morning, at half past eleven. Mr. Owen, Sunday evening, at seven o'clock.

A Discussion every Tuesday evening. Chair taken at eight o'clock.

The 54th Social Festival of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, June 2. Tickets 1s. 6d., or 1s. and a one-hour note and, tea and coffee included.

The Committee having made arrangements for manufacturing according to the system of the Union, and for effecting sales of Union Goods in the Exchange, do hereby give notice that no more notes will be issued for deposits at present. The holders of notes are at the same time requested to make their selections from the stock, as early as possible.

BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS.

THE most excruciating pains of Gout, Rheumatic Gout, Rheumatism, and Lumbago, relieved in the short space of two hours, and cured in a few days, by these incomparable Pills, which are so perfectly innocent as to require neither confinement nor attentions of any sort. Indeed, they are a remedy so completely efficient, that they need only a trial to insure their universal recommendation. The following few names are selected from a numerous list of persons that can be referred to, who will gladly recommend these Pills from their own experience:—

Mr. William Hale, nearly 40 years pastmaster at Dulwich, Surrey, afflicted with Rheumatism for ten or twelve years, and through which he was superannuated, completely cured by less than one box; there are also several persons in the neighbourhood of Dulwich who have experienced similar benefits, and who can be referred to.

Mr. Charles Price (late of the Fleet-street Office), No. 31, St. Martin's lane, has been twice cured of attacks of the Gout by the taking of three or four doses only each time.

Mr. William Robinson, 30, Eagle-street, 2nd Lion-square, in the employ of Messrs. Day and Martin, relieved by three doses, and cured by the taking of one box, of a violent attack of Rheumatic Gout, which had confined him to his bed for eight days.

Sold by Thomas Proust, 229, Strand, London, (seven doors from Temple-bar); and, by appointment, by most medicine venders in town and country, price 2s. 9d. per box.

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THE THEOLOGICAL WORKS OF THOMAS PAINE. This Edition of PAINE'S *THEOLOGICAL WORKS* is printed uniformly with COUSIN'S Edition of the *AGE* or *REVEALED* Numbers, attached in a Wrapper, price 14s. B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn.

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Of whom may be had, published by B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields, **THE WORLD AT ONE VIEW**, carefully corrected up to the present time (1833): in which the various Empires, Kingdoms, Republics, principal Islands, Colonies, and Dependencies of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, are systematically arranged, and shown at one glance, and included in a single line, with the Situation, Extent, and Cities, their Population, Distances from London, from London, Produce, Government, Armies, Military and Naval Strength, Arts and Manufactures, also, a brief Definition of the Globe, &c. &c. royal sheet. Price Three pence.

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THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 9, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 1.

Mr. Smith lectured on "THE SOURCE OF HAPPINESS."—This was once a favourite subject of discussion with all the wise men of Greece and Rome, and even formed the basis of a sectarian division. Epicurus, the founder of the Epicurean philosophy, maintained that happiness consisted in the pleasures of sense; and the Stoics, his opponents, maintained the very contrary doctrine, as they imagined; namely, that happiness resulted entirely from virtue and placidity of mind. It is really amusing to hear how bitterly two parties will rail at each other, and accuse one another with folly and wickedness, when there is no more difference between them than the mode of expressing themselves. There is no such thing as a bodily or mental pleasure, which is purely bodily or purely mental; all happiness results from a union of the feelings of the body and mind. The mind has no perception of itself; it could know nothing of external nature without the five senses; hence all its happiness must be derived from the five senses, and its own reflection upon the images which they convey to it. The body also has no perception without the mind; in fact, the mind is the only thing that feels; but it cannot feel without the body. It is almost absurd, then, to talk of bodily and intellectual pleasures. All pleasures are both bodily and intellectual; but there are some pleasures which are more directly sensual, and some that are more reflective than others.

It has been an old custom, which we have derived from the mystics of the church, to rail against the flesh, and extol the enjoyments of the mind. Even the infidels know not how much they are yet the creatures of those spiritual doctrines which began in the first century of Christianity to infest the church, and has spread like a malignant fever over all the civilised world, like one unique and universal spirit, in whose hand the hearts of all men were wound for wisdom or folly. Every experiment has been tried by men to discover where the great good resided. Those who gave themselves up entirely to contemplation, expecting to find it there, have denied themselves all those pleasures which result from the direct gratification of the mind by the senses; but,

not being able to sustain activity of mind under such circumstances, they merely fell into a sort of slumber or doze, and became useless to themselves and to society. One sect of the ancient spiritualists used, for days at a time, to seat themselves in a corner upon the floor, and there, directing the eyes of their mind to the middle of their belly, where they said God resided, they sought the greatest excess of enjoyment in thus dozing themselves into a kind of sleep, in which the mind, becoming either delirious or heated by painful action, created all sorts of fantastic visions, and amused itself by making a new world of its own, since the body was determined to deny it the means of becoming acquainted with this. Many of the dervises or faquires of the East have still a similar way of enjoying themselves. They whirl themselves round upon their heels until they become quite giddy, and can stand no longer; they then fall down and enjoy the transitory pleasure which it creates, calling this a worshipping of God, and the giddiness produced by the rotatory motion an inspiration of the spirit! This, however, is not, properly speaking, spiritualism; it is purely sensual, inasmuch as the effect produced is occasioned by the whirling of the body and the confusion of the senses. These are, however, extreme instances of that sort of experiments, which the idle mystics of ancient times used to make in order to discover how happiness might be attained; and though their experiments were foolish, being the result of ignorance, they are not useless to us, who may learn from their failure to pursue the true path, which, after all the fruitless efforts which have been made, is still the path to which every wanderer at last returns—the path of industry and science, where the body and the mind are equally respected; the one fed with all that can gratify its desires, and the other cultivated with mental nurture, by the study of Nature and her laws of action.

Other men have gone into the very opposite extreme of the spiritualists, and searched for pleasure in the immediate gratification of the senses. These, however, have rarely formed themselves into a sect. They have no uniting principle; they are wanderers in life,—men who have no system of doctrine, no religion, and no organization. A few instances there

have been of religious sects which formed themselves upon the principle of sensuality. There is at present, and has been for a century past, a very powerful sect of sensualists in the church of Rome, who mystify the Bible entirely into a system of love. The monks and nuns are its component members, and the licentious excesses to which their principles have led them have more than once called for the interference of the civil magistrate, for the church refuses to correct the disorder. In direct opposition to this materialism stands the order of the Trappists, a small sect of anchorites, who carry spirituality to the very extreme limits. They live together in community, and never speak to each other, nor to any one else; from the day that they take the vow, their tongue ceases to perform its usual functions, and the voice of speech is for ever silenced; neither do they read: but they cultivate their gardens for vegetable food, upon which they are supported, and walk at leisure hours for meditation, with their arms folded upon their bosoms, neither observing their fellow-prisoners, nor observed by them. They employ a part of every day in digging their own graves; and when the grave is dug, they fill it up again and begin anew; and thus many of them dig their graves a hundred times over, and at last they are laid silently into them by their fellow mutes.

What a singular being man is! how unsearchable are his ways! there is no understanding him. We cannot conceive that there are no pleasures in such ways as these; all sects and parties have their peculiar pleasures, and there are minds and bodies fitted by nature not only for tolerating such lives as these, but actually for enjoying them as much as others do their fancied liberty. The poor Indian, who seats himself in a corner of his hut, and raises up his arms above his head, never more to be taken down, but to remain fixed and immovable in his person, the wonder of some, the admiration of others, and the object of pity and of abhorrence to the greatest number; he also has his pleasure, and his personal vanity is fed by the admiration of his fellow countrymen. He has got the assurance of faith to give him hope in the future favour of heaven; and the force of bodily and mental habit is so unlimited, that, after a few days or weeks to overcome the

first struggle of nature against the confinement, he becomes reconciled to his stationary condition, and his countenance renews its cheerfulness and its smiles. What is there that human folly cannot accomplish? it is almost, if not altogether, as marvellous as human genius, not in producing happiness, but in performing miracles, which we could never have believed possible if we had not witnessed them, or had them attested by indubitable testimony.

Though there have been various, infinitely various, degrees of spiritualism and sensualism in Christendom since the epoch of Christianity, yet the Christian dispensation may, with strict propriety, be called the era of spiritualism. The doctrine of the church has been decidedly spiritual, and by far the greatest encouragement has been given to this department of nature. All the monkish institutions were founded upon abstinence and mortification. Into whatever degree of corruption they finally descended, this was their original and avowed character. Their profligacy, when it was committed, was committed in private. The age before that, on the contrary, was materialism. Jewism and Paganism both gave indulgence to the senses; no good cheer was forbidden; all was lawful that was pleasant to the body, and the intellect was little consulted. The Jewish writers never speak of education or of science of any kind; they merely talk of the grandeur and riches of their kings, inform you what battles they fought, how much wealth they possessed, how many wives they kept, and what splendid buildings they erected; and if for once they make an exception in favour of Solomon, the only wise man they ever had amongst them, they merely state, in a single sentence, that Solomon surpassed all other men in learning, "and spake of trees, from the cedar-tree that groweth in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowls, and of creeping things, and of fishes." This is all that is said of his wisdom: but his wives and his concubines were carefully counted,—his horses, his horsemen, and his chariots, the grand processions and flourishes of trumpets described,—all that is splendid to the eye or gratifying to the senses. This was the decided character of ancient times,—sensualism. Men began with this: it was natural they should do so. It is the first thing to attract the mind; but, when combined with ignorance, it becomes very unsatisfactory. They perceive a want, and therefore very naturally jump over the ditch to the other side, thinking that, since happiness is not to be found on one side, it is sure to be found on the other. It was about the beginning of the Christian era that men were running into this extreme. The spirit of the age had decided against the old system as insufficient for happiness; men were beginning to see the vanity of outward pomp and show, and philosophical sects were every where arising, who gave themselves up to mortification and abstinence, denying themselves even the common comforts of sufficient food, shelter, and clothing, and even the pleasures of social life, betaking themselves to the woods and the mountains, to get out of the old world into a new world of their own minds' creation.

Christianity, in the very nick of time, as all nature's great revolutions do, came into favour this infant spirit of retirement. "Come out of the world," was the everlasting doctrine of its missionaries; not, however, to retreat from

society, but to abandon the old practices of materialism, and commence the new course of spiritualism; "For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if, through the spirit, ye mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live; for they that are in Christ walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." This mortification of the flesh was carried to such an extent that they interdicted the women from even adorning their persons in the usual way. They were not even permitted to plait their hair, or to wear jewels, or any sort of finery, but to dress in modest apparel. This was the commencement of the grand spiritual reign of the church; it grew like a mushroom; the attractions of the new creed were inconceivable; thousands of hermits, and abstainers of every description, appeared on all sides, till at last the very church itself, and the ecclesiastical courts, passed laws prohibiting marriage and enjoining chastity in priests, as well as abstinence in the laity from many of the comforts and luxuries of life. This has been growing for 1800 years, and we have not got rid of it; it exists amongst all parties, Christian and Infidel, all of whom have got the old leaven within them, and talk contemptuously of sensual pleasures, giving all the honour and respect to the cultivation and gratification of the mind.

There is great absurdity in this doctrine, this reprobation of the senses, which are the only organs of communication we have with the external world; and to talk disrespectfully of them is just to follow the example of the clergy, who, upon the same principle of doctrine, have in all ages been attempting to persuade the people that the gratification of their senses is an evil, degrading to their nature and offensive to heaven. By this means they partly succeeded in generating patience under affliction, made the people contented to sleep upon beds of straw and live upon oats, when their lordly superiors were sleeping on down, and lolling in luxurious fulness and ease. Nay, they were cunningly taught that if they suffered privations in this life, they would have ample compensation in the next; and the parable of the rich man and Lazarus was, no doubt, adduced many thousands of times, to prove that they who endured poverty with patience in this world had great consolation in Abraham's bosom hereafter.

This doctrine was no doubt a comfort to the poor in their helpless circumstances; but if it continued to be taught and believed, it would thoroughly prevent their deliverance, by repressing the ardour of their zeal and resistance against oppression. But the delusion is disappearing, and quite as rapidly as is safe for society; for until men have sufficiently cultivated their minds to receive enjoyment from intellectual pursuits, it would not be desirable to see the restraints of society broken and men let loose. But they will be let loose shortly, and the moral check which knowledge, and plenty, and leisure-time will create will be sufficient to curb any evil arising from the declaration of the important doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh to its proper status in the animal economy. Christianity has crucified the flesh, mortified all its desires, made it sinful even to enjoy the most simple and innocent pleasures; it has buried it under the mass of spirituality and mysticism, threatening it with damnation everlasting if it offered to raise its head and demand satisfaction. But it shall not be buried much longer; it shall rise again and enjoy all its original honours; and,

being combined with the intellect in joint partnership, it will finish the moral training of man, and establish securely that happiness for which he has hitherto been looking in vain.

Man has hitherto come through two great stages—that of materialism, or sensualism, and that of spiritualism. The former was the old world, when nothing was regarded as of any value or importance but war, courage, strength, beauty, riches, and all the pomp, pride, and luxury of the senses. Here there was no science, no knowledge of nature's laws; the arts had, no doubt, made a little progress; but the chief use which man made of his ingenuity was to work in gold, and silver, and jewellery, to make weapons of war and costly robes and trinkets for the great. This was the age of unalloyed sensualism, unrefined by the discoveries of science and the demonstrations of philosophy. Then comes the second great era—the era of spiritualism; when the arts decayed, but the powers of speech, of meditation, reflection, and deep enquiry and research were carried to great perfection; but as this was merely the opposite extreme, it produced no good result, for all the while the natural passions had been under constraint. For eighteen hundred years we have been threatened with vengeance unspeakable if we even listened to the temptations of our bodies. The poor Catholics have even been denied the privilege of eating meat for one half of the week. This long era has been the death of the flesh, and now it is to rise, and a new era is approaching; an era not like the first, where materialism only shall reign, and man shall be merely a sensualist, addicted to the pleasures of the body, and glorying only in outward pomp and ostentatious splendour; nor like the second, where spiritualism shall act the tyrant, and subdue the flesh, and restrict it from its natural pleasures; but a state compounded of both materialism and spiritualism, when the one shall correct the vagaries and the lewdness, or fanaticism, of the other,—and both being free to act according to the impulses of nature, shall combine to give satisfaction to human happiness. This is the resurrection of the flesh, and the end of the reign of spiritualism.

In the commencement of this discourse I alluded to the ancient Epicureans, a sect which have been so variously represented that it is very difficult for us to say what they were originally. Epicurus himself is described by some as an infamous debauchee, a glutton, one who destroyed his constitution by excess of animal pleasure; others, again, represent him as one of the most temperate of all men, and say that his diet consisted chiefly of butter, cheese, and water. But whatever his character was, sensual or spiritual, it is evident that he got a very bad name, so much so that an epicure is now a vulgar word for a glutton. The reason of all this slander was, no doubt, merely the employment of a certain word. It was the enquiry of philosophers in those days to find out where the source of happiness was to be found, and Epicurus very bluntly told the Greeks that it consisted in pleasure. Nothing can be more true; but men are so sensually disposed, that whenever you speak of pleasure, their gluttonous and beastly minds everlastingly congregate to themselves one particular species of pleasure, or what they call pleasures, and these pleasures are gluttony, drunkenness, and debauchery. I would call such things pain, instead of pleasure; but such is the corruption of mankind,

that they have actually exchanged meanings with pain and pleasure, virtue and vice, and stigmatise as a monster the man who speaks in favour of pleasure, or, in other words, of happiness. To say in public that happiness consists in pleasure, is enough to damn you as a reprobate, because it is actually a common understanding amongst men at present, that pleasure means nothing else than drunkenness, lewdness, and debauchery. Hence, poor Epicurus, and all his disciples, have been branded as infamous for two thousand years; yet, never was a truer doctrine taught than theirs, "that happiness consists in pleasure." They did not mean any particular sort of pleasure, neither did they mean excess, for that is no pleasure; they only meant the moderate indulgence of those passions and appetites which nature had given them; whether animal or intellectual, and they were as much addicted as other men to intellectual and philosophical pursuits.

But the reason of all their diatribe was this, they appeared in a day when men were beginning to spiritualise and become monks and anchorites; the spirit of the age was against them, and has continued bitterly to revile them in words, whilst it has gone far beyond the doctrine of Epicurus in deeds, and debauched itself in reality.

The Epicurean doctrine is the true doctrine of social happiness; the doctrine to which we must all return at last. It is the doctrine of liberty, and not of violent restraint; the doctrine of innocent enjoyment, not of excess and repletion; the doctrine of social life, and reciprocal kindness. But the old world has always been a rank hypocrite; it has always abused what it was inclined to follow, and lauded what it neither had the inclination nor the power to follow. The Stoics of old were the men of virtue and character; they secured the approbation of the age, because they professed to care for neither pleasure nor pain, being insensible alike to either; hence a Stoic was accounted by the foolish multitude a man of sterling virtue, cool mind, and determined fortitude. The Stoics were working with the times, which were in their favour; the star of fortune was with the sect, and the monks, who lived on the tops of pillars for years without coming down, were the greatest Stoics that ever lived, unless it be the poor devotees of the East, who hung themselves up by flesh-hooks for hours, or sat for years in one posture, to please God Almighty, and gain a little applause from their fellow-creatures.

Such fooleries are now dying, at least in Christendom; yet much is still to be done to instruct the people in what consists real happiness. To tell them now that happiness consisted in pleasure, would be leading them astray, unless pleasure was properly defined, for the fools think that pleasure means a debauch, and all its attendant consequences of debility of mind and body. They are not yet ready for hearing the whole truth; for they make a bad use of it; and this degeneracy of taste, this proneness to drunkenness and vice, is one of the strongest arguments in justification of the clergy and their system of doctrine. The clergy say, "we are essentially necessary to preserve the morals of the community: were we to give them liberty, they would at once fly to the gin-shop, and places of worse repute." There is too much truth in it; the people are very foolish; they have no idea of what moderation is; they perpetually run to excess, both in practice and in opinion, and require a check-

bridle upon them to curb them. But whatever I have said of pleasure, I have always understood of moderate and temperate enjoyment of mind and body. Licentiousness of every kind I abhor, whether it be the licentiousness of the mere animal, or that spiritual licentiousness which deals in mysticism alone, and diverts the mind from the pursuit of useful employment.

The Evening Lecture we have not received.

THE FANCIED FREEDOM OF WOMEN!

"We were never in bondage to any man; how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free?"

John viii. 33.

STERN says "the cant of criticism is the worst;" had he lived in our days, it may reasonably be asserted that he would have assigned the superiority to the cant of freedom. From the free-will sectarian, who endeavours to maintain the greatest absurdities respecting the power to do, or not to do, to the child struggling in the sturdy grasp of a bathing amazon at Brighton, and screaming in infantile language till the briny waters drown its words that it will not be bathed, this common delusion prevails. It is not, however, with either of these extreme exemplifications that we have now to do: it is here intended to expose the operations of this general cheat, while it whispers its false tale of freedom in the ears of woman; to mark how it has flattered, and does flatter her, with the words of power and liberty, while her whole being has been completely bound in the chains of the greatest ignorance, of the grossest error. And so successful has the sophistry been, that if any attempt be made to convince them on this subject, the majority will tell you that they are well satisfied to remain as they are, and will enquire with a *naïveté* almost discouraging, what can they want? Want! the question alone, when their real situation in society is considered, proves how destitute they are; they want almost all that an intelligent being can want; they want to be free from the effects of that degrading and false assumption of inferiority to which the mis-called social arrangements subject them; to be free from those restraints which compel them to be ignorant and miserable. Why has Nature gifted them with intellect? why has she endowed them with a love of knowledge, of improvement? why with a perception of excellence? why with a power to combine, and arrange, and reason, and imagine, if she never meant them to be called into action? But believe not this to be the case. Nature does nothing in vain; and when her bounty is disregarded, when her laws are set at naught and scorned, she knows how to be avenged; and fearfully, in this instance, has she proved it, by afflicting society with innumerable evils, the necessary consequences of this injustice done to her daughters! How much of the misery conspicuous every where in society has arisen from the ignorance of women, and the false regulations to which they have ever been forced to conform! Turn over the pages of history, and read in them what the slavery of women has caused. Surely the records there found plead, in words that burn, for their emancipation! look at the wretched facts our daily press brings before us, and say whether they do not demand, in tones of thunder, that this miserable system, miserable especially as regards women, should no longer be suffered? And until it shall be altered—

until women shall occupy the place which they alone can properly fill, it needs no prophetic gift to predict that the regeneration of society is, indeed, a dream and a vision.

It may be said that women are not yet fit for this change. The attempt to pass off this wretched verbiage as reasoning, in questions similar to the one under discussion, such as the education of the poor, and the emancipation of slaves, has been too successfully defeated to require any formal exposure. The reply must be laconic: make them fit. You have compelled them to be in many respects frivolous and silly; now change the circumstances, and force them to become wise. As to the unmeaning jargon of natural inferiority, it is sufficiently silenced by the proofs women have ever given of their moral superiority, and, within the last century, of their intellectual equality. Nothing remains but greater physical strength on the side of the men; and, happily, we now do not live in times when this advantage will any longer entitle them to play the tyrant; though now, and ever, it will give them the courage and energy to defend those who, in this respect, may be less gifted.

— "Oh, 'tis excellent

To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous To use it like a giant!"

But, it is again urged, "they are contented with their present condition; they are unconscious of their thralldom; and, 'where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise,'" but ignorance is, in no sense, and never has been, bliss to them, or those whom they have influenced. Their contentment must, therefore, be disturbed; they must be roused from this moral and intellectual insensibility which renders them unresisting victims and slaves; their degradation must be made evident to them; and though, for some, kindness and generosity may seek to cover the chain with flowers, let not this cause them to forget that it is a chain,—one that is but too frequently made to corrode the very heart of the powerless, the defenceless, and the unoffending. They must be told of the power they possess to confer the most important benefits upon the whole human family, and doubt not but that you will then touch a chord to which the benevolent feelings of women will harmoniously respond: for much as men may talk and philosophize respecting their superior capacity to understand the theory of cosmopolitanism, there are few women who do not understand the practice perhaps much better.

Among the many mistakes which are committed in the education of women, one has ever prevailed, which appears a most glaring error; and that is, their perfect ignorance of those laws that so peculiarly relate to them; perhaps, indeed, it is owing to this ignorance that they are still extant; perhaps, if women were more aware of their insignificance in the eye of the law, some of the decrees which disgrace our statute-book would not only be dead letters, but absolutely repealed. "Upon this hint I shall speak," and append to this paper a few of those laws which tell right eloquently of the gallantry of our legislators; and which, if considered useful, may occasionally appear as space will admit. But let it be understood that, in so doing, there is not the least intention to excite one unkind or angry feeling. If women have been ignorant, and erred in things, so have the men; and believing nothing but a knowledge of facts can rescue society from error and misery, the veil is r

not to introduce discord, but to discover truth. It is most desirable for the interest of all parties that the women should know their real position in society, to effect which purpose they must be shown how those laws, made for them, but not by them, invariably assume that they are inferior beings, and that in all relative and social conditions, they habitually subscribe to the truth of this assumption. From childhood every domestic arrangement tends to impress them with a sense of inferiority; even those qualities which are in their own nature so beautiful, and which give the character so great a charm, are frequently acquired, not from a conviction of their intrinsic value, but because gentleness, kindness, and endurance, are absolutely necessary to beings who feel they cannot successfully claim any thing. Oh! if woman could but be taught to understand herself, how would she loathe that slavery which obscures her original brightness! how clearly would she perceive it to be the cause of the childish timidity, the artifice, the deception, the false, the foolish love of indiscriminate admiration, the eager pursuit of trifling or worthless objects, with which she is so often justly reproached! Could she but perceive this justice to herself, to all around her, to all the millions who are to succeed her, it would give her strength to burst her bonds, and cast them away for ever.

After viewing women in this degraded condition, will it not be fair to give a hasty sketch of what she will be under more equitable circumstances? Behold her, then, with beauty, intelligence, and moral worth of the highest order, performing happily and gracefully those never-failing, never-wearying duties for which Nature has destined her; behold her, when no mistaken sense of inferiority bows down her elastic and joyous spirit, or represses the full exercise of her genius! her character is now formed by reason and love, not by fear; her claim to equality having been admitted, there needs no covert endeavour to encroach upon the rights of others; understanding the bounds which Nature has assigned to her power, she will not seek to overstep them. Moral courage and gentle decision will then characterize her actions, and she will pass through life twice-blessed, in giving and receiving happiness. How long, then, shall this description be that of a picture only? How long are we to wait and sigh for the realization of it? Not long! The time has now arrived;—a voice has already gone forth, at whose whisper the women have partly shaken off their torpor,—already are many of them conscious of the unjust degradation to which they have hitherto submitted,—already have they made rapid progress in the lessons of self-knowledge, and the farther they advance, the more must they be convinced that the prejudices which have prevailed with respect to them must yield to the unanswerable proofs their conduct will give of the fallacy upon which such prejudices have been founded. In the mean time let all who delight in the advancement of justice and truth congratulate them upon every advantage they gain, and give them the warmest, most affectionate wishes for ultimate and speedy success. They need not be warned against making an unwise use of victory: the generous are always merciful; and, assuming that kindness and reason will distinguish their proceedings, it is certain that opposition will die a natural death, as it will be evident to all men of sense,

that, in proportion to the recognition of the rights of women, will the men be gainers.

The husband is in general entitled to the absolute control over his wife's person, for though he may not imprison and restrain her liberty in the house; yet it is no imprisonment if he allow her the liberty of the house, and restrain her from going out of it.

As to personal property, this belongs exclusively to the husband as soon as it can be reduced into possession. Even the wife's earnings are his, and he may lawfully possess himself of them, although the woman may be living separate from him, supporting his children, and earning a salary for her services: for "Marriage is an absolute unqualified gift to the husband of all the goods and personal chattels of which his wife is absolutely possessed at the time, or became so afterwards in her own right, whether he survive or not."—*Judge Powell.*

Nothing less than personal violence towards the wife will justify her in leaving his house so as to make him responsible for necessities supplied to her; for example, where she is so ill-treated as to render it unsafe for her to live with him.

A husband is not liable for provisions furnished to his wife without his consent by the jailer of a prison where he may have caused her to be confined unjustly.

May, 1834.

CONCORDIA.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The generous enthusiasm of Philosophus prevents him from perceiving the misconception which would be put upon his letter to Dr. Wade, even by the Doctor himself.

An Old Mechanic we have sent to Mr. Owen. The Prospectus of the National Consolidated Union Bank will be given next week, it having come to hand too late for this number.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 7.

OUR Institution is now about to assume a new character, and to act more upon the decisive principle than it originally did. One may go to an extreme in unity, as well as in any thing else: we might all be so united or tied together that we could not move; such a state of co-operation could have very little tendency to promote the social principle; there is something besides unity necessary to be considered; there is a proper system of division essential to the preservation of order and the progress of improvement. To that system we are advancing; the Exchange, in its old capacity, has ceased to be; the trades are about to act independently, each conducting its own business, and not, as formerly, all conglomerated in one huge, undistinguished mass. This is not competition, but division; the tailor is not the rival of the shoemaker, nor the shoemaker of the carpenter; no one trade is a rival of another, and no one trade is able to superintend or control the management of the business of another. We agree with our friend Peel, however, in thinking that all interested parties ought to be consulted, and that no arrangements

ought to be entered into without the consent of the majority. That consent, of course, will be obtained, for no one who wishes success to the cause could start the smallest objection to it; but consent might be asked as a matter of courtesy, in case of any ill-natured reflections being afterwards raised upon the present proceedings. We recommend this, however, merely as a matter of courtesy—justice does not require it, as no injustice can be committed by the new arrangements.

LAST week we replied to the objections of an operative respecting distribution, which seem to be pretty generally received amongst the public, and considered as conclusive against the possibility of the success of united labour; viz. that production is not sufficient to meet the demands of the wants of the population. The *Times*, a few days ago, very triumphantly promised that next morning it would take up the subject of the Unions, and expose the fallacy of their system and doctrine. We looked for something very profound and logical, and were preparing our minds for some grand intellectual struggle within, with the resistless arguments of the great spirit of the age. But to our great disappointment we found no other argument than that of our old friend the operative, namely, that the productions of industry are not sufficient to satisfy the wants of all. We say disappointed, for we are always sorry to find that our opponent is entirely devoid of strength, and unable to make a respectable stand in his own defence. A giant is ashamed to engage with a dwarf; and therefore, though we do not pretend to any thing gigantic either in mind or person, we could not avoid raising ourselves on tiptoe, and looking very contemptuously when we found our contemporary, the *Times*, dwindling so diminutively before us. He thought he had settled the subject, when he informed us that three millions of men could not, under the present arrangements of society, produce sufficient for sixteen millions.

Suppose we were to double the number of producers, and double the amount of machinery, could we not easily double the amount of production? There are millions of acres of uncultivated land in our own country, and, in the world at large, hundreds of millions. There is no want of soil; and there is no want of power to train the soil, but neither that soil nor that power is employed to one-hundredth part of the amount that is within the reach of mankind. Why not? In the first place, because only a small portion of the community is employed in production; and, in the second place, because the present arrangements of society are such that the employment of power is dangerous, for the profit is absorbed entirely by the monopolists, and the poor are deprived of the

means of subsistence by the substitution of machinery in their stead; hence, a species of moral check is put upon the production of wealth, which really has a tendency to increase in a much greater ratio than it does were it not restricted by the trammels of the competitive system.

Literature.

(From *Hampden in the Nineteenth Century*.)

[We give another extract from this very interesting and instructive work, and mean occasionally to furnish our readers with more, as the work is of too expensive a nature to fall into the hands of many of the working classes. It is certainly one of the most useful productions of the present age, calculated, by the mildness of its tone, the elegance of its language, and the universality of its information, to allay the prejudices of the educated classes, and allure them to the further investigation of those new schemes of social economy which, if generally adopted, would secure the felicity of the whole human family.]

A CHRISTIAN COUNTRY!!!

Upon arriving at Birmingham, Vela expressed a desire to see a copy of the Report of the Committee on the Factory Bill, which Bertrand was unable to procure; but he was informed that a copy could most probably be seen at the rooms of the Philosophical Society at Manchester.—They remained here for a few days, and had interviews with some of the more moderate members of the Political Union, and who were much occupied in the currency question, a favourite mode of relief with Mr. Atwood. Vela was not interested in the subject, as he found it difficult to comprehend, being altogether unaccustomed to such enquiries; nor is it wonderful that it should be perplexing to him, since so many who have been long used to similar subjects find it too intricate.—They visited most of the large manufactories; and Vela was astonished at the power and beautiful execution of the machinery; but he could not help deeply commiserating the excessive toil and disagreeable employment of the people. One scene in particular drew his attention: A whole family, father, mother, brothers, and sisters, in all twelve persons, were occupied, almost in a state of nudity, at a furnace of intense heat in a confined place. The symptoms of oppression which their persons exhibited were painful and revolting. Upon enquiry he ascertained that this was no uncommon case of that kind of distressing work.

From Birmingham they proceeded to Manchester, where they sojourned many days, making frequent excursions in the vicinity; and it was not unusual for them to loiter near a mill about the hour of dinner, to see the men, women, and children come out. These scenes astonished Vela more than all he had heard or seen since his arrival in England. Hundreds of children, pale, sickly, and decrepid,—the parents feeble and emaciated,—a beautiful country disfigured by clouds of smoke,—vegetation checked, and all the towns and villages in a constant bustle, noise, and confusion.—“The papers of last week reported,” said Vela one day (while looking steadfastly upon a group of pale and wan-looking children just emerged from a mill), “the trade of Manchester to be in a more healthy state.”—“They meant,” replied Bertrand, “that the commerce of the

town was more steady, and less speculative and fluctuating.”—“Well,” observed Vela upon another occasion, “I think your country dearly purchases all its fame and glory; no paternal government would covet extent of territory or wealth at the cost of so much pain and misery. Is it not known that these crowds of children are gifted with superior faculties, and that each could be made kind in disposition, as well as industrious, and highly intelligent? Yesterday I spoke to several, and found they could neither read nor write: indeed, it is quite impossible they should have any time, for all were employed thirteen, and some more, hours in the day. They went to a Sunday-school; but one of their mothers informed me that they were too much jaded and confined in the week-days to pay any attention when at school; and it was absolutely necessary that they should have as much fresh air as possible. The poor woman told me she had lost two children: a daughter, whose clothes were caught in one of the wheels, which carried her round two or three times, breaking both her legs and an arm; and a son, who was one of the nine boys precipitated down a coal-shaft ninety yards in depth, in consequence of the chain being displaced: all were killed; but one, however, survived a short time only.”

One morning Bertrand had engaged to visit a friend a few miles from Manchester; and before he set out he introduced Vela to the reading-room of the Philosophical Society, where he found the Report on the Factory Bill.—On his return he found his Peruvian friend still reading; but with his face flushed, as if he had been extremely intent upon the subject. Vela looked up on his entrance, and addressed him in a hurried manner.

Vela.—Charles, I am glad you have returned, for I have been much perplexed with the opinions in a work which is now before me, and the leaves of which I ventured to cut:—But first I must tell you that I read the Report on the Factory Bill, until I was so agitated with its detail of remorseless cruelties, that I got up and walked about the room in such a state of excitement, that (until two gentlemen who were present, and appeared to be interrupted in their reading, asked me if I was indisposed) I was unconscious of what I was doing: I apologized, and resumed my seat.

Bertrand.—Excepting one extract in the newspaper, I have not read any of the evidence.

Vela.—I have marked several passages, and I will read you some of them.

WILLIAM COOPER called in and examined.

What is your business?—I follow the cloth-dressing at present.

What is your age?—I was 28 last February.

When did you first begin to work in mills or factories?—When I was about 10 years of age.

With whom did you first work?—At Mr. Benyon's flax mills, in Meadow-lane, Leeds.

What were your usual hours of working?—We began at 5 o'clock, and gave over at 9 o'clock; at 5 o'clock in the morning.

And you gave over at 9 o'clock?—At 9 at night.

At what distance might you have lived from the mill?—About a mile and a-half.

At what time had you to get up in the morning to attend to your labour?—I had to be up soon after 4 o'clock.

Every morning?—Every morning.

What intermissions had you for meals?—

When we began at 5 in the morning, we went on until noon, and then we had 40 minutes for dinner.

Had you no time for breakfast?—No, we got it as we could, while we were working.

Had you any time for an afternoon refreshment, or what is called in Yorkshire ‘drinking’?—No; when we began at noon, we went on till night; there was only one stoppage—the 40 minutes for dinner.

Then, as you had to get your breakfast, and what is called ‘drinking,’ in that manner, you had to put it on one side?—Yes, we had to put it on one side; and when we got our frames doffed, we ate two or three mouthfuls, and then put it by again.

Is there not considerable dust in a flax-mill?—A flax-mill is very dusty indeed.

Was not your food therefore frequently spoiled?—Yes, at times with the dust: sometimes we could not eat it, when it had got a lot of dust on.

What were you when you were 10 years old?—What is called a bobbin-doffer—when the frames are quite full we have to doff them.

Then, as you lived so far from home, you took your dinner to the mill?—We took all our meals with us, living so far off.

During the 40 minutes which you were allowed for dinner, had you ever to employ that time, in your turn, in cleaning the machinery?—At times we had to stop to clean the machinery, and then we got our dinner as well as we could; they paid us for that.

At those times you had no resting at all?—No.

How much had you for cleaning the machinery?—I cannot exactly say what they gave us, as I never took any notice of it.

Did you ever work even later than the time you have mentioned?—I cannot say that I worked later there; I had a sister who worked up-stairs, and she worked till 11 o'clock at night, in what they call the card-room.

At what time in the morning did she begin to work?—At the same time as myself.

And they kept her there till 11 o'clock at night?—Till 11 o'clock at night.

You say your sister was in the card-room?—Yes.

Is not that a very dusty department?—Yes, very dusty indeed.

She had to be at the mill at 5 o'clock, and was kept at work till 11 o'clock at night?—Yes.

During the whole time she was there?—During the whole time; there was only 40 minutes allowed at dinner out of that.

To keep you at work for such a length of time, and especially towards the termination of such a day's labour as that, what means were taken to keep you awake and attentive?—They strapped us at times, when we were not quite ready to be doffing the frame when it was full.

Were you frequently strapped?—At times we were frequently strapped.

The rest of this evidence describes the effect upon his health.

Bertrand.—Does it mention the amount of his wages?

Vela.—Four shillings a-week when a boy; afterwards he became a boiler, and had only four nights' rest during the week, exclusive Sunday; this excessive labour brought on illness for six months; he was left weak his appetite gone; he could not cross a bridge without a stick, and was in great pain

posture. When he was somewhat recovered, he applied for work, but the overseer said he was not fit for it; and he was then obliged to throw himself on the parish.

Bertrand.—Gracious heaven! and this a Christian country!

Fela.—What is the object for which these poor creatures are so reduced to slavery?

Bertrand.—Some of them to make silks and ribbons for the gratification of the pride and vanity produced by superfluous wealth, and defective education.

Fela.—All parties appear to be injured by this system; and the manufacturers and their overseers also must be demoralized.

Bertrand.—The manufacturers, perhaps, see little of the effects of the system, as they communicate with the overseers or chief managers, whose interest it is to produce as much profit as possible for their employers; and when competition is great, as at present, probably they are compelled to the most rigid economy to prevent even a loss.

Fela.—Besides vanity and pride, I perceive another cause intimately connected with them,—what some of your writers term 'glory.'—Joshua Drake is asked when the extra hours at his mill commenced, and he replies 'They first began about the time they got so many camp and navy orders.'

An Essay, in answer to the question "Whether does the principle of Competition, with separate Individual Interests, or the principle of United Exertions, with Combined and Equal Interests, form the most secure Basis for the Formation of Society?"—Watson, 12, Commercial-place, City-road.

This is the essay which gained the prize of 10*l*. promised by J. M. Morgan, Esq., to be competed for by the members of the London Mechanics' Institution. It is the production of a mathematical instrument-maker, written at the close of his apprenticeship, when fourteen hours of each twenty-four were passed in close application to his business. We do not know which to admire the most, the production itself as a work of intellect, or the moral resolution and health of mind, which, after the fatigues of a dreary day of labour, which requires an intense and almost unceasing vigour of observation, could devote itself to such refined pursuits.

OLD NICK.

The following prospectus of a new paper is printed and circulated. We give it to our readers as something original and eccentric; it may amuse some, and perhaps edify others.

"On Saturday, 14th June, will be published 'OLD NICK,' and perhaps on Saturday following 'OLD HAMMY' may appear, and hold the most agreeable and instructive communion with the public, for the small charge of twopence.

"The old gentleman means to be very innocent, and so far to support the reputation which he has acquired as to prove a terror to evil doers, and a praise and protection to them that do well. He means to keep up his reputed character of the 'Prince of Darkness,' but in that capacity he means to act as a light that illumines the dark understanding of the ignorant, and rules over the darkness by dispelling it. He means to roam about as usual over the surface of society, 'seeking what he may devour'; but as his stomach is now very much altered, and his appetites refined by the pro-

gress of science, he shall devour only that species of food which is nutritious to the mind, and disgorge it all like a true conjuror ten thousand times over in perfect purity, for the benefit of his readers. What he does not disgorge shall be the poison of the mind, which he means to digest for his own benefit. He means to employ his horns to push the Whigs and the Monopolists, and his long ears will be zealously engaged in picking up information upon every variety of subject. His tail he means to employ as a flapper to scare away all the flies and caterpillars of corruption, which infest the church and the state; and he will set his cloven foot with vengeance upon tyranny and oppression.

"N.B. The Old Gentleman promises to give eight square feet of print for twopence; and solemnly declares, upon the honour of a gentleman, that he has no connexion with Young Nick of Russia.

"Published by JOHN WARD, 167, High Holborn, two doors from Museum-street; and sold by all Booksellers and News-vendors."

ON THE PRESENT STATE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE TRADES' UNIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—The imposing aspect which the Trades' Unions have assumed, and the further changes they forebode, have excited not only unparalleled attention, but also the most persecuting and uncharitable determinations and arrangements on the part of those, who, from their present position in society, are generally denominated the upper or influential classes. That this order of persons, from their knowledge and union, do possess a most tremendous power, ready to be directed at any time either for evil or for good, no one can deny. In fact, there is not an advantage worth possessing, either mental or physical, that they have not monopolized. The public press, with scarcely any exceptions, through the bad effects of the stamp duties, is entirely at their bidding, ready at all times to justify any excess of vigour or severity which those parties may think necessary to direct against their supposed enemies, the humble operatives. And you know well, Mr. Editor, with what an illiberal spirit those legitimate journals, as they are called, have been impelled, for months past, to stir up the worst feelings, and impute the most erroneous intentions to Trades' Unions. The government, too, through absurd notions and foolish fears, have been induced to violate the principles of humanity and justice in the zeal and ardour which they used in the affair of our Dorsetshire brethren; in which case they showed a determination to have revenge, even at the risk of lighting up the flames of civil war. Even the indolent in-dwellers of our colleges, those learned and (too often) useless drivellers, have become alarmed, and in their wisdom have resolved that no garment shall defile their sanctified persons, which has received the contaminating touch of a unionist. It is quite clear, then, that the Trades' Associations have no friends. They stand completely alone, and whatever good is to be effected, must be done by themselves. The operatives thought that, as their plans would support rather than militate against the interests of the fair trader, by abolishing to a great extent the worst kind of competition,—an evil from which both parties so cruelly suffer, they should have but

little hostility from the more respectable employers. The event has shown that to be a delusive hope, for no favours are to be expected from that quarter; whatever is to be done, must be effected by the wealth-producers sympathizing with each other, and coalescing together in large bodies, well cemented and confirmed by a good understanding, and stimulated by an unceasing determination to efficiently ameliorate themselves from the degraded condition in which they have so long and so unrighteously been immured.

As Trades' Unions are at present constituted and directed, every candid unionist must admit that they are extremely crude and inefficient associations. Legislating is a very difficult task in a state of things as artificial as those in which we exist at present, and it requires much time and experience to well organize and arrange immense masses of men, the majority of whom think but little for themselves, and who expect very favourable and immediate results to follow a set of mere preliminary operations. Unfortunately, very few of the working men have good ultimate objects in view. To get five shillings per day for their labour is the highest point to which many of them aspire; which, if gained, they believe would relieve them from their greatest grievances, and prove a panacea for all their evils. They will soon discover, however, that the money-price of labour and its real intrinsic value are two very different things, and that, while machinery with its leviathan powers is put in competition with their industry, they may keep raising their wages higher and higher, while their labour as a marketable commodity will gradually decrease, bringing with it all the dreadful consequences of increasing misery and want. Time, however, will correct those erroneous views at present entertained by so many of the industrious operatives, and, judging from the rail-road rate at which they have progressed during the last few years in the knowledge of sound political economy, the general aspect of affairs looks promising and favourable. Already the Unions have done infinite good. They have certainly been the means of making men think more of their present condition, and of infusing into them a determination to better it at no very distant period. Trades' Unions have also imbued the operatives generally with a kindly brotherly feeling, which has produced the happiest effects. The Unions have succeeded in uniting the largest trades—that used to be divided and cut up into little trade societies, each having separate interests and peculiar prejudices, alike injurious to all parties into one impenetrable body. The Unions have, to a great extent, put down the demoralizing practice of beer-drinking in their various trade meetings, and this they have done in some instances to the utter astonishment and dismay of the landlords, who have been free to confess that the change that has taken place is almost beyond belief. This has been particularly the case with the shoemakers, and it redounds to their credit; still it is to be regretted that there are many of the lodges which still adhere to the old practice of allowing drinking to go on during the hours of business; this I feel sorry to say is the case in the lodge to which I am attached, which is "No. 4, of the Cabinet Branch." When I see a man sitting with a pewter-pot before him, during the discussion of a question which involves principles of the greatest importance, I can never persuade myself that he is in earnest. A man under such

circumstances seems lulled into a torpor; he takes so little interest in the general business; he seems to come to conclusions so very easily, and gives his assent to every thing so indifferently; he seems to do every thing with the mere mechanical action of an automaton, rather than as the spontaneous result of a mind that feels conscious that it has qualified itself to give a sound judgment through careful consideration and profound attention. Besides, to see men quaffing and carousing during the time of business gives a room an indolent, repulsive sort of appearance, which must have a bad effect on the better disposed members, and produce frivolous, tiresome, and petty conversations and digressions. But these are but small evils; they merely lie on the surface, and can be easily removed; the mere mention of them in your valuable periodical, I feel assured, will have the effect of exterminating them, by creating an enlightened public opinion on the subject. The Unions have been so harassed, degraded, and persecuted, that they have not had leisure enough to attend to those matters. Let them have a winter's rest, and they will introduce many important improvements.

The bad effects that are likely to result from the unfortunate defeat of the journeymen tailors have been absurdly exaggerated; instead of doing much hurt, I am inclined to think that it will produce much good. It will check that mania for strikes which seemed to have seized the operatives, and make them turn their attention to more efficient methods. It is probable, I think, that had not this occurrence taken place, a thick succession of partial strikes might have encouraged the government to adopt some coercive measures, which might have been attended with the worst possible results. If what the master tailors have gained is to be called a victory, I am sure that they would have a hundred times more dread of such another victory next year, than the journeymen would of such another defeat. The fact is, the journeymen have been defeated, but they are not conquered. When they have been at work a few weeks, they will be nearly as well off as ever they were, while the *Gazette* will prove the case to be very different with the majority of the masters.

It is quite amusing to read the resolutions of the capitalists, who, being very wise in their generation, declare that they will entirely put down the Trades Unions; just as if working men combined together for idle amusement or frivolous pastime! Working men's associations are the direct results of a wretched state of society, and they can no more help combining while the present state of things lasts, than winter can help following the summer. The masters may perhaps succeed in paralyzing them for a moment, by making them alter their names. But this would be but dividing the mighty waters for an instant to meet again; and they might as well talk of making a tortoise contend with a race-horse, or a little fly drink up the ocean, as to lay the flattering unction to their souls, that they can remove the effect, and suffer the cause to remain unimproved and unmolested.—I remain, Sir, your humble servant,

ONE OF THE UNWASHED.
London, May 24, 1834.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—I beg leave, through the medium of your columns, to call the attention of the sub-

scribers to the Labour Exchange-*rent*, and that of the friends of the Social System generally, to the present condition of the Institution in Charlotte-street. I would recall to their recollection the great outlay of money and labour which has been bestowed on that Institution; and although the results have not equalled the high expectations with which we set out, yet much has been done, and it would be unfair to say that all the labour and expense have been fruitless. By an advertisement in this week's *Crisis* (No. 8), I perceive that "all issues of notes on deposits have ceased," and that "arrangements have been made for manufacturing according to the system of the Union." I must confess that I do not quite understand this notice; I only clearly understand from it, that all the active operations of the National Equitable Labour Exchange Association are at an end, and that some other arrangements for some other and a different kind of business are in preparation. Now, I beg leave most deferentially to suggest to the committee the propriety of calling together, by advertisement and other public announcements, the original rent-payers, and those who, by their money and exertions, contributed so much to the successful operations which were indisputably at one time carried on upon those premises. I think the committee are bound to take the sense of their constituency before they embark in any undertaking, other than that they were elected to conduct; I do not know that they have any power to sanction the converting of those premises to any new project, without consulting those in whom the present proprietorship of those premises exists, "the rent subscribers." I think a meeting ought to be called to take into consideration the present condition of the Institution, with a view to its future appropriation. I beg it may be understood, I do not express or even entertain any opinion inimical to any plan the committee may have in contemplation; I know nothing of it; but I know that any plan will be more likely to be successful if begun and carried on with the consent and support of the members of the Association, than if carried on in contempt of them.

I beg to assure you, and the friends generally, that these observations do not emanate in an unfriendly feeling, but arise solely from a desire that the best use be made of the premises, and that in a way most likely to give general satisfaction; and I am in hopes that such a course as I have suggested may lead to a reformation and reorganization of the Association, with a view of applying themselves more assiduously than they have done lately to the propagation and advocacy of the principles taught to us by our paternal friend, Robert Owen.

Apologising for trespassing on your space, I beg leave to subscribe myself yours, &c.,
WILLIAM PEEL.

John-street, May 31, 1834.

SALFORD CO-OPERATIVE INSTITUTION.

It has been the custom of the teachers, friends, and scholars, since this institution was established, to make an excursion to some part of the adjoining country every Whit-Thursdays. On each of these occasions a procession, headed by a band of music, was formed at the school, which proceeded through the town to a place in the country at some distance, there to enjoy that pure and refreshing air, that charming scenery, and that delightful inter-

course, which might be vainly sought for within the busy hive of Manchester; and to pass the day in innocent recreation and sportive amusement.

Many of those who accompanied these processions are now gone to America, determined to apply those principles which they believe would alone remove the wretchedness of society. They are gone to form an incipient community, under the strongest impressions of duty to themselves, their families, their suffering countrymen, and posterity. Upright and prudent in their characters, industrious and persevering in their occupations, calculating and reflective in their habits, those difficulties must be great which they will not surmount, and those hardships severe which they will not endure.

These persons having departed, and the expenses of such excursions being considerable, it was determined, this year, to provide amusement and refreshments for the scholars in and about the school, and thus economize the liberal provision which the good friends of the institution have bestowed, in order to apply it to a higher and better purpose. On Whit-Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the scholars assembled in the school early in the afternoon, where they were permitted to sport without much control. Some retired to play in the fields, others preferred to have "blind-man's buff," &c., within doors. On the first two days a series of electrical and chemical experiments were performed for their amusement, which highly pleased them; and at the conclusion they were regaled with spice-bread and ginger-beer; the remainder of the evenings being spent by the teachers, the co-operative friends, and the senior scholars, in the utmost harmony. On Friday evening all the party sat down to tea; an abundant repast had been provided, and every one seemed to enjoy it. That excellent and lively co-operator, Mr. Rigby, presided on the occasion. At no meeting was there ever beheld a kindlier exchange of sentiment, a purer mixture of the better feelings of human nature. There indeed was enjoyed

"The feast of reason, and the flow of soul."

And, although the tea-pot had displaced the punch-bowl, still the effusions of gratitude had flowed as richly, and the expression of good wishes was as kindly responded, under the influence of the less exciting beverage.

The following toasts were very happily introduced, and commented upon by different members of the company, and were received with the highest approbation. After tea the remainder of the evening was spent in dancing and singing.

The health of the founder of the Co-operative system, Robert Owen.

The health of Mr. Benjamin Heywood, Lady N. Byron, Mr. J. Feilden, M.P., Mr. G. Marshall, Mr. Condy, Mr. Clegg, and all the friends of the Institution.

The best thanks of the company to all who have countenanced and supported the institution, with the most earnest wishes for their happiness.

The health of Mr. Rigby, who has distinguished himself in the support of voluntary education, and in advocating the rights of the industrious classes.

The health of the teachers, and the success of the institution.

Success to the Manchester co-operators as they are gone to America; that they may

good health, and ultimately succeed in their very laudable attempt!

The health of John Baxter, a scholar of the institution, whose amiability of disposition and cheerful services have rendered him worthy of the highest esteem.

EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

By the Cultivation of Land by themselves and Children, for themselves and Children.

On Lord Brownlow's estates in Lincolnshire it has been the practice, during the last half-century, to let, with each cottage and garden, two acres of pasture and three acres of meadow, at the annual rent of 8l. 4s. 8d. for the whole. The meadow and pasture are intended for, and used by, labourers, who are fully employed by the farmer; the rearing of lambs and pigs, and all the dairy business, except mowing the hay, being done by the wife and children. These people are the most punctual tenants, and their children are strong and healthy. Their five acres of pasture and meadow realise them about twenty pounds a-year, besides milk for their children. That women and girls can raise wheat for their own consumption has been proved often enough to be now considered an admitted fact. Let those who have any doubt try the experiment.

The girls work with spades made for the purpose; in length nine inches, in breadth eight inches, and in weight, including a light handle, about four pounds and a half.

In 1818, at Colerne, near Bath, twenty-nine acres of land, left in trust for the poor, were divided among thirty families: it is so greatly improved by spade husbandry as to be worth double its former produce.

Emancipation, in the Roman law, was the act of setting a son free from the power of his father. The word is formed of *e*, from, and *mancipium*, a slave or dependant.

MACHINERY.

We are informed by Aulus Gellius, on the authority of Favorinus, that Archytas of Tarentum, 400 B. C., constructed a wooden pigeon, which was capable of flying. Favorinus states, that whenever it alighted, it could not resume its flight.

The automata of John Muller, or Regiomontanus, have been mentioned by Kircher, Baptista, Porta, Garsendi, Lana, and Bishop Wilkins. He made an artificial eagle, which flew to meet the Emperor Maximilian when he arrived at Nuremburg, June 7th, 1470. After soaring, it returned, and perched on the town gate, where it watched his approach. When he reached the gate, it stretched out its wings, and saluted him with an inclination of the body. He made also iron flies, which flew from his hand, made a circuit round the room, and returned and alighted on his hand again.

When Louis XIV. was a child, M. Camus made him an automaton coach and horses. The horses moved their legs, the coachman cracked his whip, a footman sat behind, came down and opened the carriage-door to an automaton lady, who walked out and presented a petition to the king, returned, and the coach having moved, the footman ran after it and mounted.

We are informed by M. Lobat, that General Degennes, a French officer who defended the colony of St. Christopher against the English,

constructed a peacock, which could walk about as if alive, pick up grains of corn from the ground, digest them as if they had been submitted to the action of the stomach, and afterwards discharge them in an altered form.

This automaton suggested to M. Vaucanson his celebrated duck, which excited so much interest in Europe, and which was perhaps the most wonderful piece of mechanism that ever was made. It resembled the living duck in size and appearance,—it imitated all its movements and gestures, ate and drank with avidity, and muddled in the water which it drank with its bill. When corn was throw down before it, it stretched out its neck to pick it up; it swallowed it, digested, and discharged it in a digested condition. The process of digestion was effected by a chemical process. Its ribs were made of wire, and covered with duck's feathers, and the motion was communicated through the feet by means of a cylinder and fine chains, like those of a watch: it also quacked.—Dr. Brewster's *Natural Magic*.

THE DAWN OF FREEDOM.

Arise, oh, ye nations! awake from your slumbers,
Let the banner of freedom wave o'er land and sea!

The chains that have bound ye are breaking
Asunder;

The despots are falling; the people are free!

No more shall the carnage of glory and conquest
Envelope mankind in its mantle of blood;
Nor the fury of party, or faction's fierce contest,
Lead them blinded again in the paths they have trod.

The voice of the people in thunder has burst,
With a sound that shall fly to the ends of the earth:

Chase before it the clouds of ambition accrue,
And proclaim in loud triumph mankind's second birth.

Hark! hark! at the summons, the nations awake,
And enraptured respond to bright liberty's call!
Their ruthless oppressors in terror now quake;
They tremble! they totter! in ruin they fall!

What sounds strike mine ear o'er the boundless
Atlantic!

From the land that first kindled to liberty's flame,
Where vast are the waters, the mountains gigantic,

And nature majestic in grandeur doth reign!
'Tis a people's first murmurs increasing and swelling,

Declaring injustice shall rule them no more;
And in notes of proud triumph the glad tidings telling,

That the reign of oppression and tyranny's o'er.
Great Britain and France respond to the sound,

And exult with transport at truth's holy call;
Base blood-stained Ambition receives its death-

wound,
And its satellites, Error and Bigotry, fall.

What glorious vision bursts on my dimm'd sight!
'Tis the genius of Freedom reveal'd to mankind;

The dungeon's dark portals are rent in her flight:
She comes, to give knowledge and light to the blind.

September, 1833. W.

MISCELLANEOUS LODGE.—Persons desirous of forming Branch Lodges of the Grand Lodge of Miscellaneous Operatives, must apply for instructions to the Grand Lodge.

NOT A THIEF IN SOCIETY!

Captain Basil Hall, in his "Voyage to Loa Choo," vol. i., p. 207, gives the following account of the natives:—"During our intercourse with these people, there never occurred *one instance of theft*, although the natives were at all times permitted to come on board indiscriminately, and to go into the cabins, staterooms, or wherever else they thought fit, without being watched. On shore it was the same, where the *Alcanta's* stores of every kind were laying about; and in the observatory the instruments, books, and pencils were merely placed under cover to shelter them from the dew, but under no lock and key. and without any guard, yet not a single article was missing, though many hundreds of people were daily admitted and allowed to touch and examine whatever they pleased.

This extraordinary degree of honesty is a feature which distinguishes the people of Loa Choo from the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, and of many of the Malay Archipelago, amongst whom even the certainty of the severest and most summary punishment, as was ascertained by Captain Cook and others, often proved insufficient to prevent theft. At Loa Choo, indeed, the people are considerably more advanced in civilization than the rude tribes alluded to. Their wants also, which are few, are easily supplied, and they seem perfectly contented. Notwithstanding these circumstances, however, the fact of this extreme honesty, amongst people exposed to such temptations is in the highest degree curious.—[Very curious indeed, that people whose wants are "easily supplied" should not be thieves! In our new state of society it would be much more strange if there should be a thief.—J. CANHAM.]

We understand that Madame DARUWANT, formerly Miss FRANCES WRIGHT, is now in London, and it is hoped will yield to the wishes of some of her friends, who have requested her to deliver a Lecture on Education, at Freemasons' Hall, or some other suitable place at the West end.

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street.
Mr. Smith, Sunday morning, at half past eleven.
Mr. Owen, Sunday evening, at seven o'clock.

A Discussion every Tuesday evening. Out taken at eight o'clock.

The 55th Social Festival of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, June 11. Tickets 1s. 6d., or 1s. and a one-hour note each, tea and coffee included.

DAY SCHOOL for the Moral and Intellectual Education of GIRLS, from the Age of 5 to 14, No. 36, Castle-street East, Oxford-road. For Particulars apply at the Establishment. Lectures and Discussions at the above Place, every Monday and Thursday, at 8 o'clock in the Evening. Admission free.

Just published,
NEW CHRISTIANITY, by HENRI DE ST. SIMON. Translated from the French by the Rev. J. E. SMITH. With a coloured Engraving of the St. Simouian Female Costume.

B. D. COSINS, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-in.

Of whom may be had, just published,
A SERMON, by the Rev. G. REDFORD, M.A. of Angel-street Chapel, Worcester, on the doctrines of ROBERT OWEN, &c.; to which is appended a REPLY, by the Rev. J. E. SMITH, A.M. of London. Price 1s.

Printed and published by B. D. COSINS, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields.

THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 10, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 8.

Mr. Smith lectured on "THE PROGRESS OF KNOWLEDGE."

Of all the stimulants to which we are indebted for the furtherance of the progress of science and art, idolatry is probably the first and most beneficent. All art and science have originally come forth out of the womb of Superstition, and the impulse which they received from her glowing and enthusiastic fancy, was indispensably necessary to rouse them from the torpid sleep of original ignorance. We all know somewhat of the ardour of fanaticism; it exceeds in energy of action the cool deliberate movements of science; its quick pulse and sanguine temperament hurry it indiscriminately into a variety of experiments and adventure, without which no discoveries could be made to serve as a commencement for human progress. It is probable that we never should have known the art of writing without it. Religion is the fountain of all science, the priests are the original parents, and the temples the depositories of all learning. The superstitions of the people early set apart a set of men for the purposes of sacred worship; these formed models for Gods, invented emblems, kept records of past things, and finally perfected the arts, which now have thrown a universal glare of light upon the whole population.

No nation ever progressed in civilization, which did not possess an independent priesthood to cultivate the sciences. It was not possible they could; for whatever might be the character of the nation, however intellectual, however social and docile in their temper, without a priesthood they never could have formed a nucleus, around which to gather the discoveries of science or the records of past experience. Had they been hunters, they would naturally have all and each of them devoted themselves exclusively to the chase; their genius would have pointed no farther than to the implements of their daily and favorite occupations, and the devices most likely to give success to their sport. Were they shepherds and herdsmen, they would, like all other followers of a particular craft, have bent their genius to their own special calling; and there is no other employment, but that of a

priest, which could have set apart a particular race of men to the study of subjects connected with science. As for philosophy, it was out of the question with savages. They never would have suffered a set of idlers to while away their time, looking at the stars, discussing metaphysical questions, and living at the public expense. Such refinement is even too great for the present generation, much more so for former ages. It is with great difficulty that we can procure any national scientific establishment: unless it be the church, we have got nothing to speak of. We have not even got national schools. We have got a National Observatory at Greenwich, to make astronomical observations, and publish the Nautical Almanac. We have got a British Museum in London, to which the public are freely admitted to see many of the curiosities of nature and antiquity: but little more than is national have we got, and even that little has been begrudged by many of our liberals and reformers, who would rather see the little which these useful institutions absorbed, expended upon bacon and beer, and divided amongst the million, not reflecting that it is by such institutions that the minds of the people become enlightened, and thence discover the possible means of securing to themselves a good provision.

If, then, we find such obstacles to national scientific institutions in an age of idleness like our own, when one half of the population is living on the labour of the other half, can we suppose that they could ever have arisen among illiterate savages, who had no idea of the utility of science, and had not even the rudiments to begin with? But nature provided a sufficient remedy for this defect, and that remedy was what we call human folly. Men early began to personify their gods, and the more they multiplied them, the more occasion they had for the office of the priesthood to perform the sacred functions. These functions were very fortunately of national importance. The people voluntarily contributed to support them by their labour. Colleges of priests were formed for the service of the nation; the stars were consulted, the elements of nature were examined, the foundations of knowledge were laid, and its progress has continued, amid innumerable obstacles and fierce struggles with human ignorance and

passion, till now it is like the majestic tide of a mighty river, rolling in resistless strength to the great ocean of the whole human population, when it shall cover the whole earth as the waters cover the channel of the sea.

But if the priests are the first, they are not the best patrons of learning. They are merely the rude and unseemly miners, who have dug the jewel out of the bowels of the earth, but have not been able to give it the polish; they have brought the dross along with it, and have not been able to distinguish between the good and the bad. It is left for others to complete the work of refinement, and invest the sciences with the covering of liberality and justice, without which they prove a curse to society.

There is one thing that rendered it impossible that science could flourish to a great extent in the hands of priests, and that is the circumstance of their being a corporation, which, in process of time, acquired great wealth and political influence. This influence arose from the powerful hold which superstition acquired upon the minds of the people; and as the very existence of the priesthood depended upon this hold of superstition, they were bound to keep it up in spite of the discoveries of science, or the demonstrations of reason. This circumstance corrupted their minds; they consulted their own power, more than the people's instruction, and even if they had been zealous to give free vent to the truth, they could not. The people were bigotedly attached to the superstitions of the country; and if any priest, or college of priests, had attempted to reason them out of their follies, they would have been sacrificed immediately to the offended gods. Thus, whether the priests were sincere or not—and we have no good reason to doubt their sincerity,—they could only be the patrons of science in so far as science patronized superstition; therefore, all their scientific genius was employed to distort the sciences, to ally them with idolatry, and make them instrumental in riveting the fetters of mental thralldom, in which the people had been bred and were resolved to live and die. To this day the priesthood preserves the same character; it is bound down by creeds, and articles of faith, and acts of parliament, and all the other fetters of the mind, to follow the footsteps of our ignorant forefathers. Hence

the age has been compelled to forsake the priest, to press on before him, and leave him with his bulls, his ecclesiastical canons, and his categories, in the back-ground, whilst it pursues with generous enthusiasm the career of demonstration and scientific truth, receiving new ideas and casting off old, without respect to antiquity or any other consideration but their truth or their falsehood.

After the priest, the next patron of learning is the rich. Knowledge is most easily acquired by those who are not compelled to pursue any of the laborious employments of productive industry, and who have the means of associating with a variety of characters, and witnessing a variety of occupations, customs of society, climates, and countries, and the varied produce of each. These opportunities have always been more profusely enjoyed by the rich than by any other class of the community; hence they could not fail to find out all that was known by the people who surrounded them. If a man was possessed of superior skill, he was sure to resort to the rich for patronage; if a new discovery was made, a new invention successfully accomplished, the rich were always applied to; and their leisure hours permitting them to devote their attention to any intellectual or curious pursuit that captivates their fancy, they naturally become the principal patrons of learning and science, and acquire a smattering of all that is known. This, also, was a very fortunate circumstance in the history of knowledge. If the priest was useful to dig the mines of science, and bring forth the elements of useful knowledge, the rich were equally necessary to keep it in being, and give it a more liberal and generous turn. Had the progress of knowledge been entrusted wholly to the priesthood, it would have been entirely clerical, and beamed all over with bigotry and superstition; no opposition could have been made to the priestly corporation; the people being daily and hourly engaged in productive industry, could never have been able to match the priesthood in sophistry and cunning: they would have been kept in eternal ignorance; they would have been wheedled out of their senses and their purses by innumerable artifices, which science and art would have furnished to their spiritual rulers, and against which the disorganized and divided opposition of the populace would have been quite inefficient.

But nature provided a remedy for this also, by raising a select few above the people, who were not associated with the corporation of the priesthood, who had equal means of obtaining information, and whose more disinterested minds were more liberally disposed to admit new truths that counteracted the effects of superstition. From this set of men arose what are generally called the Philosophers; a species of men who stand in a middle position between the priests on the one hand, and the people on the other. These men devoted themselves to science for the sake of science. They had no connexion with the superstitions of the people, or with the political government; they had no creeds, no particular gods or images to serve, no temples to eulogize; they entertained no fears of new truths being discovered, which might overturn their establishments, and loosen their hold upon public estimation. On the contrary, they were ardent in the pursuits of literature and science, anxious to hear something new, extremely sceptical upon the doctrines of the priests; and thus they became a

powerful check upon the priesthood, and furthered the progress of knowledge, not only by their ardour in its pursuit, but by their exposure of the craft of the priest in concealing or in corrupting to serve the interests of his corporation. These were generally rich men, and men of talent, who chose to become teachers of youth. For a long time the priests had much the advantage over them, for several reasons: in the first place, the priests had the popular superstition on their side, and could easily raise an outcry against an obnoxious individual, and make him a victim immediately; in the second place, the priests had the start of the philosophers, and had already formed themselves into a society connected with the state,—whilst the philosophers were generally divided, or, if united, united only in small bands, not sufficiently strong to make head against a national priesthood. It is even so at the present day. The church is the largest society in the kingdom. We have many intellectual societies amongst us, but none that are equal to the church in number or power. We have medical societies, Linnean societies, philosophical societies, &c. &c.; but all these are diminutive, paltry institutions, compared with the great ecclesiastical society, whose spiritual heads have a seat in the House of Lords to represent her sacred person, and watch over her dearest interests. Thus it has been from the beginning. The philosophers were always Dissenters, always divided into little detached groups; thus weakening their political energies, and subjecting themselves to the illiberal control of the great spiritual tyrant.

But all things work out for good at last. This very division of the philosophers becomes their strength, and this great clumsy unity of the priesthood proves its overthrow. These little schools of philosophy of which we speak, are the pure springs from which the truths of science emanate and refresh the barren mind of man. By dividing themselves, according to the principle of the division of labour, into small schools, and each school adopting a particular department of study, a more minute attention is given to every subject, the details of each are investigated, nature is classified and divided into different provinces, and an infinite variety of important lesser facts are collected and systematized, which, being finally arranged into one great whole, make up an amount of scientific knowledge, which comprises all the wisdom and the experience of ages. Had the philosophers adopted the same plan as the priests, and established themselves as a corporation, and connected themselves with the government and the superstitions of the country, the progress of science would for ever have been prevented: one school or one society could not have attended to all the minutiae of science, or given liberal and equal encouragement to all. A national society of philosophers would have been like a national church—a society of dogmatists, who would have been ruled by creeds and articles of faith; and, instead of giving encouragement to the improvement of the sciences, they would have spent their energies in upholding their system, and increasing or protecting their revenues.

But philosophy and theology, with all their classic lore and scientific treasures of insulated facts, have yet to learn from the common people one simple lesson, without which all their researches will prove but mere vapour and smoke, as the means of promoting human happiness; they have yet to learn the doctrine

of justice or equality, of which, with all their boasted attainments in moral science, they have never yet had the perception.

This great fundamental principle of learning comes from the people, the common people, who come in at last to share the honours of the advancement of knowledge, and the establishment of scientific truth and universal justice. It would have been unjust in nature to have glorified the rich alone as the teachers and regenerators of mankind, without conferring one single badge of honour upon the vulgar, who have borne all the heat of labour, and sweated and bled for the support and luxurious indulgence of the rich; then one party might have had reason to boast over the other as of more importance in the scale of being; the old aristocratic notion might have been confirmed, that the blood of the nobility and gentry is of a purer substance, and will exhibit its virtues amid the thick disguises of poverty and uncultivated nature. These are merely the vain conceits of baronial pride, which delighted to soar above the level of the common herd of slaves, who bowed and fawned before it like the dog that caresses and licks the hand that abuses it. But Nature is not unjust; she has brought all parties to an equality; each party has been instrumental in forwarding the progress of knowledge; each party has done somewhat that is indispensable, and could not have been done by the other.

There are three parties altogether—first the priests, then the philosophers, and last of all the people. The priests are the great originators of science; it would never have been dug out of the dark recesses of the savage mind, without such a class of men to give it a being; they may, therefore, be called the fathers of science; but, by being the first, they are farthest from the truth, for they established themselves and their systems in an age of ignorance, and, by abiding by their original tenets, the suggestions of a rude and unlettered age, the disciples of science have far outstripped them, and persuaded the people to follow in the career of intellectual progress. The philosophers come next in order: these may be called the mothers of knowledge; they have nursed it, and trained it with maternal care, and sedulously watched over it in all its progress; spent their days and their nights in eager enquiry and pursuit of truth, and as far exceeded the priesthood in the development of the hidden mysteries of science, as the mother exceeds the father in maternal care and patience in the education of their common offspring. But neither the father nor the mother has found the truth; the priest has not found it, for he teaches injustice; he teaches the unequal distribution of wealth; he maintains the right of one man to impoverish another man, and does to hang or imprison the unhappy starving for the crimes which injustice has compelled him to commit. The philosopher has not found the truth, for he supports the priest in his infamous system of injustice, and though he adds somewhat more to the stock of useful knowledge, supplying like a mother the wants of his disciples from the overflowing fulness of his own bosom, still his is not the true nourishment which cometh down from heaven, the wisdom which is from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of meekness and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy.

Neither the father nor the mother has found it; there is a third, however, and him nature

has destined to discover the truth, that is, the common offspring of both, viz. the people—the offspring of the priest and the philosopher, who have both been labouring in behalf of mankind, without knowing how and why. Justice comes from the son: he it is who is destined to bruise the head of the serpent, and to plant righteousness upon the earth: in his days shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace as long as the moon endureth.

SUNDAY EVENING, JUNE 8.

Mr. Owen lectured.—He commenced by stating he had received several American newspapers, and observed in them many articles of great importance, from one of which it appeared that in some of the United States it is in contemplation to dispose of the whole unsold lands, amounting to millions of acres, and appropriate the proceeds to the purpose of the general education of the American youth.

The subject of general education is now under discussion in the English House of Commons, Mr. Boeckx having brought forward a motion on it; and all parties are becoming convinced that no important improvement can take place in society, unless an education very different from that now forced on the young mind be provided. Although there are now none who deny the necessity of general education, yet, whether the question be mooted in America, France, or Great Britain, the old vested interests of the world instantly take alarm and say, No! there shall be no rational, efficient, or substantial education given to the rising generation, unless we force our sectarian notions into the young mind. Every debate in the House of Commons, every week which passes in America, and every occurrence in France, show that rational education must be obtained for the population.

I well recollect the time, not many years ago, when there was comparatively no education for the working classes; it was then a difficult matter to get any persons to allow general education to be at all beneficial. The most liberal instruction then obtained was a little reading, writing, and accounts; and these were considered to constitute a most valuable and excellent education. The higher classes well knew, from the commencement, if they allowed the working class to learn A, they would soon go on to B, C, and D. We have now proceeded far enough to discover this education of the higher classes to be almost as bad as none at all. We are not satisfied with the instruction given at Oxford, Cambridge, or any of our Universities; we must have the natural faculties, physical, mental, and moral, of every individual so trained and cultivated that he shall become a good and happy member of society. Without this, the working classes will not be content, and there is no other education worth obtaining. It would be useless, however, to give to the children of the working class wholesome and practical education, unless the comforts and necessities of life be given at the same time. Beneficial employment is a very essential part of the education of all human beings, and there will be no national education effected by the governments of Great Britain, France, or America, unless they will admit beneficial employment to be an essential part of it.

But, to unite employment with instruction beneficially, requires a knowledge possessed by few of the institutions of the world. At M. Fellenbourg's school, near Berne, in Switzer-

land, the children of the working classes are taught agriculture in addition to the usual branches of instruction. In the higher school, however, where the pupils are not of the working class, this is not the case: I am now speaking of the school when I visited it some years ago, and I believe it is still conducted in the same manner. M. Fellenbourg, like the heads of other colleges and schools, is under the influence of those who govern the large states surrounding Switzerland; yet, however, the world is much indebted to M. Fellenbourg for the advances he has made and the practical results he has shown.

There are many who imagine education to be more general and extensive in this country than in any other; but in the five New England states all children are educated, and in Prussia and France education is much more general than in this country. Had it been introduced when advocated by Wilberforce and others, it must have been under the surveillance of the Established Church, and we have, therefore, lost nothing by not having it at that time.

I have seen an Address from the Workmen of Nantes to the English Trades' Unions, published last week, and I hail it with delight as one of the first advances of foreign trades' unions to unite with those of this country. It is but a few years since the governments of the two countries were most actively engaged in making the people believe they were natural enemies to each other:—What barbarous employment for two governments calling themselves *Christian* to engage in! and what a want of sound national education among the people of two Christian countries, when they could be trained to believe themselves natural enemies to each other! But the workmen of Nantes now say "the working classes in all countries are brothers!" I hail this with the highest possible delight: it will lay the foundation for that genuine charity and good will which can alone secure permanent happiness to the human race; and I am glad to find that the Executive of the Consolidated Union of this country has answered this Address of the Workmen of Nantes in the same spirit in which it was written, and I look on it as the commencement of a correspondence between the working classes all over the world.

Let us hear no more the absurd expressions of commercial wealthy men, that we must have labour cheaper in this country to command foreign trade! for when the people of two countries are striving against each other for the means of living, is it possible but that the worst feelings and passions of the human character can exist between them? The most certain test of the prosperity and happiness of the people of any country is the proportion which the remuneration of labour bears in relation to the prices of the necessities of life. I would go into any of the countries of the world, and ask but one question to ascertain the amount of prosperity enjoyed by the people, "Is the remuneration of labour high or low, in proportion to the price of the necessities of life?"

Mr. Owen then read the address in No. 1, Vol. I., of the *Crisis*, and showed its applicability to present circumstances; and after quoting from his "Dublin Report," concluded by announcing a grand public meeting, convened for the following day, at which he hoped the working classes would show themselves prepared with decisive measures for immediate adoption.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Have you room for the accompanying extracts? The cruelty of the one, and the sophistry of the other, are but additional proofs of our departure from benevolence and common sense, when we find one the law of the land, the other the opinion of many who yet are considered intelligent and kind. I ask the question of the women, "How long shall these things be?" CONCORDIA.

"By the laws of England, a father only acquires a rightful authority over his children; for they give no power to the mother, and only consider her as entitled to a reverential regard. The chancellor, however, has power to deprive a father of the guardianship of his children; but, to give the court jurisdiction, there must be a suit respecting the property of the children. The cases of P. B. Shelley and L. P. Wellesley are so familiar to the recollection of most people, that the grounds of the court's exercising its authority need not be entered upon. A mother may be deprived of the guardianship of her children by any deed or will of her deceased husband; he may assign the daughters under sixteen. If they be not so assigned, the mother becomes guardian."

"They who, from some ill-defined notion of justice or generosity, would extend to women an absolute equality, only hold out to them a dangerous snare. Let the law, by conferring equality on wives, once release them from that necessity of pleasing which is at present imposed upon them, and it would, in fact, instead of strengthening, only subvert the empire they now enjoy. Man forgets his self-love while secure of his prerogative, and derives enjoyment even from concession. Substitute for the relation in which he now stands, a jealousy of rival power, and the continually wounded pride of the stronger party would soon rouse up in him a dangerous antagonist for the weaker; he would regard rather what he had lost than what he retained, and would turn all his efforts to the forcible establishment of that prerogative which is now subdued by the dominion of female influence. However, it cannot be the object of sound legislation to reduce to a state of passive slavery that sex, which, from its weakness and softness, stands the most in need of legal protection; this necessary prerogative we have seen, on the part of the man, is confined within due limits, for the transgression of which redress may always be obtained."—PETERSDORFF.

TRADES' UNIONS AT LEEDS.—The Unionists, who refuse to sign the declaration of abandonment of the Trades' Union, insisted on by the masters as a condition of employment, held another meeting on Monday, when the following resolution was adopted:—"That this meeting is desirous that the differences between masters and workmen may, upon reasonable and proper terms, be speedily and finally adjusted; and that the operatives are willing either to send a deputation to the masters, or to receive a deputation from them, or to meet them in any other way, upon any fair and proper and equitable terms, with a view to the adjustment and final settlement of all differences."

This proposal of the men has been rejected by the masters, who decline entering into any negotiations with them. We hope that this conciliatory spirit of the men will be the means of exciting a public demonstration of opinion in their favour. In this age it is evident that more is to be gained by gentle than violent means; the spirit of peace is making rapid inroads upon the dominion of war.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A few paragraphs in Concordia's letter last week, beginning, at "The husband," were inadvertently printed as part of the letter, instead of being appended as illustrations. We did not observe the blunder until it was too late to alter it.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 14.

ON Monday evening last there was a very large public meeting of the Unionists at the Institution, Charlotte-street, which displayed a considerable degree of discord and party-feeling, principally excited by this unfortunate strike of the London tailors, which has absorbed every other consideration of late, and proved to possess a more dissolving, decomposing virtue than any other chemical ingredient of which the Union is composed. We were heartily grieved at the strike of the tailors; when we first heard of it we were confident it would bring the men into trouble, merely because it was a partial manoeuvre, commenced without the counsel or concert of the rest of the trades. Many reproached us for our coldness and opposition at the time; but the exposé which took place on Monday evening has at last demonstrated the vital truth and prudence by which we were actuated in discouraging all such petty warfare.

But what is to be done with the tailors now, in their present awkward predicament? It is useless to reproach them for their rashness, until we have safely delivered them from the consequences, and then we hope they will have learned a very useful lesson, at the feet of a master who is always sure to make a deep impression upon his pupils—namely, sad experience. The masters are now making a vigorous push at the Unions, determined, if possible, to disperse them, and for ever prevent the re-gathering of the men. They are requiring their workmen to sign a declaration that they will abandon the Unions for ever, and many of them have resolved to employ no man who refuses. This is a dead thrust, and, if not successfully parried, will defeat the generous projects of those who have the deliverance of the poor in contemplation.

There are some who recommend the signature of this declaration, and of afterwards evading it by a piece of jesuitical casuistry, saying that it was an extorted promise, and therefore not legally binding upon the subscribers. Others, more honest and straight-forward, recommend resistance as the only justifiable mode of escape. There is certainly only one honourable way of encountering the evil, which ought to have been anticipated from the beginning. Even a retreat upon the original subject of the strike, would be humbling enough, for a retreat is a defeat;

but defeat is not always dishonourable; it may be sustained with the greatest dignity and éclat; some of the greatest generals have owed their chief reputation to the manner in which they conducted a retreat. But to sign the declaration required by the masters is more than defeat to the men. It is an act of voluntary enslavement, a retrograde move, which would place them in a more servile and hopeless condition than they were in before. But, say the advocates of subscription, "let us sign the declaration, and continue to unite as formerly." This, however, is sporting with honesty. For heaven's sake, let us leave of all trickery, all craft, and mystery, that at last we may have it in our power to reproach our opponents with stratagem, if ever they should employ it against us. How could we ever, with a good grace, expose the duplicity of Conservatives, Whigs, or private Monopolists, in their treatment of the working classes, if we thus avowedly, and without a blush, declared it to be the principle by which we ourselves were actuated? Our moral power would be lost; and, having gained a character for insincerity and craft, we should not even get credit when we spoke the truth; we should be treated as deceivers ever after, and the masters would rejoice that they had found a good excuse for harsher treatment.

Sign NOT the declaration; but let brother unionists throughout the country forgive the past precipitancy of their fore-runners, and contribute to support them until they can find employment; and then let all these partial movements be for ever abjured, and the attention of the men be directed solely to the one great object of gathering and organizing the productive classes.

To begin so hastily to action as they have hitherto done, is madness. They ought all to be drilled into the most regular discipline, before any movement is made. And no movement ought to be made, which is not recommended at headquarters. Nothing could be better for the men than to agree to submit themselves to one individual, upon whose prudence and disinterestedness they could rely; and implicitly to follow his directions, until they were all so harmoniously knitted together, like the joints of the body, that no member should move out of its place without the consent and approbation of the whole system. A GENERAL only can do this, and to a generalship it will come at last. This republicanism in which we now are, is merely a caricature of liberty.

The meeting was adjourned to a future day, and only the two following resolutions were passed:

"That the declaration of the employers of the operatives throughout the kingdom, not to give work to any member of the Trades Union, is a direct and most unjust attack upon the

property, liberty, and lives of the operatives; and if submitted to by the working classes generally, would inevitably reduce them to the lowest state of degradation, and to a slavery of the very worst description, to an ignorant, and therefore most despotic, monied aristocracy. But that the members of the Union who are, at the present moment, compelled, to prevent themselves and families from actual starvation, to sign such a document, are deserving of the warmest sympathy from all their brothers in Union, who will exert their utmost power to relieve them from such slavery in the shortest possible time."

"That this meeting recommend to the Executive of the Unions the absolute necessity which has thus arisen to call the grand meeting of delegates of all trades and professions of the United Kingdom, to be held in London, on the day of to take into consideration the critical position in which this declaration has placed the industrious classes throughout the country, and the best means of averting the degradation and extreme poverty to which the mistaken views of the employers, and the errors of the British government, are now rapidly forcing the working classes; and that the short-sighted and inefficient measures hitherto proposed by the employers and upper classes can afford no real relief for the evils which now overwhelm the industrious and endanger the safety and well-being of all classes."

WE have received a letter from "Three Opponents of Division," and members of the Miscellaneous Lodge, in reference to an article in the *Pioneer* of last week, in which the editor of the *Pioneer* states some little differences of opinion between himself and Mr. Owen; but, as opponents of division, we think it advisable not to insert the letter. We looked over the article in the *Pioneer* once more, to see if occasion was there given for the alarm which has seized our three friends, but we cannot perceive it. Surely, a man has a right to express his opinions in public with freedom, provided he does no personal injury, nor attempt by these opinions to divide the interests of society. If he is willing to act in concert, in temporal things, with those with whom he professes to differ on some points of a spiritual or intellectual nature, the man is innocent, and the propagation of his sentiments can never injure general society. It is only when men's speculative opinions so far control their feelings, as to make them shrink from the society of those who entertain other sentiments, and to judge of their moral worth by the amount of their faith, or the peculiarities of their creed, that religious differences can prove injurious to society. Difference of opinion is highly useful for the development of mind; the greatest truths of science are brought to light and established by a vigorous conflict of opposing parties; and the evil of controversy does not lie in the act of controversy itself, but in the manner.

But, really, there is no controversy in the article of the *Pioneer*, nor does it

seem to be written on purpose to elicit an answer. If it had been intended for controversy, it would have given reasons, and plied its readers with argument; but it merely, in simple terms, expresses the author's predilection for certain views. What harm is there in this? The editor of the *Pioneer* is an individual, and speaks for himself; but he neither reproaches others for differing from him, nor tries to persuade his readers. And probably the greater proportion of the readers of the *Pioneer* were pleased with the declaration; probably it was necessary that the editor's mind should be known upon that subject. He has much correspondence amongst the religious class of unionists, and a declaration of that nature may tend to allay their prejudices, and reconcile them to act in concert with the Union at large, when they find in it men who have some sympathy with their dearest and best cherished feelings. If the *Pioneer* should attempt to stir up a religious controversy, we shall have no objections to take occasional notice of it; but until we see him act the part of a sectarian and religious proselytizer, we shall liberally indulge him in any declaration of opinion upon any subject whatsoever, from God in heaven above, to the Devil in hell beneath. There is more sectarianism in that impatience with which people hear their own opinions abjured by others, than they are aware of. A liberal-minded man can bear contradiction, and we have no doubt that Mr. Owen views with perfect complacency the article in question; and considers that peace would be best consulted by not replying. He himself has publicly avowed his own religious creed; why should not the editor of the *Pioneer* avow his? It is his first avowal, and perhaps he means it to be his last. A reply is more likely to create a breach than to heal one, if one there is. We hope our three friends will be satisfied with our reasons; but if these won't suffice, we have another, which is, that the article in question did not appear in the *Crisis*, and never shall.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

Amongst the many signs of the end of the world to which the Christian church has always looked forward with a kind of prophetic horror, here is one which peculiarly characterizes the present age above all others, and that is the appearance of self-declared messiahs. "Many shall come in my name," says Christ, "and shall say, I am Christ; and shall deceive many; but go not after them, for as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth unto the west, so shall also the Son of Man be in his day." We suppose this means that the truth will be general over the surface of society, like a sunshine, and not confined to a little sect; whatever it means it has not proved effectual in repressing the ardent zeal of individuals

of all persuasions from constituting themselves into sects, and entertaining the sanguine hope of growing by degrees like a plant, and overspreading the world. The reasoning by which they support themselves in this fondly-cherished hope is very specious. "All truths must have a source, and from that source they must emanate, and collect disciples as they flow," &c. Hence we see individuals rearing the banners of salvation, and their followers idolizing them as immaculate nonpareils, infallibles, whom it were well for the world to obey in all things; but alas, alas, the world is not wise enough.

We have known many messiahs in our day, and still meet with many new competitors for the honour of this first and greatest of all titles. There are some who boldly and unequivocally proclaim themselves, saying, "I am he." Such is the style of John Ward, who was lately liberated from eighteen months' confinement in Derby. Ward is a very sensible, very good man, but is most immovably obstinate in maintaining that he is the anointed of God, and the only man who was ever born again. His disciples, he says, as they receive his doctrines will all feel the same blessed change; but as yet none of them have ever experienced this happiness, although he has been zealously engaged in making converts for nearly six years. Our old friend Cobbett is a kind of political messiah. He declares that the nation can never be saved until the political Noah (that is, W. C.) enter into the ark; by which we are to understand the cabinet, where Noah, of course, must have the precedence to all his sons, including all the birds, beasts, and reptiles, wild and tame.

There was a messiah set up in Ohio, a few years ago, of the name of John Dilks, who gathered a great number of followers together, and persuaded them that the millennium was to begin in 1832, and that America was to be redeemed before any other country. What excuse he has made for the apparent failure of his prediction we have not yet heard.

There is one at present in London, of the name of Joseph Almond. He prefers the more Scriptural name of Zebulon, by which he is known amongst his followers, who are divided into twelve tribes like the chosen people. One favourite argument which he adduces for his messiahship is the following passage of Scripture: "and the Almond-tree shall flourish." And sure enough he has flourished. For a long time he was very poor, and had not wherewithal to enable him to travel to water the churches with the living fountains that flow from his mouth; yet the Lord commanded him to go. He replied, "Lord, thou knowest I have pawned my clothes and spent my money, and how can I go?" The Lord replied, "I will raise thee up a friend." And sure enough he did; for at that time one of his majesty's servants, a Captain William Woodley, of considerable property, was taken with the horrors for the sins which he had committed, and was very much alarmed by the visions of thenight; and nothing would satisfy Captain Woodley but finding out Joseph, the Almond-tree wot flourisheth. He did not know where Joseph lived; but thinking the great white spirit would surely direct him right, he rose hastily out of bed one morning, mounted a coach, and took his chance. The coach ran off to Manchester, and Woodley along with it; but no almond-tree was there.

Woodley then sought for Joseph at Ashton-under-Lyne; but no Joseph was there; and vexed at last that the spirit had sent him on a goose's errand, he returned to the place from whence he came, and found Joseph where he always was, and still is. Soon after this Joseph was riding in his carriage; and he came down from the vehicle once on the street, and fed his horses with apples from a stall, as a type of the millennium, when horses shall be fed as well as men now are. He also persuaded Woodley to marry a *certain* girl, by whom Woodley has now got two children. But Woodley having lately seen a vision, which has changed his mind, has left Joseph and the wife and children, having settled thirteen pounds per month upon her. Joseph still preaches in London to a chosen few.

There is old Elias Carpenter, over in Walworth, who preaches in a very neat little church, called the "House of God," to a very well-dressed congregation. He calls himself "Elias, who was to come," the herald of the messiah; and he and his all believe that Christ must come to them first; and they expect his appearance this same year. All other Christians are wrong except Elias and his congregation, you may depend upon it.

But old Sibly, on the other side of the town, who preaches to a chosen few on Sunday evenings, maintains that Elias is wrong; that he (Sibly), and he only, is right, and that there is no wiser man than he on earth, until the second Adam make his appearance, and commence the new world. "Then," says old S., "I shall be king of England." We have seen the hearers of the old gentleman listening most attentively to his expositions, and taking notes of the precious matters that dropped like the manna of heaven from his mouth.

We have been led into these narrations by a letter which we received lately from one Peter Puller, a co-operator in Brighton, and who has also got an assurance of his own royal dignity and destined accession to the throne of Britain. He wrote us once before, but we did not reply; but now he has got a command from heaven, and written us a prophecy. We shall not quote it, although it is very favourable to the Unions and the *Crisis*, not, however, suffering them to escape without censure; but we have given the above information to let our friend know that he is not alone in his sanguine hopes of preferment, and we could easily swell the list of messiahs a hundredfold. There are messiahs in parts of the country, all foretelling the end of the old world; and if they are false in respect to their individual professions and expectations, they must surely be allowed to be so far true, that, taken collectively, they forebode a speedy dissolution to the old world.

Whilst writing the above we received a letter from a correspondent signing himself Wat Tyler, who very seriously, and in a good style of language, proposes to redeem the whole of us, provided we all submit ourselves implicitly to his guidance, "and act up to, but not beyond, his recommendation." He says, what is very true, that nothing but a dictatorship can save the nation; and we need not be surprised if he cannot find a person better qualified than himself to dictate the measures most likely to effect the desired end. It must come to dictatorship at last, but the dictator must acquire his power in the usual progressive way, by influence of moral and intellectual worth.

THE TRUTH OF ROBERT OWEN'S DOCTRINE OF CIRCUMSTANCES CONFIRMED BY RASPAIL'S "ORGANIC CHEMISTRY."

WHILE Robert Owen was making his observations, at New Lanark, on the human character, from which he deduced the Doctrine of Circumstances, other men had been engaged, in this and foreign countries, in scientific pursuits of a totally different nature; and the result of their labours has been, that anatomy, physiology, chemistry, astronomy, geology, and all the physical and mechanical sciences, have made astonishing progress.

Among other discoveries, it has been proved beyond doubt that both the animal and vegetable kingdom (as they had hitherto been erroneously distinguished) are equally submitted to, and depend upon, the same irrevocable laws of nature, and that henceforth they must be considered as ONE, under the more simple and more true denomination of organized substances.

Among the most distinguished of those useful men, is a sagacious and persevering genius of the name of Raspail, who has lately published, in Paris, the result of his microscopic observations, in a work entitled, "A New System of Organic Chemistry,"* which has already caused a revolution in the scientific world to such an extent that little doubt is entertained, by those acquainted with the new facts brought to light, of their being followed by an equal revolution in the moral world, now that all the weight of scientific truths, resting on well-ascertained facts, supports the doctrine of circumstances, and proves it to be the only one consistent with the laws of nature.

Extraordinary as it may appear to persons not yet initiated in the details of Robert Owen's practice at New Lanark, or of those of F. V. Raspail's new theories, published in Paris, it is no less true that each of these great men, ignorant of each other's existence, language, or pursuits, stand now as living proofs of the practical truths of each other's assertions, having both arrived, by roads as wide apart as the poles, at the same important conclusions, which are, that *mortality and virtue would as invariably follow the circumstances favourable to their production, as that they can never be expected to thrive amidst circumstances opposed to their development.* Nor could Raspail have expressed himself as he does, in the deductions drawn from the facts he has brought to light, had he ever heard of the results of Robert Owen's experiments on the population of New Lanark.

Now for Raspail:—"In a well-regulated social order," says that persecuted genius, (page 230,) "vice and wickedness are anomalies, sociability being the ruling propensity." All would rather be good than wicked, but all cannot. "Since civilisation has carried the social propensity to so high a point of predominance, it is but rational to expect that education should have gradually diminished, and finally entirely worn away, the predominance of a propensity to evil and wickedness; and this, through the operation of new habits, or by new remedial means, awaiting the development of a kindred propensity." Those legislators who have written vengeance on the tables of the law, and who, in order (as they pretend) to avenge outraged society, have preferred the cruel and useless infliction of torture to any

attempts at ameliorating the condition, or to seeking a cure for him who was diseased, so as to enable him to make ample reparation to the great family for whatever wrong he may have done; those legislators, I say, should be considered as the most wicked amongst men, were it not that the context of their laws evidently proves them to have been the most ridiculous and absurd."

Further (p. 540) the conclusions are as decisive as important. After treating of the functions of different organs, he says,—"The laws that regulate all organized substances take the name of *wants* with the human family. Among the most imperious of those *wants* must be placed *morals and virtue*, which are no more than the actions of the *social propensity*, freed from all restraints, opposition, hinderance, or barrier.

"Immorality and vice are merely anomalies, proceeding from the alteration, or vicious conformation, of some organ,—unless they are the natural consequence of a continued and painful struggle between opposite social interests. In the first instance, they claim the care and solicitude of our piety and of our commiseration;—in the second, they call aloud for a complete radical reform of all our institutions, both civil and religious;" for the mystified hope of rewards can no more give birth to virtue, than the mystified dread of punishment is capable of extinguishing vice. Hence it is, that, age after age, men have in vain been appointed and paid to preach morals and virtue to organized bodies, surrounded all the while by circumstances under which those imperious wants of our nature (morals and virtue) could never be satisfied. Had half the money paid to preachers been employed in creating circumstances favourable to virtue, all efforts at amelioration would not have been in vain.

The following, in continuation, shows the fallacy and inefficiency of the obsolete distinction into *moral and physical* sensations. No *organized substance* can have any feelings but such as are the result of impressions made upon it by the external world. "We feel happy," says Raspail, "to have done that which is good for surrounding objects, in the same way as we feel happy to have procured, to have relieved our digestive organs from the gnawing pangs of hunger and thirst, to have secured our body from the mortal numbness of cold: under all these circumstances we obey irresistible laws, we satisfy our *organic necessity*, we merely restore the equilibrium within ourselves, the doing of which (when we can) is no more than satisfying a want."

"I have stated by what *mobile* we are led to act, according to the laws of organization;—as to the contrary doctrines, founded upon mysterious dogmas, I respect them, without believing them. If deceptive illusions are still capable of making other men happy, it would evince but little wisdom to repel them with intolerance, merely because one's self is more happy by means of a reality."

"To make use of human passions in opposing human errors, will never lead to conviction. If wars are to cease against *material* interests, still more should they cease against *immaterial* ones. Such is the motto of the generation just now rising to disencumber itself from the slime and filth of the civilization in which we live."

In the face of such important and most curious coincidence between the conclusions forced upon Raspail in Paris, by his microscopic discoveries, in the operation of the laws

imposed by nature upon all organizations, and the New Science of Society, founded by Robert Owen on his observations upon three or four thousand organized substances at New Lanark; in the face of such coincidence, I say, the reproach of visionary and Utopian dreams, so often repeated, appears now too ridiculous to deserve further notice, and can only be treated as the miserable suggestion of self-love, or as that blind opposition to all innovation, however simple and natural, but the urgent necessity and advantage of which must always remain incomprehensible to ignorance.

Altogether, ignorance is not the cause of resistance to the New Social System; for, on reflection, it appears that the truth of the doctrine of circumstances is practically acknowledged in many instances. It is evident that our wealthy nabobs strongly adhere to it, on all occasions, regarding substances, from the proper training of which their vanity may be gratified, or their enjoyments increased; and yet, in the present state of the arts and sciences, human imperfection, moral degradation, ignorance among the many, and consequent misery, are perpetuated, nay, increasing around them beyond endurance, merely because the same doctrine, so remarkably simple and natural, has never been applied to organized substances of the highest order, far more susceptible of improvement than any inferior one, and promising results of paramount importance to society in the rapid progress of mankind towards greater perfection, peace, and happiness.

How does a wealthy nabob deal with his landed possession, regarding all his animal and vegetable property? How, the noble in his country-seat? Does he merely inclose the ground, and preach and exhort his trees, plants, and flowers to grow, spread, bloom, and fructify, without a blemish? Does he merely command them, in the name of the sun and moon, to display all their beauty, and send forth their delicious odours? No, not he, indeed; but he sends for the first-rate gardeners and connoisseurs the world can produce; he builds hot-houses and green-houses upon the most improved plans; he purchases and consults all botanical works; he makes a choice of the best seeds, among all kinds and specimens;—has the proper soils prepared for each different sort; the degrees of heat, and cold, and moisture are all minutely attended to, as well as the proper aspects, exposures, and situations the most genial to their full development and mature perfection. The rich man attends with great care and solicitude to the nature and organization of plants, in order to ascertain from what soils they can best derive in due proportions the salts and juices which are to be assimilated to the irrespective substances; also under what temperature they can best absorb from the atmosphere the fluids and gases necessary for their full development; in short, the conditions known to be requisite, in order to bring his trees, plants, and flowers to the highest possible state of perfection are all fulfilled at any cost: for then, and then only, can he expect (as he well knows) all the health, beauty, and fragrance that vegetable organization is capable of presenting to the eye, and of imparting to all our other senses.

The same care, attention, and solicitude will be given, with pleasure, by the nabob to his horses, his dogs, his cattle, and the game of his preserves; all the information that books and experience can afford will be eagerly sought for and obtained at any price, in order

* T. B. Baillière, 219, Regent-street.

to ascertain what is required for improving the condition, size, beauty, form, and vigour of each kind. All the known requisites will be procured, and profusely and lavishly bestowed upon the brute creation by the wealthy nabob.

Should the expected results of so much care, solicitude, and expense bestowed upon so many organized substances, not be completely realised, the gardener, the botanist, the feeder, the keeper, and the groom, will all be dismissed as being careless, indifferent, or incapable. Incapable of what? Merely of knowing how to assist nature; their only duty being that of placing all plants and all beasts under such circumstances as are known to be the most favourable to their full and free development.

So well does the nabob know what nature returns when properly studied and understood, so much does he rely on the doctrine of circumstances for the luxuriance of his plants, and for the rearing and training of his cattle, that he never questions nature's powers when disappointed, but discards from his service those whom he had entrusted with the mere distribution and application of the best means of fecundity, and upon whose sagacity he supposed he could rely for creating the circumstances required by each of the different organized substances entrusted to their care.

Now, let us see what course the nabob takes with the most remarkable of all his organized substances; what, for the human being; what, for that moral and intellectual organization, the most essentially useful and most interesting part of his possession.

Formerly, those who had endeavoured to find out the cause why the most remarkable of all organized substances should have been so long neglected, seldom dared to publish the result of their enquiries; and if not threatened, like Raspail, to become the victims of persecution and want, their useful discoveries are only read by a very few, and understood at first by none.

As regards man and woman, the system of training, so successfully adopted by the nabob for his trees, his plants, his flowers, his cattle, his dogs, and his farm-yard, appears not yet understood: for man and woman no circumstances have yet been created, which indicate any wish, on the nabob's part, to ameliorate and to improve their condition; for them, nature is never consulted, but to be contradicted, opposed, and tortured in a thousand ways; for them, no costly experiments are ever made by the nabobs, to exhibit specimens of high cultivation, and of the full and free development of all the natural faculties inherent in the most precious of all their organized substances, as they do, to the envy of each other, with plants and flowers, exhibited at the horticultural feasts; for them, no expensive training, feeding, or fattening, as they do with beasts to be exhibited at a cattle-show, there to gain the annual prize, tendered by semi-knowledge to those who think only of surpassing others in the best mode of perfecting brute nature, heedless all the while of the condition of the human beings employed in feeding, fattening, and cleaning the prize-bullock, pig, or sheep!

For man and woman, no books, no science, no experience, no learned investigator of the laws of human nature are ever consulted; and if recourse is constantly being had to the gloomy records of antiquity, it is with the view of discovering some unexplored ground, on which

to erect anew the dark standard of a useless and debasing mysticism, in order that belief may continue to be taught to man and woman, and that both may be rendered incapable of ever learning how to think.*

These poor ignorant substances, only semi-developed, yet doubly deceived and mystified, must toil, and toil again, (some old Scriptural notions say so;) and age after age, as if excluded from the law of progress, the worst of circumstances are perpetuated around them, until, worn out and disabled, they are fed out of sight by a rated charity, which, at the same time that it has extinguished all sympathy on the one side, has totally demoralized the other: clad in the livery of mismanagement and misrule, emaciated in body and depressed in spirits, they are kept in ignorance, as if through dread of their ever suspecting that they have been generated with organs far superior to those of all other plants or animals; with propensities which, better understood, and more judiciously directed, would easily develop and beautifully manifest the abundant powers and inexhaustible resources of their inventive faculties and high moral wants.

However extraordinary it may appear to common sense, now enlightened by science, it is no less true that the most complicated, and therefore most interesting, of all organized substances in nature, remain to this day the most neglected. And why has it so long been thus? Because of two reasons: the first of which is assumed, conscientiously I admit by some, seconds only in command, but through holy-cunning by others, who stood first in authority. It is because of some old books, written in the ages of profound ignorance (times for which only such things were good), where man and woman are spoken of, not as what they really are, organized substances generated by nature, like all other substances, but as having been created as if apart from nature for the purpose of being condemned from birth to toil in want and misery, as *responsible* beings, mystically said to be composed of a body and of a soul; the latter assumed to belong exclusively to an imaginary being, an eternal, invisible, incomprehensible power, *mystified into a judge*;—their happiness, therefore, it is also assumed, is not of this world. To surround them with better circumstances, as is constantly done, with success for plants and for beasts, is deemed absurd, because it could not, in the present system, increase the pleasure or gratify the vanity of the nabobs; it has, therefore, been also assumed that man and woman's best faculties are only to be developed hereafter in some supposed paradise, where only their perfection and radiating beauty can be manifested after death by expansion through substantial resurrection: but where, also, it is assumed by those who deny for them the force of circumstances here below, that rewards or punishments await them, according to the degree of their blind and ignorant belief in mysteries, expounded by other ignorant substances called priests, appointed by ignorant nabobs; and whose interference they are trained in childhood to look upon as most necessary to their future *mystical bliss*; hence, their mortification in ignorance, patience in ignorance, and resignation in ignorance, under all the accumulation of the sorrows,

* To teach the people to read and write, without teaching them also how to consider, how to observe and to investigate natural facts, is worse than perpetuating the blind mystification of dark ignorance.

affliction, and wants these false notions, and consequent bad circumstances, must inevitably produce, according to the irresistible laws imposed by nature upon all organizations; so that, in fact, whilst the young of plants and animals are more carefully nurtured, and better trained up, by the application of new discoveries in the science of horticulture, botany, and zoology, under circumstances annually improving, the ignorant, infatuated nabobs continue to order and to enforce that all the young of men should continue to be given up from birth to the same ignorant priesthood, and that the most effectual means should be adopted through all this dominion to perpetuate, from century to century, the same delusions, by instilling into the mind of youth the same blind faith into the same mysterious dogmas, long before they can be capable of making any enquiry into the laws of nature regarding all organized substance; which enquiry alone, provided it be free and unshackled, can eventually lead man to the true knowledge of man.

Such is, I contend, the first reason, the remote cause, why man and woman (the most wonderful of all organized substances) have remained so long neglected, ill understood, and mismanaged, whilst all possible care, expense, and solicitude are annually bestowed by many on organizations of an inferior order.

The second reason is a cheering and consolatory one: here, however, *no reason* becomes reason. It must have been so, because in the nature of man it could not be otherwise; "it was nature all through." The true reason, then, must be looked for in those perplexities in which the laws of progress appear to us to be involved; according to which laws generations yet unborn will probably direct and control the very powers of the creation, which, in the infancy of mankind, terrified and overawed the primitive animal man into the worship of imaginary good and evil deities, followed in after ages by the blind faith of ignorance and barbarism, in a succession of mysterious dogmas, well adapted, and most useful in their day, as a first step in the making of a mere animal a sort of superior compound, a strange mixture of morality, ferocity, faith, and absurdity, yet advancing him by successive generations towards the true knowledge of nature; which knowledge alone is the true revelation to man of the future powers of his intellectual faculties, when the time shall come for him to understand how such faculties can be cultivated, developed, and directed for the best possible advantage of his kind. Now, for man to advance step by step, and generation after generation, it could never be otherwise than through impressions made upon his organization by the external objects presented to his senses; a true knowledge of himself could only be the consequence of his acquaintance with the external world, or with nature; and as the knowledge of nature can only be the result of repeated experiments and observation, all the inferior organized substances within man's reach must naturally suffer by his blunders, or be benefited by his successful discoveries, long before he can be induced, by the study of analogy, to avoid the former and to avail himself of the latter. Hence it follows that the first experiments and application of the natural sciences must have been made upon plants or beasts; and no doubt can be entertained, from what has already been accomplished by the combined efforts of modern society within the last forty years, that the time is not far distant

when the beautiful and beneficial results so repeatedly and so easily obtained for plants and for beasts, by merely placing them within the influence of circumstances the most favourable to the full development of their peculiar organization, must eventually create such impressions on the public mind, when generally known, as will gradually modify, if not remove altogether, the dogmas and the institutions of the old social system, which, being founded in ignorance and superstition, stand in the way of any rational views being carried into effect for ameliorating the condition of our species; a consequence which would inevitably follow the application of that same doctrine of circumstances so successfully tried on other organized substances, as may be seen by every one visiting our horticultural gardens and annual cattle-shows. This method, I repeat, applied to the physical, mental, and moral culture of man and woman, and especially of the young, will, in whatever condition of life they may be born, produce the same happy results, and bring into existence a new race of noble and intelligent beings, truly blessed in themselves and blessing all around. VERAX.

LITERARY MONOPOLY.—OXFORD.—A convocation will be holden in the theatre to-day (Tuesday), at 11 o'clock, in which it will be proposed to confer the Honorary Degree of D.C.L. on—

His Excellency Baron Dedel, Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of the Netherlands, &c.

His Excellency Baron Gersdorf, Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of Saxony, &c.

His Excellency Count Matuszewicz, late Minister Plenipotentiary from the Emperor of Russia.

His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh, K.T.
His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Bute.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Chandos.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Winchelsea.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Warwick.
The Right Hon. the Earl de la Warre.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosslyn, G.C.B.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Wilton.
The Right Hon. the Earl Brownlow.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Falmouth.
The Right Hon. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, K.C.B.
The Right Hon. Lord Granville Somerset.
The Right Hon. Lord Francis Egerton.
The Right Hon. Viscount Strangford, G.C.B.
The Right Hon. Lord Burghersh.

N.B. The Duke of Cumberland was refused, and therefore declined the honour.

TO TRADES' UNIONS.

The Shoe Factors of Wellingborough having followed the example of "the Twenty Tyrants of Derby," by discharging their men because they have refused to desert their Union, the Committee of Operative Cordwainers beg leave to inform their Brothers of all trades that no time has been lost in employing their turned-out brethren on their own capital and at advanced wages; in consequence of which they have now on hand a quantity of good boots and shoes for sale at the Dépôt, 14, Charlotte-street, at such prices and of such quality as cannot be equalled in London. Brothers, come and give our Union Shop a trial!

EXTRACT

From an unpublished Poem, entitled "The Co-operative Gallery of Portraits."

"A chiel's amang you takin' notes."—BURNS.
"The proper study of mankind is man."—POPE.

I REACH'D the corridor: before me stood
Two cherubs blooming, and they sweetly smiled;
The one was bursting into womanhood,
The other younger; 'twas a lovely child.
Alike their features and their placid mood;
Nature her gifts on them had richly piled;
Sisters they seem'd, devoid of guile and art,
And form'd to be each other's counterpart.
I gazed upon them—why, I scarce could tell:
'Twas a mixt feeling bound me to the spot;—
Transfixt as by a wonder-working spell,
The scene and all around me I forgot.
My eye met theirs, wherein appear'd to dwell
Intelligence embodied: I could not
Turn from the contemplation or withdraw;
But pondering still I mused, marr'ling at what
I saw.

Paintings and sculpture I have mused upon;
The breathing efforts of the artist's school;
But none with such a seraph-radiance shone,
Or to my sight were half so beautiful.
They spoke: the music of that silver tone
The breast of rage itself might ever lull.
Calm and benignant, they conveyed to me
All I could fancy of Divinity.

It was not passion held me; that were sin—
Albeit my bosom smach, too much contains;
But such as for their nearest, dearest kin,
A father or a brother entertains;
Pure as Devotion, when she kneels within
The temple where the holy Virgin reigns:
When love and reason, blent in deep prostration,
Produce that mental fever, veneration.

No wiles were theirs to lure the stranger's eye;
Chaste in demeanour, simple in their dress;
Light as the fawn they tript and gamboll'd by,
Unconscious of their power and loveliness.
Graceful as Hebe when to Jove on high
She bears the wine-cup for his lips to press.
Around each other's neck their arms entwined,
Like the fond tendrils of the fruitful vine.

These wake emotions, though to me not new,
Yet of a character but ill defined;
A glance inform'd me—aye, a single view—
The rank injustice done to human kind.
You could not trace, though you had search'd them
through,

The host of passions that distract the mind,
And which contribute, by their fearful panic,
To make man half a beast, and half Satanic.

They seem'd all innocence, and joy, and truth;
Gay, with a preface far beyond their years;
Fair as the Houri with eternal youth,
Inheritors of love, and not of tears;
For their young hearts had never felt the tooth
Of Superstition, which, remorseless, bears
Hope and our prospects to Despair's black level,
And drives all unbelievers to the devil.

They were a living refutation sent
Of that wild doctrine, primitive transgression,
Which has destroy'd and poison'd, chain'd and bent
The mind, by its Herculean depression;
Bright as the meteor with its fires unspent.
And here I'll make an honest, plain confession:
With these, I'd leave to arier heads the skies;
Such be my angels—earth my paradise!

(I do not say no future state exists,
But much desire it: yet I know not how
That state's to be supported! Dogmatists
Have told us that hereafter we must go
To worlds above us, if we're in their lists;
But if excluded—to the worlds below:
But high or low to me no difference makes—
Give me good living, brave sirloin, and steaks.)

J. BANKHEAD, F.S.O.C.

NEW METHOD OF EXTINGUISHING FIRE.—A German paper mentions a discovery, which, it says, has created (naturally enough, we think,) considerable sensation in Germany. This discovery is a simple method of extinguishing fire by means of chopped straw! A few handfuls of straw were thrown into a fire-place, and the fire was immediately extinguished. Several bundles of straw were lighted and covered with chopped straw; the bundles of straw were burnt, but the chopped straw remained uninjured. A bar of red-hot iron was plunged into a heap of chopped straw; it did not take fire, but, on the contrary, the bar soon got cold. Some very dry wood was lighted, and when the fire was very ardent, the wood was covered with some chopped straw, over which was placed some gunpowder; the fire soon went out, and the powder, only separated from the fire by some chopped straw, did not ignite. The Prussian government lately ordered some further experiments to be made, from which it appears that the principal cause of the phenomenon is the humidity which escapes from the chopped straw when it becomes heated!

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street.
Mr. Smith, Sunday morning, at half past eleven.
Mr. Owen, Sunday evening, at seven o'clock.

A Discussion on Tuesday evening, 17th inst.
Subject: "What are the remedies for the permanent removal of poverty from the productive classes?" Chair taken at eight o'clock.

The 55th Social Festival of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, June 16, Tickets 1s. 6d., or 1s. and a one-hour note each, tea and coffee included.

A SOCIAL TEA PARTY will be held on Sunday next, the 15th instant, on Hampstead-heath, on the same spot as last year, and for the same purpose; namely, to assist the funds of the Institution in meeting Mr. Carter's claim. As that party was held to assist in making the first payment, so this will be for the last. Tickets, one shilling each, children sixpence.

N.B. If the weather should prove unfavourable, it will be held in the Institution.

SOCIAL AQUATIC EXCURSION.

The Stewards of the Charlotte-street Festival announce to the Friends of the Institution, that they have engaged the spacious and superior Steam-vessel *HERO*, for Monday, June 23, which will leave St. Katharine's Pier at 8 o'clock precisely for Rochester-Bridge, passing the Royal Fleet in the River Medway. Such of the Company as may choose to go on shore, can do so at Gravesend or Sheerness, and the vessel will take them up again at Rochester, or on its return. The Bands of the Institution have kindly consented to assist on the occasion.

Tickets, 4s. each; Children 2s. For further particulars see bills.

This day is published,

OLD NICK; Containing *WINE* square feet of print. Price only *Two pence*. Printed by Fagnolt, 48, Great Wild-street, published by John Ward, 167, High Holborn, two doors from Museum-street, and sold by Nicholls, 93, John-street, Tottenham-court-road.

Lately published,
VOLNEY'S RUINS OF EMPIRES, and **LAW of NATURE**; in a neat pocket Volume, gilt lettered, with 2 plates, price 2s. 6d., or in 14 numbers at 2d. each.
B. D. COXWELL, Duke-street, Lincoln's-in-the-field.

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THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 11, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 15.

Mr. Smith lectured on "THE VARIETY OF HUMAN CHARACTER."

It is perhaps impossible to give a correct description of man, he is so variable, and presents such a multiplicity of characters in different regions of the earth. The character of a dog, or of a lion, or any other brute animal, is easily delineated; they have very few peculiarities, and their ideas and their wants are so few in number, that they can only be moved to one or two different kinds of action. An ancient Grecian philosopher attempted to give a definition of man, which should defy the subtlety of criticism to impugn, for every one who had preceded him had failed. If one called him a rational animal, it was objected to this definition, that the inferior animals were possessed of reason in an inferior degree. If one called him a conversational animal, it was replied that other animals could communicate ideas to each other by means of the voice, as well as man, though not in so methodical and perfect a manner; and even speech itself is not confined to man alone, but can be imitated by many of the feathered tribe. This philosopher, however, thought he had succeeded when he told his pupils that man was an animal with two feet, and without feathers; but an old wad exposed the philosopher before all his pupils, by plucking the feathers from off a cock, and, taking it to the academy, asked the learned gentleman if that was what he called a man? This raised a laugh against the philosopher; but all philosophers have a back-door to escape when they are attacked on their own premises. He replied that the cock was not an animal, because it was dead; and this raised a new discussion in the Athenian schools, whether there could be such a thing as a dead animal, for animal means a living creature, and it certainly is very absurd to speak of a dead living creature. Such were the niceties with which the great men of Greece amused themselves; and foolish as these discussions were, they have proved exceedingly useful in perfecting language, than which there is nothing more essential to the perfecting of the human character by the dissemination of truth. The language of savages is so imperfect, that

they really could not be taught many simple doctrines and facts for want of words to express them; and as they have not yet learned to define their words, these words would have such an equivocal meaning, that they would give rise to innumerable disputes before that meaning could be settled. The meaning of words in our own language has been settled in a way that very few ever think of. We are now in the habit of railing at mysticism, and all such puerile disputations as that above alluded to; but had it not been for mysticism, and metaphysical disputation, we never should have had a language more perfect than the language of savages; and there is no other way of getting a correct language than by going through the ordeal of mysticism and metaphysical wrangling. This makes one of the most pointed distinctions between the character of nations: a nation is always more or less intellectual in proportion as it has advanced through the field of mystery, without which it must remain in barbarism for ever. This is the dark valley of the shadow of death, at the other end of which is life, and liberty, and science.

It is a very lucky thing for the instruction of mankind in the knowledge of their own nature, that there are some nations of men who have made no advance whatsoever in the arts and sciences, but are to be found at the present day in the very same state as they seem to have come originally from the hand of nature. Had we all advanced alike, we must have been entirely ignorant of man in the abstract. We could not have conceived a correct idea of man's primitive state; but nature has preserved that primitive state in its original perfection, and now we can see it with our eyes, and tell what a rude and unpolished stock we are sprung from. There is nothing strikes one more forcibly, in reading the account of voyages and travels amongst savage nations, than the extreme contrast which presents itself between the inhabitants of one region and those of another; as well as the contrast between the public and private characters of the parties themselves. Some are mild and timid; others are ferocious to an extreme degree. Among the Ansicans in Africa, we are told by travellers that human flesh is not only used as daily food, but it is actually sold

in the shambles like our beef and mutton. This people are accounted the fiercest and the bravest people in the world. But they are exceedingly mild in their domestic intercourse. They are loyal, faithful, and honest in their dealings; and even a Christian missionary declares that these cannibals would make excellent Christians, if it were only possible to convert them. The same may be said of all the savage tribes of America. They are cruel, insatiably cruel, to their enemies; but to each other their generosity knows no bounds; and they only require to treat their national enemies as they treat one another, to make them models for our imitation; as, indeed, in many respects they already are.

There are tribes of savages who are all thieves by education, who regard stealing as a virtue, and have much more pleasure in pilfering an article than in receiving the same article as a present. This prevailed in Otaheite to such an extent that the king himself was as expert in stealing as any of his subjects. The Caribbees, on the contrary, seem to have no idea of theft, nor do they think it possible that it could be committed by one of their own tribe; it is a common thing amongst them, when they miss any thing out of their houses, to say, "Some Christian has been here," for with them Christianity and stealing are twin brothers and sisters. Others, again, make a strange mixture of generosity and thievishness: they steal merely to enjoy the pleasure of giving away. Captain Cook relates that no article stolen by any inhabitant of the Friendly Isles was ever seen in the possession of the thief again, who always presented it to one of his companions.

All the variety of character may be easily accounted for; it arises entirely from the different degrees of civilization, and the different degrees of value which is attached to private property. The more valuable private property becomes, the more irresistible is the temptation which propels men to appropriate it to themselves; and the fewer the wants the fewer the temptations to abstract and to hoard: accordingly, we find that men are much more honest in small tribes or villages, than in large kingdoms and cities; simplicity and hospitality abound amongst small communities, but every vice which disfigures humanity is to be

found in those dens of wickedness, which civilization has created, by the collection of enormous masses of individuals into the confinement of a city. Mankind have, no doubt, gained much by civilization and the building of cities; they have gained all that manufactures and the arts and sciences produce; but they have not so much occasion for boasting over the cannibals as they seem to imagine, from the contempt and abhorrence in which they hold these rear-guards of human society. I have already observed of the Ansicans, that whilst they daily indulge in the revolting practice of eating human flesh and selling it in the shambles, they are in private and domestic life the most amiable and gentle race of men that are to be found. The same is affirmed of the Brazilian cannibals, and indeed of many other tribes of men who devour human flesh. The Brazilian cannibals are particularly refined and polished in their manners. Their attachment to each other as friends and associates is strong and permanent; amongst them there is none of that abuse, and wrangling, and selfish competition, which is to be found in the large cities of civilization. Their politeness is extolled by travellers, and so rare are private feuds and jealousies amongst them, that one European, who resided a whole year amongst a tribe of Brazilian cannibals, states that he only witnessed two quarrels during the whole of that time, and these were very slight and easily appeased. This extreme politeness and affability, however, has sometimes proved rather too much for Christian missionaries. They are listened to with extreme attention and courtesy; no symptoms of unbelief, or even of doubt, are expressed. In fact, these cannibals appear as if they were really converted; and the glad apostle of the gospel, if unacquainted with their native character, assures himself that he has nothing more to do than merely to bring water and baptize them in a body. He finds himself deceived, however; for after he has been heard with patience, they naturally claim the same privilege of speaking; and in curious contrast to the preacher's instruction, they give him a long harangue upon their own faith, and the great White Spirit which lives behind the mountains. If the preacher attempts to persuade them of the folly and absurdity of their creed, then they reproach him instantly with want of politeness; they received all that he had to say,—why should he not believe them? They have true charity, but he has none; and their charity clothes them with all those amiable domestic and social qualities for which they are so remarkable; whilst the Christian, entirely devoid of this virtuous principle, travels over sea and land, to give moral and religious instruction to others who are better than himself, and who, if he did succeed in infusing his own bigotry into them, would only become wranglers and brawlers like himself and his fellows, and sacrifice the happiness of sociality and mutual friendship for the rude gratification of fighting with the wind. "Wo unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites," says Jesus Christ; "for you compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when you have found him, you make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves."

There is one great truth to be remarked of all tribes and nations of men, that the same system prevails amongst them all. It is the individual or opposition system, and the principle difference between one nation and another lies in the different mode of keeping up

the system of individual or national strife. Amongst all nations war is practised, from the lowest state of savagism up to the highest state of civilization. This is the consequence of a separation of interest, or, in other words, of individuality and competition. The cannibal and the nursing of civilization are both addicted to this practice; and all the difference between the two is that the cannibal removes the bodies of his enemies, to devour them as food, and the civilized soldier removes the plunder or property of his enemies to purchase food; the one has it ready prepared, and the other has to go to market for it. This system of national war they hold in common, and the practice seems to be a little more brutal on the part of the cannibal; but, in respect to private or individual competition, civilized nations are more ungenerous and brutal than they. We have carried the system of private competition to the perfection of cruelty and insensibility; they have carried the system of national warfare to the greatest excess of cruelty: we thus pretty fairly match each other; and if either party has good reason to exult, it is that which has carried the social and domestic feeling to the greatest perfection.

Attempts have been made to convert many of these American tribes to the Christian faith, but they have hitherto failed: the Christian world deplors this as an unfortunate circumstance, always forgetting, as they generally do, that Providence knows better than they do what is good for the savages; and that if he thought the Christianity of the missionaries was worth giving, he would give it them; but that it is not worth giving is evident from this, that the Christians are no better men than the savages. "Oh! but," replies the missionary, "we might at least succeed in abolishing the horrid practice of cannibalism and torture." Well, this, no doubt, is a generous attempt to do good; but, supposing they persuade one tribe, by mere preaching, to abandon the practice, what would be the consequence? The consequence would be, that that tribe, unless it could succeed in persuading the other tribes to follow the good example, would either be devoured in a few years, or be obliged, in pure revenge and self-defence, to follow the old barbarous practice. The practice itself is employed to give them ferocity; they tear out the hearts of their victims, whilst yet warm, on the field of battle; suck the blood, and raise the war-whoop, and rush again to a new encounter with increased vigour. Were one party to desist from the practice, it would lose its ferocity, and be overwhelmed: it has now become a necessary evil, and can only be terminated by some very powerful interference of a civilized nation, either scattering the combatants, or bringing them under subjection until the old habits have been abandoned, and new and better habits acquired. But no civilized nation is as yet sufficiently advanced to give them better habits; for it has been remarked by travellers that it is this ferocity in war that makes them so social and generous at home; and the introduction of a system of private competition by a civilized nation would destroy the social principle, and carry the war into domestic life, instead of taking it abroad.

Every mind has a useful sphere of action; even the duller and most obtuse intellect may be of great advantage to the community. One of the most laborious works that ever was attempted by any man was Cruden's Concordance. Cruden himself was a madman, and it has often

been observed that none but a madman could ever have engaged with such an arduous undertaking; and many a divine and commentator has since had good reason to thank this madman for the labour he has saved them in their favourite studies. Passion and elasticity of mind can never submit to drudgery, or monotonous labour of any kind; but what could the man of excitement do without the aid of such minds to finish his own suggestions, and reduce theories to practice? he would be a helpless creature, a mere creature of imagination, scarcely able to procure for himself a bare subsistence. But nature has so constituted society as to make atonement for all defects; the man of spirit and of mercury is counterbalanced by the pensive and the deliberate; imprudence is checked by prudence, and prudence is roused from its indolence and inactivity by the rashness and impetuosity of imprudence. An imprudent man is not a useless member of society; folly has been of great advantage to the world; and madness has often given such a stimulus to society as to cause wise men frequently to rejoice that nature had not given all men soundness of mind. But it is difficult to say what madness is: now-a-days, a man is accounted mad if he departs from the common beaten track of public opinion; an innovator is accounted a madman; an enthusiast is accounted a madman; some call a zealot in religion a madman; and others call zealous co-operators and socialists madmen. All the world are mad, if you believe all the world; and I am inclined to think that all the world is right, that all men are really mad, and that they only differ from each other in degrees of madness. Madness is a want of equilibrium in the mind; a state of mind where one passion swallows up the rest, or preponderates over them. Now, this may be affirmed of every individual; there is no mind in existence which is properly equipoised, and no mind can possibly be equipoised, unless it be infinite, which no finite organization can ever become. We have, therefore, no occasion to reproach or exult over each other; no authority to revile one another as madmen, for we ourselves are mad; no authority to call each other fools, for we are all fools; nor to boast of our wisdom, for we have no wisdom, and can teach none to others, that is, more than a drop in the ocean of thought. Who is a wise man?—A man who never errs; who always counsels well; who never fails; who knows truth from error, and preserves an everlasting tranquillity of mind. There is no such man in existence, and never can be; error is everlasting; it is the result of our constitution; wisdom is only gained by experience, and the experience of eternity is necessary to make wisdom perfect. Error is necessary to action, only there is no occasion for such magnificent errors as the men of this generation commit, who mistake light for darkness, and darkness for light; who call evil good, and good evil: we might have a true foundation, at least; at present our system is built upon error. This is the change which we want to effect; to lay a new foundation; a foundation of simple truth; for, since it is a law of nature that man should be a very limited being in his intellectual and moral capacity, he may at least attain to the felicity of having a sure foundation, upon which to rear his future superstructure of invention and discovery. When we have gained this object, neither folly nor error will do us much harm; they will only serve to amuse us, and increase the variety and versatility of human character.

which might all be made to harmonize like the distinct and individual tones of a musical monochord.

SUNDAY EVENING, JUNE 15.

Mr. Owen lectured. He commenced by observing that he had had two important documents put into his hands during the past week, which he believed to be of the highest importance, and which he hoped the present position of society would contribute to render of practical utility. The first document related to the subject of drunkenness. It was probably known that, on the previous Tuesday, Mr. Buckingham had moved, in the House of Commons, for a committee to enquire into the extent, causes, and effects of drunkenness. Mr. B. had, on that occasion, made a most excellent and valuable speech; and, although he was strongly opposed by several members of the administration—who throughout appear to act as if they believed they should lose their power when once the working classes were moralized,—yet Mr. Owen was glad to observe that the motion was carried by a majority of 17, in a house of 111, and that the committee appointed is as good a one as could be selected from the present House of Commons.

It was well known that Mr. Owen had had great experience and success in changing the habits of an entire population, and what he considered one of his greatest victories had been obtained by many of that population being changed, from notorious and confirmed drunkards, into patterns of sobriety and regularity of conduct. In consequence of knowing this, Mr. Buckingham had applied to him (Mr. O.) to assist his exertions by his evidence before the committee, and by other means.

Mr. Owen considered that, until this plague-spot should be eradicated, very little lasting good would be effected for society, even through the medium of the Consolidated Trades' Union. The Unions have the power in their hands to remove all the evils with which we are afflicted, if they had but intelligence to use it, and also a knowledge of the causes of such evils, more especially that of drunkenness.

"The immediate causes of this fatal disease to humanity," observed the lecturer, "are many; the chief of which are the great pecuniary interests which wealthy influential individuals and the government have in its continuance, and the temptations which, consequently, they directly or indirectly place or suffer to be placed in the way of the working classes to become drunkards. Another immediate cause is the over-exertion required from the working classes in their various unhealthy occupations. This exhausts the animal frame and spirits, and creates a strong desire to recruit their strength for a short period, although by so doing they ultimately diminish all their powers, physical, mental, and moral. Another cause is the total want, in this country more than in any other, of simple, cheap, yet rational amusements and recreations, apart from public-houses and intoxicating liquors. These are among the chief immediate causes why the population of England, Ireland, and Scotland are not only cursed with the disease of drunkenness, but that it has been for some time on the increase, until it has now become an evil of such magnitude that decisive measures must be adopted to stem it, or the whole of the working population, it is to be feared, will become enfeebled in body and demoralized in mind and feelings. The remedy will be discovered to be in the consolidated power of the Trades' Unions; none other

will be found equal to the task." Mr. Owen then read the following extracts from Mr. Buckingham's speech:

"Of the fact of the increase of drunkenness among the labouring classes of the country, I think there will be no doubt. But if there should, a reference to the reports of the police cases, published in any town of the United Kingdom, will be more than sufficient to remove such doubts; and if to this be added the evidence furnished by the records of our criminal courts of session or assize, and by the coroners' inquests, hospital returns, and other public documents, accessible to all, the most irresistible proof will be produced to show that intemperance, like a mighty and destroying flood, is fast overwhelming the land. I content myself with two short extracts of evidence on this subject from very different quarters, which I have selected from a mass of others, because they are the shortest and the most recent; not written to serve any special purpose; and above all question as to their authenticity. The first is from the last official Report of the Middlesex Lunatic Asylum, at Hanwell, as published in the *Times* of the present month. It is as follows:

"GIN DRINKING.—The seventy-six deaths which have occurred in the year have been, with the exception of those who have died from advanced age, principally caused by the disease of the brain, of the lungs, and the complaints brought on by those deadly potions of ardent spirits in which the lower classes seem more than ever to indulge. In a very great number of recent cases, both amongst men and women, the insanity is caused entirely by spirit drinking. This may in some measure be attributed to the young not being taught to consider the practice disgraceful, and to their being tempted, by the gorgeous splendour of the present gin-mansions, to begin a habit which they never would have commenced had they been obliged to steal, fearful of being observed, into the obscurity of the former dram-shops."

"The second document to which I beg to draw the special attention of the House is one of the most appalling, perhaps, that the history of intemperance has ever produced. It is a report of the number of men, women, and children, who entered, for the purpose of procuring ardent spirits, fourteen of the principal gin-shops in London and its suburbs—of which there are two in Whitechapel, three at Mile-end, one in East Smithfield, one in the Borough, one in Old-street-road, two in Holborn, one in Bloomsbury, and three in Westminster. From these tabular statements I make only the following selections. At the principal gin-shop in Holborn, there entered on the Monday 2,990 men, 1,855 women, and 289 children, making a total of 5,024 human beings in one single day; and in the whole week 16,988 persons had drank of the poisonous draught from one single house. At the principal gin-shop in Whitechapel, this had even been exceeded; for there had entered at this house on the Monday no less than 3,149 men, 2,186 women, and 666 children, making a total of 6,021 in a single day; and in the course of the week the numbers amounted to 17,663. The grand total, for one week only, in the fourteen houses selected, the names of which I have seen, and the localities of which I have myself inspected, amount to no less a number than 269,438, divided in the following proportions, namely, 149,443 men, 106,593 women, and 18,992 children; the women and

children united, nearly equalling the men, and surpassing them in the grossness and depravity of their demeanour! Alas! Sir, is it England of which we are speaking—the land of the lovely and the brave—the seat of the sciences and the arts—the school of morality and religion? or are those attributes of excellence ascribed to us in mockery, in order to heighten our sense of sorrow and of shame? Yes! in a country second to none in wealth, in intelligence, in power, and I will add, too, in general purity of conduct and character, there yet remains this deadly plague-spot, which I call upon the members of this House to assist, to the utmost of their abilities, in endeavouring to wipe away. If this almost inconceivable amount of degradation is produced by fourteen houses only in this metropolis, what must be the mass of vice and immorality engendered by the thousands of other houses of the same class, though of inferior magnitude, which rear their decorated fronts in every street and avenue, which ever way we turn,—though, like the whitened sepulchres of old, they are, without, all gorgeousness and splendour,—within, all rotteness and death; and if this waste, disease, and crime produced by intoxication in London alone be thus enormous, what must be the aggregate amount of each in all the other towns and districts of England? The sum is so fearful that I shrink appalled from its bare contemplation!"

The first step of the Trades' Unions (said Mr. Owen) should be to put a stop to this vice; an evil which must be overthrown before any reasonable expectation could be entertained of the success of any other of their plans of ameliorating their condition.

The other document alluded to at the commencement of the lecture was a pamphlet, entitled "Trades Triumphant, or Unions' Jubilee," which was published by Hetherington, and might be had for twopenny. The following extracts were then read:

"The age we live in stands alone! It is without parallel in the annals of nations. The phenomena which have grown out of it are so new, that to form a right estimate of them, a new standard must be erected. Effort has become cause. That which was once the magnet, has become the pole. Men's destinies are revolutionized. In former times, it was the few who triumphed—henceforward it will be the millions. This is a stupendous revulsion to think of—transporting and enkindling! With the spread of equal knowledge comes the participation of equal rights; equal rights signify the consummation of the perfectibility of man: it is to this consummation the world is approximating. It has been the practice to distinguish between the theories of political institutions; to applaud this, or deprecate that, accordingly as the forms of either were deemed adapted to the particular purpose held in view. Hence, the genius of the prosperity of England has been said to reside in the principle of limited monarchy; hence, in fact, limited monarchy is said to be the principle alone consonant to the happiness of the human race. Discussion on the point is not now what we aim at; the problem will soon be solved by a more summary process. The institutions springing up among us now, are not the creations of individual skill, nor the choice of individual volition; but the result of universal circumstance and general will. The order of events, during so many ages reversed, is assuming its natural course. Society is return-

ing to its equilibrium. The peasant is becoming elevated, the lord debased. Selfism, and the evils flowing from it, has had its course; it is to be superseded by an antithetical principle—by the principle of mutual good. In Britain and her ally, resplendent France, are seen the first breaking up of the old systems of national wrong. From their ruins rise a superstructure, sublime as the spirit to which it is consecrated—the spirit of everlasting truth. The laws by which mankind have, except in the primitive stages of society, been all along governed, are those of artifice and crime. Priestcraft has done its work—despotism has done its work. There have been seigneur and serf, sovereign and vassal; but these things are passing away, and shall be no more. As liberty may be regarded the parent of every virtue, so the re-action of oppression must be vice. If the effects now operating in the bosom of our social life militate against social good, the system which originated them is their apology. Not but the evil will correct itself; for the secret of those effects—the life with which they are animated, is liberty—and liberty is the salvation of all. When nations are plundered of their rights, the sanctity of justice is already outraged, and he is its apostle, who, at whatever risk and sacrifice, avenges the violation. There are means by which this may be accomplished; the multitude have become initiated into the mystery of those means; they are now pursuing them, and justice shall be avenged. The principle now manifesting itself so openly in this country has long been in latent progression. The system of Trades' Unions, in such maturity to-day, is not of to-day's growth: its germ was sown with the first errors of our constitution. It is a consequence of the unnatural extremes in society, of the inequalities in social condition, to which a succession of barbarous laws have given birth; of the luxuries of some, the destitution of others. Political justice must have been rooted out of that society which could exhibit the contrasts which exist in this of Great Britain. Trades' Unions are the remedy of this cause of ill. Trades' Unions are, therefore, instruments of the national good. Combination must meet combination; exclusion, exclusion. The people unite, because their rulers are united to destroy them. Earl Grey proclaims that, by his "order" he will stand. The multitude take up the gauntlet; by their "order" they likewise must stand. It is the unnatural ground-work of society that has produced this unnatural array.

"All the unproductive classes belong to the aristocracy: all aristocrats are combined against the people. Society is now composed of these discordant elements. Society is resolved into these distinctions. There is the master and the slave; the latter, who toils in bondage; the former, whose greatness is the sweat of the slave's brow. The chasm which divides them, it is obvious, is stupendous. What must be the convulsion that will fill it up! The laws are pronounced sacred; but is sacrilege then a crime, when the commission of the act is the restoration of men's right and the establishment of justice? By whom were framed the laws from which emerge the antagonistic principles we complain of? The people had no voice in their construction. Let the people's voice then abjure them. Every interest of Great Britain rests on a false basis. The landlord accumulates rent, and cares not in what measure the accumulation detracts from the

farmer's profit; the farmer snatches what he can in the way of profit, and then his only anxiety is to lower wages. Wages are the refuse of the landlord, and the clipped-away apportionment of the capitalist to the miserable, who starves amidst the plenty, of which himself is the author.

"Is there not a class in Great Britain—an hourly, a daily augmenting class—over whom has spread pauperism like a leprosy? What is that leprosy but a curse? the judgment of the Gods pronounced against the sin, which could forswear human birth-rights? Hasten then, wash out the sin; prepare the holocaust that is to appease your deities. Unite! combine! Use all possible means, invent all possible contrivances! Be firm, and stanch of heart! You will at length triumph! Our exhortations are warm, because the events working around us are not to be approached in a cold and careless temperament; because a perilous situation of circumstances is not to be propitiated by indecision and feebleness. The moment is arrived, when the advocates of either principle must array themselves; when absolutism and freedom exact the open votes of their respective champions. We are of the people; we declare for the people; we raise our standard in defence of their operations. The question is not whether, in point of abstract consideration, the partitioning, and then confederating of society into sects; of dividing it into units for the purpose of more easily resolving it into one grand unity, be to be commended; the question is, is it consistent with the principle of its intention—is it calculated to its object? Its object is the amelioration of the condition of those grades which the tyranny of bad government has reduced to the designation of the lower classes. Now, it is of these scorned and degraded lower classes that the associations are formed; will any one doubt, therefore, the success of the system, or imagine it unadapted to its design? The union of men embarked in one common enterprise, under the most ordinary contingencies, would be considered an earnest of triumph over every difficulty; how much more in the present instance, when it is the majority against a pitiable and contemptible minority. Ignorance, which has so long exercised its influence over the world, ever institutes rules subversive of the general good. Admit every member of the human race to an equal participation in the blessings of freedom; let there be no lower ranks; and see what an expansive force the general happiness would acquire. Incontestably the Unions are just, as their object is the liberation of the souls as well as bodies of men, which are manacled in an appalling thralldom. What an incalculable augmentation of intelligence! what new combinations of thought! what accession to the variety of our ideas would arise from the admission of these classes to the light and sunshine of knowledge! Has it never occupied the attention of their cruel oppressors of how many undreamed-of enjoyments they are themselves probably deprived by their insane endeavours to contract the intellectual pale! Can they figure to them the realms of beauty, perhaps unexplored; the true conceptions of loveliness, perhaps existing, but not unveiled: can they muse on the creations of art, and all the wonders of poetry, and painting, and music; can they invoke the sublimities of a Phidias, the mighty magic of a Raphael, the gorgeous dreams of even our own Byron, without feeling that, were the moral

force of the world doubled, say, and as it might be, trebled, by the substitution of salutary for injurious political institutions, the creations of genius, the instances of human skill, those marvels of human workmanship, would be doubled and multiplied to infinity? Can they feel this, and allow their barbarous selfishness to interpose its overwhelming influence! Not only is it the corporeal being to which poverty denies the beauty of development; it is the spirit which it crushes, killing all its faculties in the first hour of their vitality. What horror is there not in the reflection that the millions who tread the earth, wearing but a wearisome life from their cradle to the grave, are, by a despotism almost inconceivable, shut out from all the consolations which give wretchedness its balm! What anguish in the thought that, while the ostentations of the great imply profusion, luxury, refinement—the squalid hovel of the millions signifies penury, debauchery, and wo!"

Mr. Owen, after expressing his pleasure that penny and twopenny publications were frequently met with written in the excellent spirit of the one under review, and which was an earnest of the advancing intelligence of the body of the people, concluded as follows:—"Did our author say, if this change should be effected, that the power of society would be doubled or trebled? Why, suppose that we had all been trained from infancy in those true principles, and that we had been placed in those circumstances most in accordance with our nature; do you imagine our power would only be doubled or trebled? I distinctly foresee a change, which, when it shall happen, will increase our powers more than a hundredfold. Here, my friends, is a prize for us to endeavour to attain! Let each of us put our shoulder to the wheel, and we shall speedily attain to a degree of excellence, mental and physical, that will astonish even ourselves."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Let our friend Consistency merely have patience a little: the Executive are as anxious as he can be to remove the evil complained of, but there are many and strong prejudices to encounter.

If G. P. is the Messiah, he is not the Prince of Peace, for his plan is rather warlike in its aspect. It will suit the Radicals better than the Co-operators.

We are very happy to hear from Charles Bradley and his friends, but his letter is not very suitable for the pages of the Crisis. Time will soon put his opinions to the test; let him merely have patience for a little. We are all running the race together, and the best runner will gain. Wat Tyler's plan is a good joke; but we thought Wat had been dead some centuries ago.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 21.

It will be seen, from a paragraph inserted from the *Leeds Mercury*, that the Unionists of Leeds have deserted the Union and returned to work. Many of them have also signed the declaration. The masters are exulting over this apparent temporary triumph, and we, ourselves, by no means experience any feelings of regret that such an event has happened, for the principle

upon which the Unions have hitherto been shaped ("if shape it might be called that shape had none") was a principle of division and discord, calculated only to sow the seeds of enmity amongst the higher and lower orders of producers, but never to effect any ultimate or permanent benefit to the poor. What some people, therefore, call the dissolution of the Unions, we call the dissolution of the "*striking*" system only; a system which can no more be called a part of the Union system, than a wart, or a pustule, or a cancer can be called a member of the human body. The Unions will rise with increased health and energy after this dissolution as they call it; and instead of acting in detached bodies as hitherto, each following the impulse given by its own private isolated circumstances, the hope of gaining an additional sixpence per day, or perhaps the desire of gratifying some private feelings of hostility, in which the whole of the working population could not freely sympathize, the case of each Union, each Lodge, will be submitted to the investigation of a national council, and the head will assume the control of the fingers and the toes. We shall always predict failure after failure till this take place. We also now congratulate ourselves and the friends of the co-operative system upon the favourable aspect which the country presents for the propagation and adoption of our views of the production and distribution of wealth. The career of the people is straight forward to co-operation, and the stages seem to be very short, and the movements quick. Partial strikes are merely the competitive system, in direct opposition to co-operation, and we wonder at the countenance which many professed co-operators have given them; but probably they encouraged them as means to an end, thinking that the people could not otherwise be convinced of the necessity of adopting our ultimate measure. If the next step is not co-operation, it will be one stage nearer it, and there is one more stage to come.

(From the *Leeds Mercury*, of Saturday.)

The union has, during the whole of the present week, been melting away with great rapidity, and yesterday its complete dissolution took place. On Monday the unionists assembled, as usual, on Hunslet Moor, abused the masters, the *Leeds Mercury*, and its correspondents, and resolved never to sign the declaration. Tuesday, the pay-day, however, produced a great change of tone. A small sum of money being in hand, the committee paid those of the men whose secession they most feared 2s. 6d. each, including the men who had been in the employ of Messrs. Sheepshanks and Co., though these had only been standing a week; whilst the poor fellows who had been out a month, including a great majority of the whole, received not a farthing. What followed is characteristic—the men who had got paid were the first to run and sign the declaration renouncing the union, and Messrs. Sheepshanks soon had their mill full of

hands. Another meeting took place on Hunslet Moor on the Wednesday, but the rain, and a cause still more *dampening*, reduced the attendance to a few hundreds. Still there were big words; and a counter declaration, vowing inviolable attachment to the union, whatever might be the consequences to the *masters*, was agreed upon. But when signing was talked about, the men ran and signed the *wrong* document, namely, that renouncing the union! In short, Wednesday, Thursday, and yesterday, there was a race among the applicants at the mills; and we regret to say great numbers who applied for work will not be able to obtain it owing to the depressed state of trade, and to the numbers from other trades and other places who have been taken into the mills during the strike. About forty-five mills and dressing shops have been standing, but nearly all are now at work again. The masters having completely triumphed, we trust they will use their victory generously, and not suffer the slightest feeling of resentment towards a class or towards individuals to sully it. They have done well to break up a union which had acted in an insolent, tyrannical, and mischievous manner; but let them not sow the seeds of future unions, by attempting to gain unfair advantages over their men. We trust the masters feel it a happiness to give good wages, and to see their men comfortable and well fed. We are convinced that it is the *interest* of masters to have workmen who are in such circumstances, rather than to have half-starved, listless, and debilitated workmen. The Union being broken up, it may be hoped that the orders which have been driven away from Yorkshire, in consequence of the uncertainty of having them executed, will be regained; and if trade should revive, the hundreds and thousands of workmen who will now be left out of employment may again find work.

ALTHOUGH the circumstances of our own suffering fellow countrymen absorb our chief interest, we cannot refrain from expressing our satisfaction at the rapid advancement of civilization in that part of the world where science and art first came into being, or at least were cradled in their infancy, and tutored in their youth. The success which has attended the arms of Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim Pacha must be productive of incalculable advantage to Egypt and Syria, and create a new channel of communication between the East and the West, laying open to European curiosity, intelligence, and commerce an immense track of land, which has hitherto been clouded in almost impenetrable mystery, and dissociated from all the civilized nations of the West, yet possessing in itself a considerable fund of intelligence, and abundant materials for the production of the most valuable wealth. The sovereign of Egypt is evidently richly impregnated with the liberal principles of Europe, and determined to break through the detestable prejudices of his subjects; prejudices which teach them to regard every other people with abhorrence, and even to make a degrading distinction between a Mussulman and a Christian, by compelling the latter to walk on foot, whilst the former is

allowed to ride on horseback. Ibrahim has discontinued this barbarous partiality of Eastern legislation, by granting the same privileges to Christians as to Mahometans in this respect. His illiberal subjects complained of this equality of treatment, and asked how the Mussulman could be distinguished from the Christian? Ibrahim replied, "Let the Mussulmans ride upon dromedaries, if they please; the Christians are sure not to follow their example." He has also conferred the same civic privileges upon Mahometans, Jews, and Christians; entitling each of the three sects to hold offices under government, and act as judicial authorities. We wish our own liberals of the reform administration would learn a lesson of liberality from this oriental despot—whose rapid career of innovation is threatening even to outstrip in speed the boasted liberality and political economy of the West. But it is the fate of political economy to teach its adepts to move with such extreme caution, that they themselves become inert with delay, and the people become impatient because they can discern no progress. Slowness of movement is sometimes, but not always, a proof of wisdom. A sudden spring, a rapid and unexpected advance, is more frequently made by a skilful, than an inexperienced and unsuccessful leader. To be always slow and cautious, is a proof of weakness and timidity; but to be sometimes slow and sometimes quick, as occasion requires, or opportunity permits, is the result of caution, genius to contrive, and courage to execute.

ON Tuesday evening last, Madame Darusmont, late Miss Frances Wright, delivered a lecture to a large and respectable assembly in Freemason's Hall, Great Queen-street, on the subject of Education. The lecture was characterized by great beauty and simplicity of diction, and the delivery was full of ease and dignity of manner. We were pleased, for many reasons; first, because it was a woman who addressed us; woman, who has long been doomed to scholarship and obedience, not because she is inferior in point of intellectual and moral worth, but because her physical weaknesses and maternal cares have subjected her to the imperious rule of the male, who having first asserted his corporeal superiority, found it an easy matter to fix the impression of a moral and intellectual superiority also. The delusion, like many other delusions both in politics and religion, is beginning to die away, and woman, like the oppressed and neglected poor, is beginning to assert her right to teach as well as to be taught.

Being in such a good humour, we could

not fail to be pleased, some may say; and think it would have been a higher compliment to the Lecturer, to have said nothing about the good humour, if we meant to praise her; but we speak without partiality, for we speak as an entire stranger—of one whom we know not personally, and whom we saw and heard on Tuesday last for the first time. The lecture was general in the view which it took of the subject; it seemed to be better adapted for an introductory lecture upon the subject of Education, than for a lecture upon Education itself. It was more theoretical than practical; but as theory must always precede practice, we did not consider this as a fault, and listened attentively to the general principles which Madame D. regards as the foundation of practical education.

"Man, and the world around him," she observed, "were the two subjects of contemplation—the *moi* and the *non moi* of the Saint Simonians; and man himself she considered in a twofold light: first, as an individual; and secondly, as a species." Our wicked heart seemed disposed to make another man—man the sectarian. However, a sectarian is a sort of individual, and the lecturer and we agree very well. The individual is limited in respect to capacity and duration; to the species no bounds can be fixed. The individual has its infancy, its youth, its manhood, and decay; but the species is going progressively onward, and we can see no limits to its progress in intelligence.

We wish we could convey to our readers a condensed view of the whole lecture, which after these preliminary observations, drew a very clear and striking comparison between education as it is, and education as it ought to be. But not having space for a lengthened critique, and trusting wholly to our memory, we shall merely call the attention of our readers to one single idea, which made more impression upon us than any other which the lecture contained. It was to the following purport—"that the world had hitherto been instructed and governed not by the nett amount of the knowledge and experience of ages and mankind, but by the nett amount of the knowledge and experience of individuals and sects." This is a valuable idea, and very happily expressed, and serves very suitably to illustrate the difference between the new world and the old; the old world being a system in which one sect domineers over

the rest; the new world being a system in which all sects and parties are blended together; and those truths which all and each possess are collected into one harmonious whole.—This is the foundation of true charity; but who acts upon it? Who is it that seeks for truth amongst all sects, and parties, and politics, and religions, and tries to blend them together? Echo answers, who is it?

Madame Darusmont announced her next lecture for Thursday, the 26th instant, in the same place. Subject—*Reform*. We hope the friends of liberality and woman will honour her with their presence.

Literature.

Extract from the Work of James Simpson, Advocate, on "Necessity of Popular Education, as a National Object."

"Nothing more is wanted than the degree of liberality now advocated, to obtain for Britain at large the invaluable boon of popular education. If dominant sects are listened to, we shall never see the day of its coming; our people will remain uneducated secularly, uneducated religiously, and in their present state of debasement and suffering. It is trusted, it is entreated, that the conscientious of the dominant sects will lay the state of the question to heart, for it has come to this issue: Education to embrace all sects, or no education! Let them not, by holding out, defeat both our object and their own. The government, once persuaded that this is the alternative, (and there can be little doubt that they are so persuaded, and moreover that a large majority of the legislature are so too,) ought not to wait till they succeed in removing prejudices, and reconciling clashing interests. On them a tremendous responsibility rests. The state of the country calls for the education of the people with a voice which overwhelms the dull and feeble tone of sectarian opposition. An immense increase of political power has been given to a class, as yet but imperfectly educated. Is it reasonable to expect a wise use of that power, without a great enlargement of the means of education?

"Let the opponents of such extension of enlightenment reflect that they cannot deprive the people of their political power, by refusing them the means of using it well and wisely. Finally, let the people do their duty to themselves, and demand from the nation that intellectual and moral elevation, to which their burdens, their labour, and their common nature entitle them."

[We regret that want of space prevents us drawing more copiously from this admirable work of the Scotch barrister, whose masterly pleading in the sacred cause of humanity calls for our ardent and active sympathy with his labours, as well as our warmest gratitude. We fear, however, that the present generation of sectarians are not sufficiently liberalised to admit of a national education. The following is a specimen of the sort of teachers which abound in different parts of this land of light and liberty:]

KILRUSH PETTY SESSIONS, JUNE 18.

MARCH OF INTELLEBOT.—A half-draft baling little body, who rejoiced in the name of *Carroll*, and the occupation of a schoolmaster, stated that he was unable to recover his wages from Mr. Dennis Disney, for "tutoring his childer who were to the fore with their father."

Magistrate.—You are a schoolmaster, I presume?

Carroll.—Yes, your worship, my course of instruction comprises reading an' writing, English grammar, mensuration, the course of *Wether* (*Voster's arithmetic*).

Disney.—It does aygh, bad course ye were putting my boys through them, *Mister Carroll*.

Carroll.—I stand in your defiance, my drakther is better to be looked into than yours, any how.

Disney.—Arrah, yer worship, here's Micky, the eldest; swear him, and examine him, in regard o' the larin' that could sinner was given him.

Micky, a rosy, well-grown lad, accordingly made his bow, and entering the witness-box, proceeded to state that Carroll, in place o' the use o' the globes, or indeed of any other "learned lore," was buttherin him up as being a clane likely young boy, and that he Carroll would teach him to make drink for the girls, which, if administered, would bring the snuggest colleen in the country swamin to him. (Great laughter.)

Carroll.—Micky aroo, what's that you're saying that way, is it me, your preceptor? I wonder at you; sure you're sworn to speak the truth.

Magistrate.—Silence, Sir; the witness must be allowed to speak without interruption.

Micky.—Yes, gentlemen, and moreover, he said, when he'd have his new clothes at Christmas, he'd instruct me to compose love-letters would sack Plato (whoever he was), if he was alive and well, to equal; dear knows he was a dhrroll masthur.

Carroll (indignantly).—Dickens a syllable of veracity in his affirmation.

Magistrate.—But, Disney, if he taught your other sons, and confined his love-lessons to the eldest, why not pay him?

Disney.—Your rivarence, he was no good for old or young, hard forthin to the thing he liked but a blast of the pipe.

Here the gravity of the bench was completely upset, as was the temper of the pedagogue, who, on being awarded the half of the original demand, retired, remarking that great genius was ever a curse to its possessor. —*Irish Paper.*

SEWING MACHINE.—An ingenious mechanic is making a machine for the purpose of sewing. It is to be upon the stocking-frame principle, and he has so far succeeded as to form a straight seam, which, when pressed down, looks equally strong and neat as if done with a needle. Should the plan succeed generally, a suit of clothes, after they are cut out, may be put together in one hour, by one man, with the exception of working the button-holes, and putting buttons on!

WOMEN'S GRAND LODGE OF OPERATIVE STRAW BONNET MAKERS, we understand, held a meeting on Monday evening, at six o'clock, at the Griffin, Eagle-street, Red-lion-square. Sisters are requested to be punctual to time.

INJUSTICE OF THE LAW.—The Attorney General, in moving for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of imprisonment for debt, confessed that, "by what was commonly called the Lords' act, any debtor who owed a sum not exceeding 300l. may be compelled to surrender up his property, and, in the event of concealing or making away with it, was liable to the punishment of transportation; but, if his debts happened to be somewhat above this he could retain his property, and live in luxury upon it." Can any thing be more scandalously unjust to the poor man, and more favourable to the rich delinquent than this law? which they are only proposing to amend in this second session of reform; but the members are so anxious to close the session that it is questionable if they have patience to do justice to the poor debtor till after the recess. Even upon the occasion of Sir S. Whalley's important motion for the repeal of the assessed taxes, there were not forty members present, and, being counted, the house consequently adjourned.

ORGANIC REMAINS, or ORYCTOLOGY.

Thanks to the industry and science of modern philosophers, we now have abundant records of the past history of the world, long, very long, before the invention of letters, when chroniclers first began to flatter the vices and crimes of kings, and the follies and errors of nations, in what is called history. These modest tablets never lie; and if not perverted by the craft of man, they supply materials for exhaustless observation and contemplation. By their means we are enabled to trace the revolutions of organic being from the granitic base even to our age, and to carry the history of the globe through numerous perihelion periods, perhaps for thousands of thousands of years.

Fracastaro was the first modern, who, in the sixteenth century, insisted that fossil-shells, &c., had belonged to living animals. The gratuitous idea of a plastic imitative force had existed for ages, and continued for two other centuries. Others, even to our day, have ascribed them to the deluge of Noah. Dr. Plott, in 1677, ascribed them to "a plastic virtue latent in the earth."

In all countries, on digging to certain depths, and in mining, the remains of fishes, vegetables, quadrupeds, and birds, are found in the soil or embedded in the rocks, except in those of simple substance and primitive antiquity. The general regularity with which those that are marine are laid at one level, and those which are products of land are laid at another, and the alternations of these marine and land products, lead to the conclusion that the sea has repeatedly covered the land for long periods of time, and that the land has, at intermediate periods, been dry. The remains consist, always at certain depths, of species of animals, vegetables, &c., not now in existence, and often of genera not congenial to the present climate.

Cuvier has enumerated several hundred genera of animals, fishes, and vegetables as found, of which there are none among the living genera and species.

The lowest rocks, it is therefore inferred, were at one time the surface of the earth and the seat of organic life. These appear to have been destroyed by some great revolutions, which brought new tribes of organised beings, while their kinds prove that the surface was covered with water. The subsequent appear-

ance of amphibia, &c., prove the development of dry land where these appear to have been swept away. Among the later solid rocks, the monstrous race of herbiferous quadrupeds and gigantic lacerta came into existence, when the earth seems to have acquired herbage for their subsistence. How long this race kept possession cannot be guessed, but their length of life is well known. The gypsum, &c., which now contains their remains, is covered with newer deposits, abounding in sea-shells; and above this stratum is found a new race of herbiferous animals of the genera of the elephant, rhinoceros, &c.; and above them is the first loose soil, intermixed with marine substances, proving second or third immersions of the sea; and above this lies the soil which the present races of animals enjoy.

The age of the rocks indicates the age of the remains, but we can measure neither by any comparison with known time.

The older secondary rocks contain peculiar aquatic plants and reeds, then above these madrepores, corals, &c., all fixed where they lived; then shell-fish, very simple, but differing from all now in existence; in strata above these, fishes, bamboos, and ferns; in a still higher stratum are more complicate shells and oviparous amphibia, as crocodiles, tortoises, and reptiles; these are embedded in the uttermost solid rocks of the oldest secondary formation.

In the newest solid rock formations, whales, seals, and birds appear; above these, land animals of enormous size, birds and fresh-water shells, all in concrete rocks.

Above these, in the lowest beds of loose soil and peat bogs, elephants, elks, rhinoceroses, of peculiar species are found. Near the surface is found the remains of the existing races. Human bones have only been found among these.

EGYPT.

Extract of a letter from Alexandria, dated April 28:—"The clear-sighted men of this country cannot persuade themselves that the jealous enemies of Egypt have cordially granted their pardon. Though anxiously desirous of peace, they feel no uneasiness as to the consequences of a renewal of the war, if one should arise out of the machinations of Russia. It may be fully expected that, in case this power should attack us by sea and land, in concert with the Porte, which, unfortunately, has become entirely subjected to it, England and France would necessarily interpose, and acknowledge Mehemet Ali to be independent *de jure*, as he is *de facto*. Notwithstanding all the difficulties by which Ibrahim Pacha is surrounded, and the numerous intrigues carried on against him in the provinces, he is in the way of putting affairs in a good train, and displays on all occasions both decision and talent. He is above all indulgence, is indefatigable, and, in fact, is destined to accomplish great things. The expedition against Yemen will shortly be crowned with complete success. The navy is in a condition not to fear an encounter with that of Russia. It consists of nine ships of the line, eight frigates, and other small vessels. Numerous sailors are daily coming to man it. It is not worth while to notice the Turkish fleet, since all the world is fully competent to form a just estimate of it. In speaking of our land forces, I have to inform you of the departure of Gen. Dembinski. It is said he has quitted the Viceroy because his highness would not employ his fellow-country-

men, and the true friends of Egypt regret that she should be deprived of these brave auxiliaries, each of whom is of inestimable value in a new army. But it is believed that Mehemet Ali has had his hands tied in this affair, and that the sworn enemies of the Poles have either directly or indirectly forced him to reject their offers. With Dembinski we have lost another Pole who was taken when very young by the Turks, and made a colonel, in which rank he served in the Ottoman army in the campaigns of Syria; he afterwards entered the Egyptian service, and was known by the name of Nadir Bey. The presence of the Viceroy at Cairo has given an impulse to commerce, and brought into the treasury some very considerable sums, which have been due for many years from merchants, most of whom are natives, and some of whom had falsely declared themselves to be in a state of insolvency. His highness has on this occasion displayed more lenity than many other creditors would have shown, and accepted compromises which any tribunal would have rejected, shutting his eyes on many acts of fraud. He has sent to prison only a few outrageously-fraudulent bankrupts; but even these are treated with a mildness and indulgence which shames the prisons of France. You will learn with pleasure that Abbi Effendi, the chief of the young men who were sent to Paris for instruction, has not only been pardoned for having manifested equivocal opinions while at Constantinople, but has even been created a Bey. He is about to be placed in an office which will afford him an opportunity of exercising to advantage that knowledge which he acquired in France. Cultivation has been very much improved in all the different districts since the tour made by the Viceroy last year, in consequence of the *surveillances* he then established. The produce will be much increased, and if peace continues the people will be relieved by a reduction of the taxes, as the government so intends as soon as the expenditure can be diminished. Pains are taking in improving the quality of indigo by means of a new process introduced by M. Rochet, a Frenchman, who has found the art of rendering our indigo as fine as any produced in the Indies, and he has been appointed director of the principal manufactory established at Mansourah. M. Rochet also introduced the chlorate of lime, which was so beneficial during the reign of the cholera, and who sent to the *Luxor* a barrel, which preserved the crew from that terrible scourge."—*French Paper*.

THE very easy labours of Negresses, native Americans, and other women in the savage state, have been often noticed by travellers. This point is not explicable by any prerogative of physical formation; for the pelvis is rather smaller in these dark-coloured races than in the European and other white people. Simple diet, constant and laborious exertion, give to these children of nature a hardihood of constitution, and exempt them from most of the ills which afflict the indolent and luxurious females of civilized societies; in the latter, however, the hard-working women of the lower classes in the country often suffer as little from childbirth as those of any other race. Analogous differences, from the like cause, may be seen in the animal kingdom: cows kept in towns, and other animals deprived of their healthful exercise, and accustomed to unnatural food and habits, often have difficult labours, and suffer much in parturition.—*LAWRENCE'S Physiology*.

ACCOUNT OF A LIBRARY FOR WORKING MEN.

A correspondent, who gives his name and address, has been induced, by our notice of Sir John Herschell's Address to the subscribers of the Windsor and Eton Public Library, in No. 95 of the 'Penny Magazine,' to send us an account of a similar institution on the Borders, with which he had been himself connected. He states that a gentleman, well known for his enlarged views of the state and prospects of society, being one evening in the place, was led to enquire whether there was any public library in the town. He was informed in reply, that there was one of ample extent, the entrance-money to which was 5*l.*, and the annual payment 14*s.* Feeling this to be beyond the reach of the poor, he enquired if there was no other library. He was told that there was the "Tradesman's Library," the entrance to which was 1*l.* and the yearly payment 4*s.* The was nearer the point certainly, but still did not exactly meet the views from which this gentleman's enquiries had proceeded. "It will not supply the young," was his reply; "you must try another, to excite the desire of knowledge among the young and the poor." The minister of the parish, his lady, and a few other persons, adopted the suggestion. In a few days 20*l.* were freely and readily given, and the donors were called to a meeting in the Town-hall. At this meeting some were for allowing to the readers the gratuitous use of the books, but the majority very properly doubted the prudence of this plan, and it was decided to cherish the natural desire of independence in the poorest and youngest by requiring the payment of a penny monthly. It was also agreed that the volumes should be of small extent, that they might be returned once a month or oftner. The sum raised procured about eighty volumes, and a donation from the first mover of the plan added twenty or thirty more. The second week after the commencement there were above one hundred applicants, of whom about thirty were poor labourers or solitary females, and a larger number were under fourteen years of age. Numbers of them had not read two hours in succession for many years before. At the beginning of the second year the readers were allowed, at their own desire, to pay for six months at once, instead of a penny monthly. Our correspondent relates the following anecdote, which illustrates the useful effect of such institutions upon those for whose benefit they are intended.

In the following spring, when the days were lengthened, one of the readers, an agricultural labourer, came with the book he had been using, and declined to take another. He stated that, labouring at a distance for so many hours, he should not be able, during the summer, to indulge his desire for more reading. On being asked if he thought his monthly penny had been well spent, his hard countenance assumed the air of one who had found a treasure as he replied,—"Had I paid you a shilling a week, instead of a monthly penny, myself and family would have been gainers. During the winter months I and those like me got home and took dinner between four and five o'clock. Then an ill-ordered house and a noisy family induced me and others to go out. If the weather was favourable, we stood to talk and spend an hour at the Cross; if otherwise, we went into a smithy for shelter, and often to the public-

house, and, though I am not given to drink, yet we had to spend a little when there, and even a little frequently occurring is felt by a poor man. When I took home my first book from the library I was asked to read aloud, but objected because of the noisy children. After some time, the younger were put to sleep, and I began to read. Next morning, and every evening after, my house was clean and in order, the fireside trimmed, my meal waiting, the children in bed, or allowed to sit up on condition of listening as quietly as their attentive mother. The book we obtained from the library was Goldsmith's 'Animated Nature,' and it has been highly interesting to us. And, Sir, apart from all we have learned by reading, to find, week after week, my own house the most comfortable, and my own family the happiest I ever saw, shows me that a poor man with his book in his hand may be as happy as the richest or most noble." This man concluded with assuring our correspondent that he had heard from others statements similar to that which he had made for himself.—*Penny Magazine.*

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street.
Mr. Smith, Sunday morning, at half-past eleven.
Mr. Owen, Sunday evening, at seven o'clock.

A Discussion on Tuesday evening, 24th inst.
Subject: "What are the remedies for the permanent removal of poverty from the productive classes?" Chair taken at eight o'clock.

The 56th Social Festival of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, June 30. Tickets 1*s.* 6*d.*, or 1*s.* and a one-hour note each, tea and coffee included.

SOCIAL AQUATIC EXCURSION.

The Stewards of the Charlotte-street Festival announce to the Friends of the Institution, that they have engaged the spacious and superior Steam-vessel *HERO*, for Monday, June 23, which will leave St. Katharine's Pier at 8 o'clock precisely for Rochester-bridge, passing the Royal Fleet in the River Medway. Such of the Company as may choose to go on shore, can do so at Gravesend or Sheerness, and the vessel will take them up again at Rochester, or on its return. The Bands of the Institution have kindly consented to assist on the occasion.

Tickets, 4*s.* each; Children 2*s.* To be had at the Institution, and at the *Crisis* Office. For further particulars see bills.

A General Meeting of the Friends of the Social System will shortly be called, to make arrangements for effectually carrying out the original objects of the Institution, of which meeting notice will be given next week.

It is again particularly requested that the Holders of Notes will bring them in without delay.

The Shoe Factors of Wellingborough having followed the example of "the Twenty Tyrants of Derby," by discharging their men because they have refused to desert their Union, the Committee of Operative Cordwainers beg leave to inform their Brothers of all trades that no time has been lost in employing their turned-out brethren on their own capital and at advanced wages: in consequence of which they have now on hand a quantity of good boots and shoes for sale at the Depot, 14, Charlotte-street, at such prices and of such quality as cannot be equalled in London. Brothers, come and give our Union Shop a trial!

This day is published,

OLD NICK; Containing NINE square feet of print. Price only Twopence. Printed by Fagniot, 48, Great Wild-street, published by John Ward, 167, High Holborn, two doors from Museum-street, and sold by Nicholls, 93, John-street, Tottenham-court-road.

IMPORTANT TO THE PUBLIC.

EVAN'S PILLS OF HEALTH are a valuable remedy for fevers, bilious attacks, &c. They will cure dropsy, gout, gravel, lumbago, pains in any part of the body or head, influenza, and diseases of the stomach; they, likewise, not only relieve, but prevent costiveness; and, if taken in time, are a certain preventive of every other disease. An account of the efficiency of the pills is given with the medicine.

Cure of Scarletina by the use of Evan's Pills of Health:—

SIR,—The beneficial effects myself and family have derived from your invaluable Pills of Health I wish to state, hoping you will give it publicity, as I most certainly shall do.

My two sons were ill of the scarlet fever; on Friday the elder, aged six years, was given over by my doctor; he died in the evening. A friend of mine persuaded me to use Evan's Pills of Health, as he had done to his advantage. I gave them a trial with confidence, as I heard of them having done so much good. I gave my little boy, five years old, five pills three times a day; the third day he recovered. On Monday I was taken with the same disease; I took the pills immediately, three times the same night, in doses of eight every three or four hours. On Wednesday week I could attend to my business. A. MITCHELL, 8, Henry-street, Hampstead-road.

The pills are sold in boxes, containing more than forty pills each, at 1*s.* 1*d.*, by Butler, 4, Cheapside; E. Bayley, 12, Aldgate, High-street; J. Sanger, 150, Oxford-street; A. Sharwood, 55, Bishopsgate-street; and by most respectable dealers in medicine.

The Ring Worm professionally treated, and cured by the French Pomade, &c.

N. B. Families attended. Letters, post-paid, to E. Runting, 20, Wilson-street; or to H. Heberington, 126, Strand.

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THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 12, VOL. IV.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 22.

Mr. Smith lectured on "TRUTH AND ERROR."

These two words are for ever in people's mouths, and yet I believe very few people know their meaning, and indeed it is very difficult to give a definition of them. We all know well enough what a person means when he contradicts any assertion, and by a contrary assertion maintains that it is not true. We know the meaning of truth as applied to any particular case; but its general meaning is not so easily defined. It seems to me to be just another word for nature, for all nature is truth, and there is nothing else than nature in existence. Error is nothing at all; it has no existence except in mere words: truth and error, therefore, may be called existence and non-existence; but this is not altogether satisfactory, for error has no existence in the mind. It is an idea which has nothing corresponding to itself in nature without. Thus, if I have an idea in my mind that there is a nation of men called Lilliputians, who are only six inches high, that is called an erroneous idea, because there is nothing resembling it in outward nature; but suppose I know well enough that there is nothing resembling it in outward nature, then it is no more an erroneous idea, or at least it is very innocent one. Thus, then, it is not the idea itself which is either good or bad, innocent or pernicious, but the faith that I attach to it. If we were to confine ourselves entirely to what are strictly called true ideas, we could think at all; we should be mere brutes, led entirely by the senses; and perhaps all the truths that ever we could discover would be the knowledge of our own food, and a sense of personal danger. But there is a very great difference between playing with erroneous ideas, and reducing these ideas to practice. I might amuse myself very innocently with writing such a work as Gulliver's Travels in the land of Lilliput, and might for weeks and months abandon myself to the pleasures of the imagination, in fancying myself an inhabitant of that ideal world; and neither corrupt my morals, my taste, or my love of pure matter-of-fact truth. It would be in every sense of the word an innocent amusement; it is merely the

gratification of a mental faculty, and would afford a refreshment from the dull routine of ordinary thought, which might prove as invigorating to the mind as a month's excursion to the country would prove to the body; for all this while I have the firmest conviction that these Lilliputians have no other existence than what my own imagination has given them. Thus far error is innocent, if indeed you can call it error, for as long as you maintain that the beings are merely imaginary, there is no error in it—it is pure truth.

But we will suppose a case, in which an idea of this description might prove highly injurious. Suppose I were to relate all this fabrication of the fancy to another person, and state it as matter of fact, which was realized in the outer world; and suppose this person were to believe my statement, and regard the history of Gulliver's travels as an outward reality; then error makes its appearance, and the mind is endangered: false ideas are realized or reduced to practice, and evil is invariably the consequence: but am I to refrain from indulging my imagination, and amusing myself with the productions of the fancy, merely because some simple minds may mistake dreams for realities, and fit out a vessel to visit the shores of Lilliput, and bring over a colony of Lilliputians to people the British empire? Certainly not. We have no right to suppress the imagination; it is a gift of nature, and a useful gift; but we ought to learn how to distinguish between that which is imaginative and that which is material. To suppress imagination merely because mankind have frequently made a pernicious use of it, would be the very same sort of folly as that of cutting out the tongue of all new-born children in order to prevent the propagation of error.

Imagination is the source of all thought. It is the great movement principle of the human mind. Without imagination enjoying vigorous and healthy action, there can be no such thing as improvement, invention, or discovery. All inventions, all new improvements, either in politics, the arts, or the sciences, have their origin in the imagination only. The judgment is only a sort of jury to pass a verdict of right or wrong upon the suggestions of the fancy; but the fancy is the great fountain of all thought. How is it, then, that men talk so

contemptuously of the imagination, and even carry their contempt so far as to dismiss it from the council of the mind entirely? The reason is that they speak hyperbolically and rashly, running, like all novices, into the opposite extreme, merely because they have discovered some errors or abuses on the other side of the question. Suppose that such an opinion as this had prevailed in the time of Columbus, and that not one solitary individual had been found to give way to the impulses of an enlightened fancy; that pure matter of fact had been the order of the day, and every man determined to believe only that which he saw, and run no risk for, and make no search after, what he saw not; then America might have been an unknown, undiscovered country till now, or been found out accidentally by some fortunate crew who had found a refuge on its shores, and escaped the horrors of shipwreck. In either way the knowledge of America might have been communicated to us; but in the former it was communicated in a way which is more honourable to human nature than the blind accident of the latter. Yet Columbus was what the world called a visionary; he was dismissed as such from the principal courts of Europe. His opinion originated in pure imagination, and it was only the success of his enterprise that saved his reputation from the stigma of enthusiasm.

Now, in this mechanical age, we hear a vast deal said about matter of fact; and it is a common stale sort of doctrine, which is inculcated from one corner of the country to the other, namely, that all instruction and all opinion should consist of, and be founded upon, facts only. This is merely the doctrine taught by all mankind since the world began; that is to say, they either founded their opinion upon facts or supposed facts; for men in all ages have considered facts as the foundation; and all the difference between the different sects and parties has been respecting the truth or accuracy of the facts upon which they found their respective opinions. If you say to a Jew that you are no visionary, you do not rely upon mere imaginations, you are a matter-of-fact man; the Jew will reply, "so am I." If you say the same to a Christian, you will get the same answer; and it is common enough in the Christian churches to hear the clergymen

inculcating the same ~~matter-of-fact doctrine~~, warning their hearers ~~against all imaginary~~ doctrines, and proving to the satisfaction of the whole congregation that nothing but Christianity is founded on facts, and that infidelity is merely a vision of the imagination. The query then is, what are facts, and what are not facts? for there is not a sect in existence which does not lay claim to facts in an exclusive manner, condemning all others as visionaries and enthusiasts.

It is a very nice and a very important question, how are facts to be determined? for upon the settlement of that question depend the moral and political prospects of the world. If you say you will believe only what you see or hear, then you can believe nothing at all that is worthy of the name of knowledge. It is a very small portion of the world than an inhabitant even of London can ever behold; and if his knowledge is confined merely to the sights which he observes within the city, then there is scarcely an old hackney horse within the walls but knows as much as he; and the police officers, upon this principle, must be the most intelligent ~~matter-of-fact~~ men in the world. Then again, if you believe only that which is natural, you must, in the first place, be thoroughly acquainted with nature before you can say what is natural and what is not natural; and if you have attained to this perfection, then you have no need of further instruction upon any subject, for you will possess a knowledge of all things. If you say you will believe only that which is corroborated by good authority, the difficulty will then be to tell what good authority is; for men are guided upon that subject so much by their prejudices, that whilst one party regards the authority as creditable and trust-worthy, another regards it as suspicious or contemptible, and the greater proportion of men know nothing at all about it.

Again, if you say you can receive nothing as true which is not consistent with common every-day experience, then your knowledge must be very limited indeed: and if there is in nature any thing which is out of the reach of your experience, you can never believe it, though the whole world has seen it and borne evidence to the fact. In fine, it is impossible to characterise a statement which ought to be received and one which ought not to be received, and the greater proportion of men are, on most subjects, led by passion, prejudice, feeling, private interest, attachments, and aversions.

But if it be a difficult thing for us to determine the truth and error of every question which is before us, we have it always in our power to lay a good foundation upon facts on which we have some experience; and experience is the *beginning* of all useful knowledge. Instead, therefore of saying we ought to begin to reason upon facts, as some people very inaccurately speak, we should rather say, we ought to begin with our own experience, and then proceed gradually and cautiously to the testimony or experience of others. The reason why I would object to this blowing and boasting about facts is, that all men do the same, all men profess to reason upon facts only, and to lay the foundation of their opinions upon them; but all men do not lay the foundation of their doctrine upon personal experience, for the greater proportion of mankind are guided in their opinions by the experience of others. It is evident, however, that, if we confine our

belief to our own experience, we must be very ignorant; since the greater proportion of what is esteemed knowledge comes to us upon the authority of others. Charity and liberality teach us to respect the testimony of our fellow-creatures, but they never teach us to give that testimony such an undue preponderance as to outweigh the native suggestions of our own minds, and the deductions of our personal experience. Now this is the great evil of which mankind in all ages have been guilty: they have paid a slavish obedience to human testimony, and suffered the simple conclusions of their own minds to be overawed by the tyrannical, supercilious assertions of other men. They have acted in matters of faith as the people have acted in temporal or political things. The spiritual tyrant has said, "Believe this," and they have believed it with the same timid obsequiousness with which they ran the errands of their baronial masters; and to such a degree has this bondage enthralled them, that no military discipline has been more severe than the discipline of spiritual tyranny.

In anticipating, therefore, the removal of errors, we can only be understood to refer to gross errors, the fundamental errors of politics and morality. Nor is it at all desirable that all error should be removed from society, for all error is not pernicious. Those errors only are pernicious which destroy the happiness of society or of the individual. But many errors are daily encountered, which are so far from being injurious to individual or general happiness, that happiness could not be enjoyed without them. Much of the innocent rallery, wit, and humour of private life depends for its existence upon an erroneous conception or mistake in one of the parties. An agreeable surprise, a pun, a joke; what are these and many other things of a similar nature, but modifications of error or ignorance in one party, taken an innocent advantage of by the other? When two friends sit down to play a game at chess or draughts, they sit down with a friendly intention of deceiving each other. Each forms a plan of his own, by the execution of which he hopes to overcome his adversary, and he moves his men in so cunning and artful a manner as to conceal his intentions and deceive his rival. The whole interest of the game consists in this craft and deception, the removal of which would put a termination to all the pleasure. Were one party to say to the other, by this move I mean to decoy your queen or your bishop, which I am sure of taking if you do not remove it or guard it much better, then there would be no pleasure in chess at all: this fair and open dealing would exterminate the game for ever. There would be no effort of mind required, no interest excited, unless the one party were ignorant of the other party's intentions, and used every effort to deceive. This is a specimen of the innocency and the beauty of error; and in its application to social life, you may find a thousand instances in which error and ignorance respecting each other's thoughts and intentions are equally necessary to our happiness.

Both truth and error are necessary for the creation of human happiness. Were we gifted with a knowledge of all truth, that is to say, were our knowledge infinite, social intercourse would be at an end; we could not enjoy each other's society; there would be no variety of thought, no new ideas, no agreeable surprises, no amusements in which concealment of pur-

pose is required, and therefore, in as far as we can judge from our present organization, no enjoyment. Some of our greatest pleasures at present consist in the acquisition and perception of new truths: old truths do not gratify us; they have become stale and uninteresting; but the succession of new discoveries and inventions, and the gradual advancement of the mind from an inferior to a superior state of intelligence, constitute the chief enjoyment of an intellectual being, and this enjoyment can only be experienced by the combined instrumentality of truth and error.

SUNDAY EVENING, JUNE 22.

Mr. Owen lectured. He commenced by observing that he had documents before him of the deepest importance to every human being. The first was the speech of an old friend of his, lately made in the House of Commons, on the distress of the hand-loom weavers of Scotland, but which would also apply to those of England and Ireland. It appeared from the speech that there are no less than 500,000 hand-loom weavers, adults, compelled to live on an average of 3s. per week each family. Half a million is a large proportion of the working classes, which comprise about 4,000,000 heads of families in England and Ireland; and here are 500,000 of them starving, for it cannot be called living, on 3s. per week! As soon as the new poor laws shall come into operation, there will be such a contention to procure labour, that a diminution in the value of that labour must inevitably take place. The following is an extract from the speech:—

"In asking for a committee of enquiry into the causes of the distress of 500,000 hand-loom weavers, I shall remind the house of the passage in the speech of our gracious Sovereign, wherein his Majesty says, 'I shall feel it my duty to co-operate with you in such legislative improvements as may be necessary to remove any grievances under which any portion of my subjects may be labouring.' I remind the house of this emphatic and encouraging announcement, in order that these artisans may not impute any want of sympathy,—may wish to withhold them relief, where a contrary desire is not only felt, but declared at the very commencement of the session, and in order to let the representatives of these most suffering and meritorious artisans know that every proposition for their benefit would receive a prompt and willing support and sanction from the Crown.

"I am aware that there is in this branch of the legislature a real or an assumed opinion that no aid can be given to these petitioners, and that the mode of relief which the prayer of their petitions points out, would introduce a system of regulation of the prices of their productions and of their labour, which would fetter trade and not secure the object they seek — 'the best wages that their employers could afford without injury to the general interests of manufactures and the welfare of the empire.'

"It is to bring this difference of opinion between the working classes and this house under discussion, that I have felt it my duty to move for a committee of enquiry, more particularly because many of these artisans have no direct representation, and therefore have a stronger claim to the attention of every individual in this assembly who has the maintenance of existing institutions at heart.

"That my impression of the justice and the expediency of complying with these peti-

tioners' wish may have some weight, I shall quote the words of Mr. Pitt on the subject of the Arbitration Act: 'The time will come when manufactures will have been so long established, and the operatives not having any other business to flee to, that it will be in the power of any one man in a town to reduce the wages, and all the other manufacturers must follow. Then, when you are goaded with reductions and made willing to flee your country, France and America will receive you with open arms, and then, farewell to our commercial superiority. If ever it does arrive at this pitch, Parliament, if it be not then sitting, ought to be called together; and if it cannot redress your grievances, its power is at an end. Tell me not that Parliament cannot; it is omnipotent to protect.'

"The time to try the power of this house is arrived. The petitioners declare that 'it is in the power of any one man to reduce the wages, and all the other manufacturers must follow.' No manufacturer will deny this necessity to follow reduction; no theorist can deny it. I will add that the hand-loom weavers are not only goaded by these reductions, but that many of them have fled to France and America; that those who have not yet fled, and 'have no other trade to flee to,' are too ill clothed in many instances to be able to go to church, to send their children to school, or to enforce those habits of life and principles of morality, without which this empire can neither be happy nor powerful. I will leave to the manufacturers to say, whether we are or are not 'bidding farewell to our commercial prosperity.' It appears to me that if there be prosperity to the employer, there ought not to be such adversity of the employed: let us at all times devote our immediate and fullest efforts to ascertain the cause of such imperfect prosperity, to demonstrate the necessity or advantage of its continuance—or endeavour to make the alleged prosperity mutual."

And the speech goes on opening the subject, which is supported by affidavits from the different authorities, and confirmed by the ministers of the parishes to which they allude. The following are specimens:—

"Upon this 26th day of March, 1833, appeared before the Bailie and Councillors of the Burgh of Kilsyth, James Morgan, weaving agent, who depones and saith that he has been employed as a weaving agent in Kilsyth for several years. That it is consistent with his knowledge, that the price paid for hand-loom weaving during said period, has, compared with the former state of trade, house rent, and provisions, been very low. That, from daily intercourse with those employed by him, he is aware that great destitution and poverty prevails among them. And he farther depones and saith that, in order to ascertain the average amount of wages received by said hand-loom weavers, deponent hath examined and collated his books and accounts, and findeth, that, during the last three months, the said average rate of wages paid to, and received by, said hand-loom weavers, amounts to, and does not exceed, the sum of 3s. 10½d. per week, from which 1s. per week must be deducted for loom-rent and candles, leaving them only 2s. 10½d. per week for house-rent, food, clothing, children's education, church accommodation, and other numerous incidental charges. And deponent farther saith, that it is consistent with his knowledge and belief that the said average amount of wages has

been lower than just now stated within and during the last twelvemonths. And this is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

"JAMES MORRISON.

"JAMES INGLIS, Bailie."

"Kilsyth, March 28, 1833.

"I have long been acquainted with the above deponent, and have no reason to question the truth of what he has said. In course of discharging his duty, the subscriber has been called for more than thirty years, steadily and occasionally, to visit many families in this place and neighbourhood, and is well acquainted with their circumstances. He has of late years observed a progressive deterioration in household furniture, and the dress of parents and children. He knows that in various cases the education of the young has been neglected through poverty, and the attendance of the aged on the public services of religion has been given up through want of proper clothing. That friendly and charitable institutions are allowed to languish, and the necessities of life in many cases procured with difficulty. Every thing, indeed, bespeaks a state of wretched destitution, and unless some means be devised for alleviating the public distress, the most deplorable consequences may be expected.

"JOHN ANDERSON, Minister."

"I feel myself called upon to declare that the preceding facts and statements are consistent with the knowledge and experience of seventeen years, which I have had among the class of the community referred to.

"JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

"Kilsyth, 1st April, 1833."

"Kilsyth, 1st April, 1833.

"I have examined the above statements, and am acquainted more or less with the individuals who have made the said statements upon oath, and I attach entire credit to the fidelity and accuracy of their report as to the lamentably low state of the weaving department of our trade. I have known this place for nearly twelve years past, during which period the weaving conducted here has been all along in a depressed state, and the effects are but too apparent in the diminution of comfort in domestic life, neglect of education, and attendance on religious ordinances, occasioned in many instances by depressed circumstances.

"WILLIAM BURNS,

"Minister of the parish of Kilsyth."

"We, subscribing to the above statement as consisting with our knowledge, have, in addition, to state that the weekly earnings as above, low as they are, go on the supposition that the weavers have constant employment, and labour the usual hours, that is, fourteen hours a-day.

"JAMES LANG, Elder.

"ALEX. HENDERSON, Elder."

Mr. Owen remarked, it was quite evident from this that, in the present erroneous system, persons calling themselves honest and intelligent cannot obtain more than 3s. per week; and as so many of the producers of wealth sit down apparently contented with this miserable pittance, we may be sure the condition of the working classes generally must be bad indeed. If any other employment offered, we might be sure so large a proportion of the industrious population of the country would not agree to work fourteen hours a-day for 3s. per week. This, however, is only one of the many evils of the old system.

It would be remembered that he read, on the last Sunday, some extracts from Mr.

Buckingham's speech on drunkenness. It was his wish to bring the subject forward in all its bearings, that every one might judge for himself, and then see if he could continue to sit quietly under such a wretched system. He at that time read an extract relating to the number of persons frequenting fourteen of the principal gin-shops of London, and showing the great extent of that vice in this overgrown city, and then proceeded to show that the same effects were rapidly spreading through the principal cities and towns of England and Scotland. He would at present read only the following extract, but would return to the subject on future occasions, for this evil must be overcome before any permanent good could be effected.

"It would be easy to multiply evidences of this description to any extent required. But I refrain from adducing any more. Here, in the immediate precincts of the seat of legislation, under the venerable shadow of Westminster Abbey, as well as in other parts of this great metropolis; in Holborn and Seven Dials, in the north; in Southwark and St. George's-fields, in the south; in Whitechapel and Mile-end, in the east; in the Strand, in Piccadilly, and in Oxford-street, in the west; as well as Smithfield, Barbican, and Shore-ditch, in the centre; every where, in every direction, in the heart, and around the suburbs of this mighty city, the demon of intoxication seems to sweep all before him with his fiery flood; while in the remotest villages and hamlets of the country, as well as in the manufacturing towns, the evil has increased, is increasing, and cries with a loud voice from every quarter for redress.

"Let us seriously ask ourselves what have been the effects of all this. Alas! Sir, the answer is indeed a melancholy one. Deterioration of the public health, to such a degree that our hospitals and asylums are filled with the victims of intemperance. Increase of pauperism in every parish, so that the poor-rates bid fair to exceed the rental of the land. Destruction of public morals, by the brutalization of the old, and the prostitution of the young—the extinction of all honest pride of independence in the men, and the annihilation of all sense of decency in the women—the neglect of wives by their husbands, of children by their parents—and the breaking in sunder all those soft and endearing ties which heretofore were recognised as sacred among the humblest classes in society. These are but the outlines of this great chart of misery and degradation which drunkenness has traced out for our survey; the details are too full of sickening horror to be painted by any pen or uttered by any tongue: they must be seen to be credited, and witnessed before they can be felt in all their force."

Mr. Owen then said that a letter, addressed to Lord Althorp, of a most extraordinary character, had been received by him a few days ago from Liverpool; a letter which ought to make all persons reflect deeply on the circumstances by which they are surrounded; the higher classes, as they are called, never allow these subjects to come before the world; they are always smoothed over, and hidden from the public eye. The time, however, had now arrived when no secret should be hidden from society by which its happiness was affected. There were not many individuals (observed the lecturer) who would read a letter of this description before a public assembly; but he felt too much interest for

the general welfare of society, to neglect what he considered an important duty; and he would continue to place these subjects before the public and the government, until the latter shall be ashamed to permit their continuance.

A PREP INTO THE IMMORALITY OF THE OLD SYSTEM.

"To the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Althorp.
 "MY LORD,—In this age of reform, permit me to draw your attention to one evil, which, though not of equal importance to many now in progress, or that have been made during your Lordship's administration, is yet deserving of attention.

"It is one, my Lord, in which all are interested, whatever be their politics or their creed; fathers, mothers, sons, and, allow me to say, even daughters; and although it is a subject of rather a revolting nature to lay before your Lordship, it is, nevertheless, worthy the attention of all the well-wishers of the happiness, prosperity, and comfort of their fellow creatures, and the good effects of which would be felt in the remotest climes.

"We have, my Lord, beacons, light-houses, and buoys to mark the dangerous shoal and sunken rock, or fatal quicksand—to protect the property of our ship owners and merchants, and the lives of our brave sailors, from shipwreck; we have charts for every coast; we have the compass to steer by, and every means are taken to make the navigation of the seas less dangerous to the lives and property of our fellow men.

"But, my Lord, what are all these dangers compared with the fatal wrecks and misery so frequently entailed on the poor sailor, who, after a long and dangerous voyage—after braving every storm and ploughing the ocean for many a weary month, returns to his native land: his spirits buoyant—all dangers forgot—he leaps with a single bound on shore, and receiving his hard-earned pay, gives way to the full feelings of his heart; he, before the morning sun again shines upon him, has become a victim, and has entailed upon him a loathsome disease, which, if it does not carry him to his grave, debilitates his frame, and embitters the remainder of his days!

"How often, too, my Lord, do the young and thoughtless in an evil hour entail upon themselves a life of misery for a single moment of pleasure, if I may venture so to call it; and by a single act, which is often forced upon them by bad example, the youth is drawn into a snare, which, though he loathes, he afterwards from necessity is tempted to seek, having become too polluted for purer enjoyments, and being too honourable to run the risk of contaminating one to whom he would willingly give his whole heart and soul.

"How often, my Lord, is the married man, in a weak, unguarded moment, made to suffer the torments of the damned by one false step, and in contaminating the being he would, in his cooler moments, have sacrificed his life sooner than injure, not only causes to himself a life of pain, but entails upon his offspring the seeds of disease and misery.

"It may be said, my Lord, that the sailor should restrain his passions—that the youth should resist temptation—and that the married man justly deserves to be punished: it may be so; and could the punishment and infliction rest there, it might, perhaps, in the strict letter of right and wrong, be considered only a just retribution for their crimes; but this unfor-

tunately is not always the case, and in the present artificial state of society, the most virtuous might fairly give their sanction, if they did not lend their aid, to ameliorate the condition of those persons, who, from want of means and various other causes, cannot prudently resort to that greatest of all blessings—conjugal happiness; and also to the poor creatures who are so often cast away on these fatal rocks.

"In the army the strictest care is taken of the soldier, and in the navy medical aid is always at hand; but in the merchants' service the sailor has no help; a medicine chest is certainly carried, the contents of which the captain or mate doles out to the miserable beings according to a book of instructions, locked up with these precious drugs; and if the disease itself is not sufficient to kill or disable the man, this almost infallibly does so, unless he happen to have an iron frame that defies the power of the pernicious poisons he is made to swallow; but it often happens that the miserable object dies; and from this cause it is a well-known fact that many valuable ships and cargoes have been lost; or should the unhappy sailor escape the fangs of the "medecine chest," he only does so to fall into the hands of harpies, who, in the shape of quack doctors, take his money and his life.

"If from this scene of misery we turn to the poor creatures who are the slaves of man's unruly passions, we shall see a blacker picture; what misery—what crimes—what wickedness and vice of every kind do the poor creatures fall into, unless carried off while yet young by the loathsome diseases entailed upon them! They perhaps commence their career in gaiety and pleasure, and often in splendour, never dreaming of the pangs and misery that awaits them; they fall step by step, until, becoming contaminated, they are lost; they fall from one stage of wretchedness to another, until their cup of misery is full, and either die in the streets, or, what is nearly as bad, in a miserable garret, without food, without fire, and without a friend.

"It may be said, it is better it should be so, to deter others from the like courses; but does it do so? I answer, no. What female, when her cowardly seducer wins her heart or her person by flattering tales of love or golden arguments, ever pauses to reflect on the dreadful consequences of that unguarded moment? They can have no conception of the misery that awaits them; they have the fear of shame before their eyes, which alone is dreadful, but that is only a shadow of what they have to suffer; even the man whose passions, were they roused to the highest pitch, would pause ere he consigned an innocent victim to such dreadful misery, were he aware of the heart-rending sufferings they are doomed to feel. No one but a professional man can have any idea of the horrid misery they endure, and, perhaps, in many cases, even they have not all had opportunities of seeing it in its greatest extreme. The attendants of the hospitals could tell a fearful tale of grief and woe; but they become accustomed and are necessarily callous to the sight of misery; they can only pity the poor creatures at the moment, and that is all. So many cases come before them, their feelings get blunted; they can do no more, and seldom afterwards give them a thought.

"That this is a subject, my Lord, which may fairly come under the notice of the legislature, I contend from the fact that public-houses, gin-shops, and other permitted evils of a like

nature, are all regulated by Acts of Parliament; why then should not houses of ill-fame and their inmates (to which you will no doubt have perceived I have been alluding) be placed under similar regulations? The evil has existed in every civilized country from time immemorial, and as it is one that cannot be done away with, it would be doing a benefit to society to lessen its injurious consequences as much as possible, which might be done without any expense to the government, and without adopting any tyrannical or arbitrary laws, and would be the means of doing away with many nuisances that now exist.

"The following is an outline of a plan that might be adopted, with such improvements as, on enquiry, might be deemed advisable to meet the object in view.

"1. To license houses of ill-fame, and place them on the same regulation as public-houses; in case of any breach of the peace or misconduct, the license to be taken away and the keepers fined, but not to restrict their hours.

"2. To classify the houses, and the licences to be charged for according to the class of the house, and the number of females kept, a certain rate for each, being rated at a less sum in proportion as they descended in the scale, which might go as low as was considered necessary to meet the means of all; and as every house would wish to rank as high in the scale as possible, it would insure a fair return.

"3. Every house to have painted on it in large black letters, on a white ground, the class of the house, thus: "Class First," which, without offending the sight, would be a sufficient indication of the character of the house.

"4. Every house to be visited once or twice a-week by two medical men, to be appointed for that purpose, to be paid out of the proceeds of the licences; and every female who was sickly to be removed, if she desired to be so, to an hospital to be opened for that purpose: the hospital to be supported from the proceeds of the licences.

"5. The city or town, where necessary, to be divided into districts, but to contain only one hospital. The licence to be produced to the visiting surgeons every visit; and any house that was sickly to be compelled to place a board under the description of the house, with the word "Unclean" painted upon it, under pain of forfeiture of the licence; which would be sufficient caution to the unwary, and insure attention to the health of the females on the part of the keepers.

"6. One, or not exceeding two, females keeping their own apartments to be exempt; but on contributing a proportionate rate, though optional with themselves, to have the privilege of going to the hospital.

"Were a plan of this nature adopted, it would, in a short period, abate the nuisances that now abound in every large town, and particularly in the metropolis. It would insure the health and comfort of many of the rising generation, and would be the means of saving many poor creatures from a life of misery here, and perhaps eternal misery hereafter.

"Many females, my Lord, have been known to have been desirous of quitting the abandoned life they led and loathed; but having got into debt, by paying the whole of their dear-bought gains to the doctor, have been obliged to continue their course of life, being utterly unable to extricate themselves, and in despair have flown to the only consolation they had left—drink, which not only increases their torments,

but adds to the profits of the quack, who too often keeps them under his hands until they have parted with furniture, clothes, and every available article they possess.

"It would, my Lord, also, in a great measure abate, if it did not entirely do away with, a nameless crime, now to the disgrace of England so prevalent in the large towns, which no doubt is frequently resorted to from the great fears and dread of the consequences of the loathsome disease contracted by associating with common females, which by many is considered to be worse than death itself; and they consequently fly to any other means of gratifying their ungovernable passions, rather than run the risk of contamination.

"The man of business, in an unlucky hour, contracting this fearful disorder, frequently neglects, and indeed cannot pay that cool attention to, his affairs which they demand; and by a single mistake he often becomes involved, and brings ruin on himself, his family, and other innocent parties, who are sufferers by his misfortunes.

"My Lord, I trust I shall not be considered as having offered to your notice any thing too offensive for your perusal. It is, my Lord, a subject in which every man is more or less interested, and even kings and princes have had cause to regret the want of some safe means of gratifying the wants of nature.

"I remain, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's

"Most obedient and humble servant,
"June 16, 1834. G. L."

All this (said Mr. Owen) is the necessary consequence of the present state of society, to support which we all contribute at least four-fifths of our earnings. It was not generally known that some of the most splendid establishments of London are the fruits of the practices alluded to in the letter. It is the character of the present system to shrink from the contemplation of what is the most important to be understood. If the working classes were acquainted with the subjects on which we are engaged, they would simultaneously insist on the whole system being changed. "It has long been my fixed determination," said Mr. O., "to contend against this vile old system until I destroy it, or it destroys me. Our progress has been so great, especially during the last year, that now all parties, even the members of both Houses of Parliament, consider it incumbent on them to undermine some part or other of that system." He then alluded to an important auxiliary in the cause, namely, Madame Darusmont who delivered her first lecture to a London audience on the previous Tuesday. Her experience in various parts of the world has been sufficient to convince her that the base of society is altogether false. She stated truly that man as an individual is the being of a day; he gains some little knowledge and experience, and then is forgotten; but man the species continues to grow in experience, constantly adding to the stores of knowledge already treasured up. It may safely be said that the mind of the world is now growing more rapidly than at any other period, and that future generations will become beings very superior to any that have yet existed. All past history has been a record of irrationality; but it is trusted that we are now entering on a period when we shall be enabled to put rational measures into practice for the benefit of mankind. If we should be contented to proceed at the slow pace of our legis-

lators, we shall be very little advanced at the end of many years: other causes are, however, in irresistible progress to compel the change in a considerably shorter time. There are inventions and improvements now coming into operation, which, by the distress they will cause, will soon force the adoption of the Social System by all parties in their own self-defence.

Mr. Owen then read and commented on a letter he had just received from America; but as we have not room for the letter in the present number, we must defer it until next week.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.
Gallery of Portraits in our next.

The Crisis.
LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 28.

SOME few weeks ago we answered a letter of "An Operative," in which he expressed his dissent from the doctrines inculcated in one of Mr. Owen's lectures respecting the surplus productions of the country. Our reply seems to have been unsatisfactory, and he has written once more. We publish his letter, expecting Mr. Owen to answer it next week; if he does not, we shall make what remarks we consider necessary upon it.

WE are sorry to hear that so many of the Shoemakers have struck. We had vainly hoped that the observation and sad experience of former failures would have deterred them from so precipitate and inconsiderate a step. We fear they will meet with no more success than their forerunners, the Tailors. But there are only two ways of learning wisdom, and these are, counsel and experience; the latter makes the most vivid impressions; and the more foolish a man is, the more of this smarting system of education he requires.

THINGS, look rather dull at present. The great Powers are protocolizing in secret, and somewhat at a loss how to act to suppress the spirit of liberty, or insubordination, as they call it. The old tyranny has been suppressed in Spain and Portugal, and two new constitutions, under the auspices of two young queens, are about to be instituted. We augur very little good, however, of either, from the specimen of liberality which has been already evinced. The new constitution of Spain is about to put such fetters upon the press as it never yet endured in any country since the invention of printing. Not a syllable will be published, which has not the consent and approbation of the government. Even the manuscripts of the editors will be reviewed by the censors, and condemned, sanctioned, mutilated, or amended as they think proper. There will be very little truth or sincerity in such a system; it is merely a piece of political mechanism for manufacturing error and hypocrisy. As the Lord Chancellor of

England lately observed, there is no danger arising from the people knowing too much: all the danger arises from their ignorance. We wish his Lordship could persuade his compeers of the truth of this doctrine, and that from them it might be propagated by the force of example over the whole of Europe. To restrain opinion is to brutalize mankind. The principal difference between man and a beast is his power of thought, and the progressive nature of his mind; but when thought is subdued in fetters by legal enactments, and all progress is stopped by the tyrannical mandate which says "hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther," what is this but a degradation of the species, and a tacit confession of the fear of knowledge? Neither can we discover any other reason than the fear of knowledge for the ungenerous impost which is put upon all political intelligence of the day. Nothing but unlimited freedom for the dissemination of knowledge can ever satisfy the people that their rulers are not eager to preserve them in that blessed ignorance, in which, as our friend Cobbett justly observes, they make the most dutiful servants.

THE great delegate meeting is to take place on the first Monday of August, when we hope a new stimulus will be given to the affairs of the working classes.

A DIALOGUE

On the Trades' Unions, between a Unionist and a Stranger who desired full Information respecting the ultimate Objects of the Unions.

Stranger. You are a member of the Trades' Unions, and I wish to know, if your laws permit, what they are, and what is the real object which they desire to attain.

Unionist. I will answer both your questions: 1st. There are many unions composed solely of members of the same trade, calling, or occupation, such as the tailors, shoemakers, hatters, clothiers, spinners, &c.; and many separate associations of unions of several trades united, called orders, such as the builders' order, including all the separate branches connected with building; the Bradford order, which includes a great variety of different trades; and the Consolidated Union; as well as others. Of these some are more secret than others; but until now all were more or less secret in their general proceedings. Secrecy was necessary in their early stages; it was their strength and only security; now, however, their secrecy is no longer necessary, and all that remains of it is their chief cause of weakness. I will, therefore, freely disclose to you all that can be required to enable you or any stranger to form a correct opinion whether these associations are calculated to be beneficial or injurious to the public.

S. By so doing you will render me and the public a lasting benefit, because at this moment all minds are directed to their proceedings, and all appear to be at a loss to know what they are, or to what changes they will lead. In fact, the public mind is highly excited respecting them.

U. The different trades, and often the sepa-

rate branches of the same general trade, have had, and still retain, their own laws and regulations, and maintain their individual lodges independent of all other trades and associations; while other lodges are branch lodges connected with what is called the grand lodge of the trade under whose general laws they conduct their proceedings, having their own by-laws in conformity with them. These grand lodges again are, in many cases, connected with one or other of the orders mentioned, and are connected with the grand lodge of the order as branches of it, as their branch lodges are connected with and under them. All this, you will perceive, is laying the foundation for a very safe and perfect system of the most useful general suffrage among that portion of the population now unrepresented in the general government, and whose interests, in consequence, have been altogether overlooked and, hitherto, totally disregarded, to the great injury of the population of all countries.

S. I think I understand some of the outline of what Trades' Unions have been; but what is this new union, to which such a high-sounding title has been given, which is called "The Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland?"

U. This is a first attempt, and it is a most important one, to effect a union *among all the Unions*, for the permanent benefit of every member of the British empire. It has already done much towards it, by directing the attention of the members of the unions to the grand results which might be attained in the most peaceable manner by such unions, and by explaining the necessity for it at this period, to relieve the whole industry of the country from the most ignorant and grievous oppression.

S. But will not these Unions, when thus combined, effect some very great changes in the mode of conducting the general business of the country, both foreign and domestic?

U. The change will be considerable in both, but it is one which the progress of science and the advance of knowledge have made necessary for the relief of the industrious, and for the security of the life and property of those who consume much and produce little.

S. But are the Unionists in possession of sufficient practical knowledge to effect this change?

U. Whether they are or not is now to be tried, and it cannot be ascertained without trial. And this is the trying point for the Unions. They have a glorious—a god-like work to perform; **THEY HAVE TO EMANCIPATE INDUSTRY FROM IGNORANCE AND SLAVERY.** It is an arduous task, and, I acknowledge, cannot be accomplished except through an extended union, founded on more pure principles of justice and charity, and directed by more practical wisdom, than any portion of society has yet evinced in their general proceedings.

S. I fear, when the day of trial comes, they will be found wanting, for the unions appear to be too much divided in opinion among themselves, by the separate orders which exist when they ought to have but one; nor do they appear to have any confidence in any leaders to assist them effectually out of their difficulties.

U. All this is too true, yet by patience and perseverance these very formidable difficulties may be overcome. I admit the extent of these two qualities requisite for the task, but I also know the deep, the vital interest which the working classes have in the attainment of these necessary qualifications to enable them to

effect their great object; and you know that a powerful, clearly understood self-interest is sufficient to enable men to surmount the most formidable obstacles. Recollect that the French army crossed the supposed impassable Alps, and in consequence surprised and conquered the Austrians.

S. Yes; but the French army had Napoleon to give *energy and union* to every single movement of the immense masses which he organized to accomplish by force the overthrow of the old governments of Europe; and you require a much superior unity of organization to accomplish your work of peace to preserve, than he required of force and violence to destroy; and you have no leaders in whom confidence is placed.

U. I must acknowledge the strength of the position which you have taken; that your reasoning is fair, legitimate, and powerful; nor will I promise that experience will not, in a few weeks, prove your fears to be well founded.

S. What do you propose to overcome these difficulties?

U. To unite the industry of the country for the greatest and best of purposes, that is, to secure, on sure ground, the greatest improvement and increase of happiness to all classes. To effect this, it will require an organization much superior to any which exists for destroying the peace, prosperity, and happiness of a country. The leaders of the unionists have called all their powers to come together in August, to try and devise the means by which this extended union, organization, and arrangement may be formed and maintained. They have called a great delegate meeting, to be held in London early in August; and it will depend upon the wisdom of their deliberations and resolutions on that occasion whether their delivery from the worst of slaveries, a dependence upon wages when there is a great deficiency of employment, shall be effected, and the sons and daughters of liberty shall attain their just rights and positions in society; or whether they must yet sink lower in the scale of mere animal existence, before their glorious emancipation from the innumerable evils of severe unrequited toil shall be achieved.

S. The chances are, I fear, greatly against the present success of your wishes; the working classes are too ignorant, too prejudiced, too selfish, too fond of talking, and too little accustomed to act together on any one plan for a sufficient length of time, to accomplish any great and good object. All or many of them want to talk and also to act independently of each other; and when were ever such practices successful to obtain any permanent benefits?

U. There is too much truth in all you have stated; but, on the other hand, the working classes are now acquiring more useful practical knowledge than the middle or upper classes; they are losing their prejudices daily to a great extent; they are certainly less selfish generally than the wealthy, and they are discovering the very great evil of talking so much before they have attained the experience requisite to enable them to speak at once to the point, and usefully.

S. What are the ultimate objects you seek to accomplish?

U. Regular, healthy, beneficial employment; a good, useful, practical education; and a moral culture that will insure union, charity, and kindness among the whole industrious class, and the really intelligent will now be included in that class.

S. All this is highly commendable; but what

measures have the unions in progress to effect these objects, or to prepare for their future attainment?

U. They have several important steps to take immediately, and others of great interest to prepare to carry into practice as soon as the knowledge of them can be diffused among the members, and their consent to their adoption shall be regularly obtained.

S. Are you permitted to state what these are?

U. As their promulgation will be useful to the members, to the operatives who are not yet members of the union, and to the public generally, I will state them, for secrecy is no longer necessary or beneficial to the great permanent interests of the unions.

S. Pray proceed, for I am deeply interested in this part of the subject.

U. The first step has just been taken, that is, a call has been made by the Executive of the Consolidated Union for a grand meeting of delegates in London, to commence the first Monday in August next; and, if possible, delegates should be carefully selected to represent all the Unions in England, Scotland, and Ireland; for at this meeting the whole proceedings of the Unions should be well considered, all the laws and regulations of the various orders should be compared and revised, and, if it can be effected, the whole should be simplified and made efficient for the great purposes contemplated. Thus, by an organization applicable to all, a Union of purpose and action may be obtained, and the great outline of the machinery of the Unions may be made to work well. Much will now depend upon this delegate meeting, and it is ardently desired that the Unions will send men of tried honesty, and of as much experience in the business to be transacted as they have amongst them, that they may adopt an improved code of laws and regulations, and elect into the Executive men who can and will well consider what ought to be done, and who will act decisively upon their resolutions when made.

The next step will be to arrange a Union Bank, to enable the operatives to become capitalists; for without a bank their industry will now be of no avail to them; their individual efforts, however great, could serve no other purpose than to increase their poverty and destitution, and make them greater slaves to the mere capitalists. Their bank, which might be easily made most efficient for their purpose, could be established without much inconvenience to any of the Unionists. A good original organization, order, and system, are all that is required, and these they must find means to obtain.

The succeeding step will be to set all the surplus labour, under the existing most evil and bad arrangement of human powers and means, to beneficial employment; employment by which each one shall positively increase the necessities and comforts of life for all; and is most extraordinary that this has not been done long ago by the British government.

The following step must be to make arrangements to well educate all the young from their birth, and to re-educate all the old by useful, plain, practical evening lectures, part of the time to be occupied by the lecturer asking them questions upon the subject of the discourse. By these means the industrious classes may easily acquire more valuable knowledge for practice in three months than the middle and higher classes now possess.

In our next discourse I will explain these in-

portant matters more fully, and convince you that a mighty revolution for good is immediately at hand.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—In your number of the 31st ult. you say, "We have received a letter from 'An Operative,' questioning the truth of a doctrine we are in the habit of instilling into our readers, namely, that there is an excess of production." Permit me to say, I did more than merely call the truth of your doctrine in question. If you refer to my letter, you will find I called upon you to give your readers *some proof* of its truth, and, particularly, to prove that there was an excess of production in those great and important articles, bread and animal food. Instead, however, of attending to this call—instead of *proving* the existence of any such excess as you speak of—instead of proving that the lands of Great Britain and Ireland produce *more* of the necessities and conveniences of life than the people stand in need of, and especially bread and meat—instead of doing this, as you clearly ought, *if you could*, you fly to subjects altogether foreign to the question between us. Amongst other irrelevant matter, you say, "In reply to our correspondent's letter, we beg to call his attention to the difference between production and the power of production." Of this difference, or distinction, I hope I am not ignorant. Of the *actual production* of the lands of Great Britain and Ireland, and also of their *powers of production*, I probably know as much, and perhaps more, than either yourself or any other man living, having, I believe, taken more pains to obtain accurate information on both these points than any other man in existence. Into the "productive powers" of our lands, or their "capabilities" in the way of producing human sustenance, and especially those important articles, wheat and animal food, I have made the most careful enquiries; and being a practical agriculturist, and I hope not a bad one, I believe I may say, they have been both skilfully and accurately made; and the result fully warrants me, not only in calling in question, but in totally denying, the truth of your doctrine of "excessive production;" and justifies me in asserting that, instead of production being *excessive*, there is a positive *DEFICIENCY*, and a great one too, in all the more important articles of human sustenance, and especially in the very important ones of bread and meat. It is this *deficiency*, and not the "competitive principle," as you erroneously assert, which causes all the distress of the working classes.

The effects of the "competitive principle" are just the reverse of those you ascribe to it. Suppose the "capitalists" (or employers of the working classes) were, as they easily might be, doubled or trebled in number and wealth; would there not, in that case, be great "*competition*" for the services of the working classes? and would not competition for their services cause a vast increase in their wages?—and would not a large increase in their wages cause a large addition to their supplies of food, clothing, and the other necessities, conveniences, and comforts of life?—and would not such addition to their food, clothing, &c., put an end to their distress? All this is too clear to admit of either doubt or denial. What, then, is there in the "competitive principle" injurious to the working classes? Nothing whatever. To put an end to the distress of the working classes, competition amongst "*capitalists*" for the services of those classes, is the

very thing that is wanted:—to the *non-existence* of such competition, all their distress may be traced; *create* such competition, (and it easily may be created,) and all their distress will cease. Should you entertain any doubt of this, intimate as much, and I will see if I cannot remove such doubt.

In what you call your reply to my late letter, you say, "*production* is regulated by the demand." Do you mean that the "capabilities," or "productive powers" of the soil have nothing to do with the QUANTITY of the thing produced? Permit me to say, they have a great deal to do with it; and to add, that those powers, when applied to raising human sustenance of a GOOD AND WHOLESOME KIND, are confined within much narrower limits than yourself and many others seem to suppose.

Your doctrine relating to "demand" is equally untenable with that relating to "production." To hold that "demand is regulated in a great measure by the condition of the people," is certainly a most monstrous fallacy. By the laws of nature—(laws which regulate, and which alone regulate "demand,")—every human being requires, or *demand*s, food and the other necessities of life:—the necessities of life are required, or *demand*ed by ALL, by one just as much as the other; and being clearly co-extensive with the human race; consequently the only limit there is to "*demand*" is that which is assigned to the number of human beings the world contains.

You say "the resources of Nature are never exhausted." If you merely mean, that Nature, year after year, renews her bounties, no doubt you are right; but if you mean, as you appear to do, that there are no bounds to the bounties or resources of Nature, then are you clearly wrong; for not only are there bounds to the "resources of Nature," but those resources, where they consist of good and wholesome articles of human sustenance, are much more circumscribed than you appear to be aware of.

What, Sir, could induce you to notice, and with approbation too, the shocking nonsense of Lord Lauderdale and Baron Cuvier? Would the "noble lord" himself, do you suppose, like to be one of his one hundred and eighty millions of potato-fed people? I should rather think he would not. A potato-fed people must necessarily be a poor and miserable people, and not such a people as you and I, Sir, wish to see the people of England. Let it, Sir, be your object, as it is mine, to cause the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland to be fed, or at least principally fed, on *good wheaten bread and meat or animal food*; and leave Lord Lauderdale and his "vegetable food," and Baron Cuvier, and his food "made of the substance of the earth," to the contempt they deserve. The people of Great Britain and Ireland may, and may for centuries to come, be most abundantly supplied (as upon some future occasion I may demonstrate) with food that is good, wholesome, and pleasant; therefore, why for a moment trouble ourselves about such as is of a contrary description?

I have just taken up your number of the 7th instant. Judging from what you say in that number, I am led to believe you have abandoned the "superabundance" or "excessive production" doctrine; for instead of repeating it, instead of venturing to re-assert that we have, at this very time, more of the necessities and conveniences of life than we stand in need of; instead of doing this, you content yourself with

saying that we have it in our power to procure more than we stand in need of by resorting to our waste lands at home and abroad." In this I entirely agree with you; and glad am I to do so; for now am I satisfied that you clearly see the "MEANS," and the only means, by which an end may be put to the distress of the people, and their condition rendered what it ought to be. Yes, Sir, let us resort to our waste lands; let us resort to the waste, but fine and fertile lands of our boundless, unpeopled, or nearly unpeopled colonies; let us bring them into cultivation (or even a small portion of them will be sufficient), and import the corn, beef, pork, wool, and other valuable produce, into the mother country; let us do this, and in a very little time there will not be a distressed person in Great Britain or Ireland; every one will have an abundance of every necessary, convenience, and comfort of life. It must be, however, to the waste lands of our colonies, and not to those at home, that resort must be had; for as to our home waste lands (though, properly speaking, they are not waste, for as sheep-pastures they produce both food and clothing), they are, generally speaking, so poor and sterile as to be utterly incapable of affording any addition worth speaking of to our supplies of human sustenance. But far otherwise is the case with our waste lands abroad. Of them millions and hundreds of millions of acres are lands of the finest quality; and all we have to do, in order to put an end to the distress, is to bring a sufficient portion of them into cultivation, and import the corn, and other valuable produce into the mother country. Were Mr. Owen to procure ten or twenty millions of acres of these fine lands, bring them into cultivation, and import the produce into Great Britain and Ireland, he would then have a solid foundation on which to rest his co-operative scheme: without land, there is not the slightest chance of such a scheme ever succeeding; as I told Mr. Owen many years ago.—I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

June 14, 1834. AN OPERATIVE.

TO EVERY WORKING MAN AND WORKING WOMAN.

Every human being must become a Union.

FRIENDS,—It is now become the duty of every working man to consider his true position in society, and to endeavour if possible, and it is possible, to beneficially employ and usefully educate himself and children.

I propose one-half-penny a-week levy, throughout London, should be paid, without charge, into a fund entitled "The Builders' Fund." This money to be worked every week, which would be sufficient to give two or three days weekly to each unemployed member in each lodge: all this to be laid out on an estate of land; and the unemployed labour of every trade added regularly for eight weeks, with the half-penny, would accumulate so fast as to give regular employment to every unemployed mechanic in London; and in three years there would be sufficient to keep them for ever, and every man become possessed of his own house and garden, to cultivate when out of employ, or for pleasure. Surely, then, you will not lose this opportunity of a trial. You will not only be paid for producing these things, but they will be your own after they are produced. As you now are, all your wives' and children's produce is taken from you, and must continue in this way for ever.

Do let me entreat of you to well consider

this. Give me a trial with your weekly halfpenny, and, if I do not succeed, then condemn me and all those who are endeavouring to follow the same plan. Let the labour of the labourer be first applied to land: the produce given to your unemployed mechanics, who are now almost perishing for want of the common necessities of life.

Now, brothers, all this can be done for one halfpenny per week. Form yourselves into 250 members, and pledge yourselves to support one, and see in practice how easy this is to be effected, because this is for yourselves: all that you have been doing hitherto has been AGAINST yourselves.

Every information will be given at 14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, London. Meetings are held every Sunday afternoon, at three o'clock. Donations and subscriptions received every day from ten in the morning till nine in the evening, by Messrs. CARTER, DIXON, and CAMPBELL. H. TIPPER, Hon. Sec.

P.S.—Co-operators are solicited to become collectors.

N.B.—The tailors can show a practical example here, if they have failed in their strike. 30,000 tailors, 100,000 builders, consider your halfpenny power, and show the world you are practical men, and act: we are now satisfied with talk and theory.

PROVISION FOR INDUSTRIOUS LABOURERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Amongst all the plans which I have been able to hear of for giving work to the industrious labourer in want of employment, I have found none which seems likely to be of such substantial benefit, both to the landlord and labourer, as a mode of tenure which is to be found in this country. The general usage of Tuscany, however, is to divide the produce of the ground in equal shares between the proprietor and the small farmer; the former in this case, as well as in that which I am going to mention, provides all the necessary capital and pays all the taxes of every denomination.

According to the tenure to which I have alluded a very small farm (generally from ten to twelve Scotch acres) is let to a family capable of doing all the work of the ground, except upon extraordinary occasions, and then the small farmers contrive to exchange their labour with that of their neighbours. The proprietor, as I said before, finds all the stock and capital of every description, and pays all the taxes and incumbrances: a proportionate rent is exacted, and five per cent. is paid for the cattle, the value of which cattle the small farmer is of course obliged to maintain. A farm of ten Scotch acres provides easily for five head of large cattle, at the same time that every acre of the farm is sown annually with wheat, or Indian corn, or other saleable articles: about one-third of such a farm (better if it were one-half) is cultivated with the spade; the remainder by cows, and as often as possible milch cows. Where the ground is heavy, a pair of oxen may be necessary. In this country a horse is generally kept, but from what I hear of English feeding, a horse in England would eat up half the produce of such a farm as I have supposed. Much of the success of these small farms will probably be attributed to the Italian climate. This I am convinced is not the case, and I believe that the heavy crops of potatoes, carrots, cabbages, turnips, after

wheat in the same year, which might be obtained in England by the use of the spade, assisted with abundant manure, would probably much exceed the produce of one of these Tuscan farms. But the spade alone will not be found sufficient; cattle must be provided for the labourer, and I make no doubt that in time he will wish for a larger proportion than that which I have mentioned.

Pisa, June 3.

G. W. T.

TO THE OPERATIVE CORDWAINERS of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

BROTHERS,—I feel particularly called on at the present moment to address you, on a subject of (to us) the most vital importance. The spirit of discord has reared its frightful head, and many of our London brothers have seceded from the Consolidated Union. It becomes necessary for me, as your responsible officer, to relate to you all the facts connected with the case, in order that you may not be deceived by partial or garbled statements; and in doing so, I am actuated alone by a zeal for the general good, convinced that the interest of one should be the interest of all—convinced also of the utter inutility and insufficiency of any thing, short of a Consolidated Union, to effect the moral and physical regeneration of the industrious many.

Brothers, I am known to many of you—for mine has been the pleasing task of heralding forth the glorious principles on which our great Union is based. With heartfelt pleasure I have witnessed the reception and progress of those principles in England and Ireland; with feelings which I feel a difficulty in expressing, have I beheld the sons of industry by hundreds and thousands swelling the ranks of the Consolidated Union: with all the joy of a father for his first-born did I contemplate the mighty results of such a glorious combination, and hailed it as the early dawn of sacred freedom: and shall these hopes be dashed to earth by the opposition of blind infatuated ignorance and folly? Never! will be the answer of every true brother. The love of country, the love of family, of honour and liberty, forbid it.

Many of the brothers look to the Union only as a great power that will enable them to strike for a temporary advance in wages. Such men mistake the principle upon which we set out—such men cannot be acquainted with the Report of the last delegated meeting, containing the great principles upon which the Consolidated Union is founded, and in fact, must be utterly ignorant of its objects, namely, "to establish the paramount rights of industry and humanity, by instituting such measures as shall effectually prevent the ignorant, idle, and useless part of society from having that undue control over the fruits of our toil, which, through the agency of a vicious money system, they at present possess."

I will now state to you the facts. The ill-advised and premature strike of the tailors, having prevented one taking place in our trade, many of the men (who have no idea beyond a strike) became discontented, and expressed their dissatisfaction of their Committee in no measured terms: the majority of that Committee were inefficient, inasmuch as that they themselves were not thoroughly imbued with correct principles; and not having moral courage to face, nor ability to stem the tide that was setting against them, they raised a cry against the Consolidated Union, and

brought it before the trade for discussion, whether they would secede from it or not, merely that they might give them something to divert them from the attacks made on the Committee. 1288 voted—782 for leaving the Union, and 506 for continuing—showing a majority of 276 for seceding from the Union—a majority insufficient; for, according to the 28th article in the "General Laws," "No proposition shall be adopted without the consent of at least three-fourths of the members present at its proposal." This I urged in the Committee, but they overruled it by passing a resolution that we had left the Consolidated Union, and reject the General Laws. Now, brothers, I appeal to your own good sense, whether there is any wisdom in this measure, carried by a majority of three in the London Committee, who, after incurring a great amount of expense and trouble, in sending delegates to all parts of the country to propagate the principles of the Consolidated Union; at the very moment that it is effected, turn round and (like a baby tired of a toy) say, we will leave it, because we cannot make it work; and this, Brothers, without appealing to you in the country; nay, they go so far as to say that the country will follow London as a matter of course. However, that is a question to be decided by you alone, and I hope to be favoured with your decision as soon as possible. We have a strong and intelligent party in London, who are determined to remain in the Consolidated Union long enough at any rate to give it a trial; and if we discover the principle to be false, we will abandon it, and not before.

I could say much more on this subject, but the limits of a letter prevent me. Brothers, trusting that we may never mistake inefficient practice for false principles, I conclude by conjuring you to rally round the standard of Consolidated Union, as the only means of rescuing the producers of wealth from that state of thralldom and misery in which competition has plunged them.—Yours, in Union,

WILLIAM HOARE, *Grand Master.*

London, June 23, 1834.

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street.
Mr. Smith, Sunday morning, at half past eleven.
Mr. Owen, Sunday evening, at seven o'clock.

The 56th Social Festival of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, June 24. Tickets 1s. 6d., or 1s. and a one-hour note each, tea and coffee included.

A Discussion on Tuesday evening, 1st July.
Subject: "What are the remedies for the permanent removal of poverty from the productive classes?" Chair taken at eight o'clock.

A General Meeting of the Friends of the Social System will be held on Monday evening, the 5th of July, to devise arrangements for effectually carrying out the original objects of the Institution.

Holders of notes are requested to bring them in on or before the 12th of July.

A fresh supply of Union Shirts has been received for sale at the Institution from Wellingborough.

This day is published,

THE WEEKLY CHRONICLE, or, Old Nick.
This Paper contains NINE SQUARE FEET of print. Price only Twopence. Printed by W. N. Fagnot, 48, Great Wild-street, published by John Ward, 167, High Holborn, two doors from Museum-street, and sold by Nicholls, 93, John-street, Tottenham-court-road.

Printed and published by B. D. COUSINS, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields.

THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 13, VOL. IV.]

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 29.

Mr. Smith lectured on the "SOURCE AND INFLUENCE OF AUTHORITY IN MATTERS OF OPINION."—The most perfect kind of authority is one which marches along with the people, which neither goes before, so as not to be understood or appreciated, nor lags behind so as to be reproached as the enemy of knowledge and human improvement.

But how to find that authority is the difficulty. Were the people all of one mind, it would be easily found, but amid such a variety of conflicting opinions it is impossible to find an authority which can express the prevailing sentiments of all. Some one, therefore, must predominate, otherwise there can be no authority; and if no authority, there can be no order preserved in society. This would be worse than even the grossest tyranny. Hence, men have invariably preferred the government of a party to the confused and unprincipled government, if government it can be called, of an irregular multitude.

In the absence of unanimity, there is no other expedient which can be resorted to, and the largest and most powerful sect becomes the master. There are many who foolishly suppose that opinions are enforced by individuals upon the people; that the people themselves are naturally inclined to be reasonable and moderate in their views of things and in their measures of government; but by means of the craft of statesmen and priests they are deceived and inveigled into superstitious opinions and intolerant practices. But nothing can be more absurd. There never was a system of government more cruel or more superstitious than the people themselves, from whom all systems and all religions receive their support. Even the Roman emperors, whose brutality and cruelty have disfigured the pages of the history of human society, were less cruel than the Romans themselves, whose greatest pleasure consisted in the amusements of the amphitheatre, where thousands of wild beasts were inclosed in the arena to mangle and devour each other. Nor were they content with this brutal species of recreation; they must have human blood to glut their ferocious appetites, which were already satiated with the

blood of the dumb and irrational animals. Hence the horrific battles which took place between men and beasts; hence the cruel sentences of the Roman judges, who condemned the unhappy victims of justice to expiate their crimes by becoming a spectacle to the savage mob, whose greatest happiness was derived from the victims' greatest sufferings. Could any monster be too cruel to rule over such a people? and did not they richly deserve all the barbarity of treatment which they experienced from the most depraved of their emperors? Such sights as these would not have been tolerated amongst a refined and generous people. It was not the emperors who were guilty of these extravagances. None could be more generous and amiable than Titus or Trajan; yet Titus treated the Romans on one occasion with a battle of five thousand wild beasts, and Trajan of ten thousand. The people were satisfied with the sight, and seemed to think it a sufficient reward for all the hardships of war, and all the severity of imperial legislation.

If we examine the rise and progress of spiritual authority, we shall find it perfectly similar; it all arose from the people. The church of Rome was really a church which marched with the people, until the celebrated council of Trent put a stop to the progress of public opinion, and drew up the Articles of the church. The people generally discussed for a generation or two every doctrine or ritual before it was established; and the priesthood, as soon as the doctrine or ceremony had attained sufficient hold upon the public mind, stamped with it divine authority. Thus the doctrine of transubstantiation was first taught by Eutyches in the fifth century; but not being known to the people, and consequently not believed, it was condemned by the pope; however, it continued to grow, and became, in the course of three hundred years, sufficiently important to demand discussion in a public council of the church at Constantinople. By this council it was rejected as absurd and heretical. In the eleventh century it had accomplished its triumph, and the pope himself enforced it as an article of faith. Thus it took more than five hundred years for this doctrine of transubstantiation to grow sufficiently popular to command the sword of the magistrate in its defence and

propagation. Had the pope himself invented the doctrine, and established it immediately as an article of faith, without the previous concurrence of the clergy, he would have been unseated immediately. The same may be said of image-worship. This was discussed for several centuries before it was sanctioned by the church. Many bloody wars were prosecuted by the contending parties; and finally Superstition obtained the victory, and reared her stone and timber deities over the whole of Western Europe. This system was also opposed at its first appearance, and gained ground only by popular favour. It was by the same favour, also, the popes themselves rose to supreme power and infallibility. It was by preaching, by reasoning, by sophistry, and any other persuasive means which they thought proper to employ; but it was always by the consent of the people, with whom all the peculiarities of political and religious systems originate.

Even the now unpopular and absurd doctrine of the divine right of kings was formerly a popular doctrine, and established by the people. The attachment of the common people to their kings and leaders in former days was excessive. They paid them a species of divine homage, and considered it their duty to sacrifice all private and all public interests, merely to gratify the individual pleasure of the reigning prince. So exceedingly powerful was this doctrine, even in the middle of the last century, that when this country was in a state of comparative tranquillity and happiness, many Protestant nobles, and gentry, and commons considered themselves as in duty bound to sacrifice the peace of their country, and the blood of their fellow-countrymen, merely to replace a discarded family on the throne of Britain. There is still a very great party in the country who hold this doctrine of the divine right of kings, which is only to be extirpated by the same means which first established it, that is, the use of reason and fair argument.

From these few observations on the progress of public opinion, it is evident that authority grows, and grows amongst the people; that it cannot be suddenly created, neither can it be suddenly destroyed; it is the work of time, and it only obtains the ascendancy after having

for a long while contended with adverse opinions, and entirely defeated them. But there is one peculiarity about all old authorities, which we hope will not distinguish the authorities which are to come; namely, that after having mounted up to the highest pinnacle of the church and the state upon the shoulders of the people, they there entrenched themselves, and refused to give way when the people were progressing and discovering new and more useful principles of action. They attempted to secure themselves from falling by framing articles of faith and opinion in utter defiance of all new discoveries or new prepossessions. The Roman church went merrily on with the people as long as the people were raising it up to supreme power; but whenever the tide of fortune turned, and the favour of heaven seemed to be withdrawn, immediately the church called a general council of her members, fixed her doctrines by an irrevocable decree, and employed the sword of state to compel the people to abide by the old doctrines. The Protestant churches did the same. In fact, the whole civilized world resorted to this political scheme of giving stagnation to opinion at one and the same time; and since that period they have all been exercising their magisterial dignity to prevent progress, as they formerly exercised it to stimulate this progress. The great secret of the whole matter is this: as long as the people are inclined to promote the temporal interests of the church, to increase its revenues and its political power, to add favour to favour, and privilege to privilege, the church is progressive; it says nothing of established articles of faith, it is no way adverse to changes and innovations, for it knows well that all the changes and innovations must be in its own favour. But if the people are contrariwise disposed to lower the crests of their spiritual instructors, by stripping them of their judicial power, or their territorial property, then the church makes a bold stand, maintains its unchangeableness and infallibility, its scriptural foundation, &c., and pronounces anathema upon every one who attempts to remodel or reform it. Thus there was a perpetual influx of new doctrines and new practices in the church till the time of the Protestant reformation; but this reform gave the priests such a throbbing at heart, that the church has become stationary ever since.

Since that time, a new opinion has been started, and is now making its way with rapidity towards universal acceptance; namely, the opinion of the Dissenters respecting the separation of church and state. This at its first announcement, a little after the time of the reformation, was accounted rank heterodoxy and infidelity. The common people were all against it. Each party maintained the necessity of a state religion; but each party maintained the divine right of its own religion only. Now, the conviction is prevailing amongst all sects and parties, that politics ought not to interfere with religion; and the Dissenting interest, which formerly was supported by the lowest of the people, can now rank amongst its warmest advocates the best of the nobility and aristocracy of England, and its brightest ornaments of genius and scientific acquirements. This opinion is marching rapidly onward to complete triumph, and then religion will be left entirely to a man's own conscience, and the authority of the magistrate shall no longer be employed to support exclusively any particular dogma.

But suppose we were to obtain all this, there is yet a very great difficulty to overcome, a difficulty which, if not surmounted, would render all this liberality and toleration more ruinous than beneficial. What is the use of liberality and toleration without action? There must be some moving power in society, and if all cannot agree, some party must take the lead and control the rest; and this merely brings us back to sectarianism once more. It is necessary then to find some point of agreement before you can establish a popular system of government. And it is not only necessary to find a point of agreement, but it must be a point of great political importance, and one which involves the whole machinery of legislation. At present there is not one point of importance on which the public mind is unanimous, even putting religion and morality out of the question; it is a scene of dire confusion. Thousands of schemes are invented by different individuals for the amelioration of the national circumstances, and thousands of conflicting opinions are afloat upon the process of reformation. One trusts to parliament; another to a bloody revolution; another would do away with commercial competition; and a fourth would increase the amount of competition, to make the labour of the workman more in request. One would thin the population of the country by emigration; another would increase the population and cultivate the waste lands and the latent powers of machinery and manufacture. One would remove the corn laws, to give cheaper bread to the people; another would preserve them in being to prevent the total ruin of the agricultural interest. One party would give the most unlimited freedom, another party would put salutary checks upon it for the benefit of domestic industry. If that can be done amidst such a farrago of opinion, what measure of importance can be adopted by a legislature which rules over such a mass of incongruity? It is clear that the legislature can do nothing, however willing. The most liberal and well-intentioned minds would find it impossible to give a new and general movement to the public mind. Any sudden step would arouse the indignation of a large and formidable party in the country, and endanger the public peace; and any trivial measure of reform can produce so little benefit to the population, that no one is disposed to acknowledge even the good which it has brought.

After some observations on the utility of the monarchical system, Mr. S. said,—There can be no better remedy for the present awkward crisis of the working classes, than the election of a dictator to regulate their movements. This, however, is a difficulty which, I fear, is yet too great to be surmounted; the prevailing prejudices are so great that no one individual would satisfy all. And this one circumstance would divide the ranks, and render futile all their separate and conflicting movements.

In the first place, there is a bitter prejudice in the public mind against individual authority. The working classes have been trained of late in the school of extreme republicanism, which will not harbour a single favourable idea of individual power or sovereignty of any kind. In its ardent zeal against tyrants and oppressors of every kind, it has forgotten the important truth that the public can never move itself, and that, where action is required, generalship is instantly in request. A republic is fitted for peace or rest only; but the monarchical

system is necessary for every species of activity and every measure which requires promptitude.

To avoid as much as possible every cause of dissension, it might be advisable for the working class to invest one individual with the power of organizing them into one great body. This is an office which could excite no jealousy, and give no offence to any political or religious prejudices. Let him confine himself to that office alone until he had accomplished it, and then let him lay down his power at the feet of those who conferred it upon him. If such a resolution could be made and put into execution, it is possible for one solitary individual to effect a general union of all the working men in the country, and thus prepare the way for a great national council, in which further resolutions might be proposed. But hitherto we have been overrun with plans, and quite muddled and disgusted with an excess of variety; every new week was bringing forth new schemes, new societies, and new subscriptions; till at last the whole bubble burst and vanished into the air with which it was blown up. One idea is enough to occupy the minds of the people at once. There should be no schemes of deliverance proposed until the preparations are made. If we cannot reconcile our minds to the patient prosecution of preparatory measures, we shall never accomplish any good to ourselves and others; and certainly there can be no dispute upon this one point, upon whatever subject we may all differ, that it is of importance to have a great national union, and that one man is better qualified for effecting this union than a number is. Hence the propriety of deputing a single individual, who may have as many subordinate agents as he pleases to do this one work, without interfering with any other subject or attempting to promulgate his own private sentiments.

Such an arrangement as this would suit all parties. Radicals and co-operators would be equally interested in its success; all the great ends for which both parties are striving would be equally promoted by it. Universal suffrage, the repeal of the laws of entail and primogeniture, with all the other fundamental measures of the new order of things, would be demanded with a species of authority that could not be resisted. The present disorganized and republican confusion of the working classes renders them perfectly helpless; their enemies laugh at their gasconade, their threats, and their projects; for they know that whenever the people attempt to move, they will defeat their own purposes better by their own disorder than they could be defeated by any regular attack upon their unions or their lodges. Their power at present is merely the power of a clamour, and any little favour they gain is given more to remove the annoyance of their everlasting murmurs, than from any respect to their political importance. They may clamour for another generation before they obtain universal suffrage or vote by ballot, and when they get it, they will find it beset with the snare of the monopolists, like their favourite reform bill. They are in reality powerless, because they have no concentration of their power; it has no locality,—it is a mere ghost, of which people talk, but of which no one can say, "there it goes."

[Mr. Smith, in reading over the extracts from his last lecture in the Crisis, finds that the omission has been very much destroyed by the omission of a paragraph before the words "In

anticipating, therefore," &c.; in which he showed that minor errors, in every department of art and science, must be committed by mankind for ever; that these minor errors were merely the consequence of the finite capacity of individual man, and really necessary to stimulate him to action, &c. The extracts are merely about one-third of the lecture, which, as a whole, has suffered considerably by the mutilation]

[The following letter was read by Mr. Owen in his lecture on Sunday evening, June 21, but which we had not room for last week:]

To Robert Owen.

DEAR SIR,—I am happy to inform you that I am an advocate for your social system, and can refrain no longer from the expression of my admiration and gratitude to that person whose writings have instructed me in *true*, and not *false*, knowledge and virtue.

I can only now and then get a glimpse from the newspapers of what you are doing in England. You have certainly a greater theatre there than in this country. The modern monopoly of labour by labour-saving machinery, in addition to those which have existed for ages, have produced, I find, according to your writings, such an inequality, resulting in luxury, poverty, and misery, that I cannot but think that the people of England and France must be forced to think and adopt some part, if not all, of the social system in self-defence. How stupid must be those labour and property-robed millions, if they cannot be brought to see the cause of their misery, and to adopt your plans!

I am exceedingly anxious to see the further experiment made of forming communities upon your social and co-operative system. I am ready to become a member, and to render any assistance I am capable of giving to form a community. If a proper number of persons, made of suitable materials, could be enlisted in the cause, I have no doubt of its practicability. I have communicated with a number of intelligent persons in this country, who are willing to join in the system. I have been wishing to earn whether you succeeded in obtaining a tract of land on the Rio del Norte of the Mexican government to establish independent communities. I like the fine climate of that country; and Mr. Hobson of this county thinks we could raise a hundred families for the purpose: he prefers the climate. But I have been suggesting to a number of persons the propriety of purchasing several townships of land in this state, about the mouth of Rock river, in Rock Island county, and opposite the foot of the Upper Mississippi Rapids and Rock Island. This land is now subject to entry, and is occupying a county, there would be no private-property party to interfere, and the state, as well as the social-community government, might perhaps be exercised with harmony. This is a fine tract of prairie and timbered land, a latitude 41½ deg.; eight miles up the Rock river there is a considerable fall of water; that might be applied to all labour-saving machinery of the community. I know of no place more appropriate in the Western United States than this for the social system. A few individuals are settling on this tract, but could easily be bought out; the few improvements they have made would be an advantage by way of a beginning; but this tract must be secured soon, or it will all get in the hands of individuals. I should like to see a community established here, and on the Rio del Norte. Let me know

if a situation can be gotten any where in the Mexican country.

I have suggested some plans for ploughing, ditching, mowing, and reaping steam or other power-machines to Mr. Byington of Pittsburgh, who is constructing a locomotive car for common roads. I have urged the importance of these engines upon these immense prairies. As there is more agricultural than mechanical labour required, the operation of such machines would, under the present private-property system, add to the monopoly of mechanical that of agricultural labour; and would force mankind into the social system faster. Urge the importance of such an invention to the mechanics, for it must be very useful to social communities.

From the hints you have given for the "union of languages," a mode has suggested itself to me whereby all languages can be most practically combined. I shall soon publish a pamphlet proposing an alphabet and orthography applicable to all languages; and I wish to have the heartfelt gratification of inscribing it to you, as the most worthy and the most capable of appreciating the merit of improvements. It is particularly applicable to the social system, and belongs to it. By having children taught in books of proper sentiments, and written in this new orthography, they could not read any of those written in the old, and thus would be guarded against Christian dogmas. It would be a glorious era to commence a reform of language with the social system. I wish you to write the hints I shall give more fully, and call a convention of philologists and lexicographers of the languages of Europe (if it is not practicable to call them from those of all the world), and direct them to spell all their languages strictly according to the sound of the letters of my alphabet, or of such a one as you and they may improve from mine, and arrange the words of them all in alphabetical order in one lexicon. Even if languages are yet kept separate, how easy could the different nations learn each other's languages, if they were all spelled according to the sound of the letters of one alphabet, and with all their accented syllables marked.

But I regret that mankind are ridding themselves of error by such slow reforms—by rejecting but a small part of it at a time. The philosophers of the nineteenth century showing the errors of despotic government only, and prescribing representative ones, we now behold the nations of Europe reforming no farther than adopting representative governments, and only obtaining a less evil for a greater. The next species of evil that man is beginning to see is that of those district religions. But, my dear Sir, as you well know, the greatest and most deeply-rooted system of evil—that of the very form of society itself from the private property system, seems to be but too newly disclosed by you for many to comprehend and believe. There being, then, so many millions of our fellow creatures so educated as to be incapable of understanding the social system, is it not a hundredfold incumbent upon the few who can see the utility of it to use every effort in promulgating it? It seems nothing new can take with the bulk of mankind until it is educated into them. Every exertion must therefore be used to disseminate it. It must be put into school-books, and taught in the infant mind. There is no teaching the common adult mind. You may rely upon me, then, as one who will spend his last thought and last breath in its establishment. I rejoice that it has been

my lot to be contemporary with you, and to die in the knowledge and belief of the true Saviour, the social system. When I see so many millions ridiculing this system, I feel that no eulogy can be too extravagant to offset it. There can be no doubts of the great gratitude of posterity towards its author, whenever they become educated to see its merit.

Liberal writers have heretofore presented but a small part of the evils of mankind; but as you have now discovered the whole of it, let writers hereafter exhibit the whole system of it, and I have no doubt but that mankind will revolutionize faster and more completely. The whole of it can as easily be seen as a part, if all is presented in connection.

I wrote a letter to Mr. Alexander Campbell last winter, as I was anxious he should know there are some converts to the social system as well as to his religion. I endeavoured to show the absurdity of the freedom of the human will to act but from the strongest cause and motive; that the words free, freedom, and liberty only applied to the power which a train of events had to follow each other in the order of cause and effect, when untrammelled by another train of events. I laboured to show him that the mind consisted of nothing more than a train or association of ideas and emotions, which is all we are conscious of; and that the faculties and passions were nothing more than different species of ideas and emotions; that there could be no such thing as separate and independent faculties in the mind that created ideas; that sensation, conception, imagination, &c., were ideas of sensible objects; that judgment, reason, obstruction, were the ideas of the relations between sensible objects; that predominating ideas of sensible objects constituted poetry and poets; that predominating associations of ideas about the relations between them constituted philosophy and philosophers. I then endeavoured to show that every idea was preceded by either an external object or another idea in the order of cause and effect; and antecedent and consequent motion and action; and that desire, will, reason, belief, and conscience were nothing more than the result or effect of the association of ideas; and, in other words, that to have ideas was to have some will, belief, or conscience corresponding to them; and that they were so inseparably interwoven with the thoughts, as form and solidity is to matter, that they were synonymous. When we say we think, will, believe, approve, we mean nearly the same thing. I showed that it was the order and harmony in the objects constituting the world that established the laws of the association of ideas, and preserved what little order there was among them. I also strove to show that Mr. T. Flint puzzled himself in a solecism of his own creation, as to how a man could be passive in receiving ideas, and yet active in enforcing a change in those of others. We have only to consider a train of ideas as a train of events in the order of cause and effect. The cause is active in producing an effect; the effect is passive in being caused. I drew the distinction between genius and talent; that genius consisted in that organization of the sensorium which produced the general as well as particular features of the sensible as well as related objects, and increased the existing stock of knowledge; and that talent consisted in a brain that associated from the most obvious and irregular relations as from memory, the learned nonsense which had been acquired from education. But you know more about

this matter. I told him, then, that he seemed to possess talent, but no genius, which nettled him a little; there was the sting. Yet, he insists that man is a free agent. It seems his brain cannot undergo a different system of motions from that which his acquired knowledge has established; but I had not presumed that any thing I could say could change his mind, after what you had said. He is, however, giving rise to a new sect, which may help to show the absurdity of some of the Christian dogmas: his mind seems to be like a bank that issues a great deal of spurious currency without any specie capital; his doctrines represent but very little of nature's stock of truths; he persists in asserting that the "social system is a patchwork of plagiarism from Alpha to Omega."

I would like, if you should be in Brighton, Sussex county, to call and see my uncle, John J. Masquerier, a painter of some ability, and whose house is the resort of the learned, and talk with him; he goes for some of the reform in government; you will find him, perhaps, more poetical than philosophical.

Please to write, and let me know your present views and plans.—I am, Sir, most respectfully and devotedly, yours,

LEWIS MASQUERIER.

Carthage, Hancock county, Illinois,
27th April, 1834.

[During the reading of the above letter, Mr. Owen commented upon it; and at the part of it which relates to Mexico, observed that, on his visit to that country, a few years ago, he was offered by the then government of Mexico a tract of land about 1400 miles long by 150 broad, joining the United States of America, but in the territory of the Mexican republic. This district, had he accepted it, he intended to have colonized by emigrants from Europe and America, and to have founded there a new government of peace, in contradistinction to those of the old world, which are all governments of war. He had only one objection to accepting this offer, which, however, he agreed to do on all religions being placed on the same footing there on which they were in the United States of America. This the government promised should be effected; and they undertook to get a law passed in the next session of their legislature for that purpose. But in about four months, the old Spanish party, or that of the bigoted monks, gained the ascendancy, and the project consequently was dropped for the time. In about a year and a half, however, the liberal party again came into power, and are now at the head of affairs there; but Mr. Owen having in the meantime come to England, believed, on seeing the state of affairs here, that the great battle of truth against falsehood could be fought with greater advantage to the former in this metropolis than in any other part of the world, and he, consequently, was determined to take his stand here, and to conquer, or die in the attempt. The governments of the world must adopt measures to benefit the condition of all parties, or the working classes would speedily be in a condition to take their affairs into their own hands.]

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Address to the Operative Cordwainers came too late.

Mr. Bankhead has been unavoidably deferred till next week.

Several articles, which are in type, are omitted for want of room.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 5.

OUR present Ministry have been attempting to prop up the falling morality of the poor by some very serious alterations, or amendments, as they are called, of the Poor Law Bill. We doubt not that their motive is good enough, but we are extremely sorry to see that none but coercive measures can be discovered by the enlightened and liberal Whigs for reducing the distress, and refining the morals of the people. Whenever an evil is perceived, their first and only thought is to make a prohibitory statute, and enforce a penalty upon disobedience. To destroy temptation by the fear of punishment is the most cruel of all discipline, but it seems to be the only species of discipline which legislative wisdom has yet discovered.

In the case before us, there is a curious combination of lenity and severity; for one defaulter is entirely exempted from punishment, and all the penalty is inflicted upon the one who is generally less able to bear it. By the old law of James the First, the woman only could be committed to the House of Correction for a bastard child, which became a burden on the parish; but still the reputed father was amenable to justice, and liable to a pecuniary fine. The woman has always borne more of the punishment than the man, and now the consummation of injustice seems to be committed in the total exemption of the latter.

This alteration was evidently intended to amend the morals of the female sex, by increasing the danger of yielding to the caresses of their paramours; but it is evident that, whatever danger it superadds to the transgression of the one sex, it removes from the other; so that it does not destroy the aggregate amount of temptation, but merely makes a more unequal division of it between the two sexes—arming the female more securely for resistance, but at the same time arming the male more stoutly for offence. When men are actuated by such licentious principles of false honour as even to glory in the seduction and ruin of the objects of their temporary attachment, it is not very likely to promote the practice of good morals amongst the male population, to give them a perfect immunity from all punishment for the commission of such crimes. As an attempt to bolster up the falling morality of the age, it will prove a decided failure; but still the alteration will be productive of good, as it will tend, with other attempted reformatory of an incorrigible system, to bring the national affairs more speedily to a crisis, by exposing the horrid injustice which one grade and one sex is exercising against the other.

If this alteration, also, is expected to

diminish the burden of the poor-rates, we have good reason to believe, from the resistance of all who are intimately acquainted with the subject, that the country will feel rather an aggravation, than a diminution of the evil. The greater proportion of, if not all, the females who are in the habit of presenting his Majesty with illegitimate subjects, are not in circumstances to provide for their support, and, in spite of the resistance of the distributors of parochial relief, must become a burden upon the public purse. The greatest part of that burden is now borne by the reputed fathers. In the township of Sheffield they are at present paying 1400*l.* per annum, and receiving 1200*l.* from the fathers. This is a loss to the parish of only 200*l.*, and it is hardly probable that this new moral check will make sufficient atonement for the loss of the 1200*l.* per annum; indeed, so little hope is entertained of any pecuniary relief to the public, that Mr. Crossland, the vestry-clerk of Sheffield, says it is expected that the borough will experience a loss of 1500*l.* per annum by the new alteration.

The new bill seems to be a step towards the establishment of the new doctrine of maternity; namely, that the mother is more nearly related to the child than the father, and that descent ought to be traced on the mother's side.

A very large and interesting meeting took place in Exeter Hall on Monday last, attended by several members of parliament and men of distinction, for the purpose of forming arrangements to colonize New Holland. The plan has met with the approbation of government, and is likely to be the means of employing a great portion of our at present redundant population. We understand that in that country is to be found the richest land in the world, lying quite uncultivated and unproductive. We see no reason why it may not become a granary to civilized Europe itself, as ancient Sicily to olden Rome. But with such restrictions as our present corn laws, it matters little to us whether or not there be abundance in other parts of the world, for we cannot reap the advantages of it.

Mr. Owen has desired us to state that he has been prevented by business from answering the letter of an Operator this week, but promises to do so next number.

DIALOGUE

Between a Unionist and a Stranger—continued.

S. In our last conversation, you promised to explain more fully the important subjects of which you gave me the outline, and which you stated would speedily produce a mighty revolution for good. I admit that the thinking part of the public has lost all confidence in the old barbarous mode of governing society by

force and fraud, and by keeping the mass of the people in ignorance, and in slavery to the few, who happen by any means to acquire much wealth, and more especially since the wealthy become not only idle and extravagant in the extreme, but much worse than harmless, by exerting all their power and influence to prevent the spread of the most valuable practical truths, and the introduction of the most important improvements for the general benefit of the population. It is in consequence of this new state of feeling, and of this great change in public opinion, that the Unions of the industrious and oppressed now excite so much alarm among the wealthy, and so much interest in the minds of all. Pray, therefore, explain in what manner you expect the Unions can accomplish the certainty, at all times, of advantageous employment, the superior practical education, and the unity of purpose and of good feeling among all their members, from which you so confidently anticipate the near approach of this mighty revolution for good.

U. I willingly proceed to my task, and first it may be useful to satisfy you that it is greatly, and beyond all doubt, for the permanent interest of the whole population that these changes should now be made to prevent a deadly contest between the idle wealthy and the industrious producers, whose present positions in society cannot be longer maintained, unless knowledge, when once acquired, can be untaught, and improvements generally known in various arts and sciences can be destroyed and forgotten.

S. If you can prove it to be for the *interest of society at large* that these great changes, or, as you imagine them to be, great improvements, should now take place, you will secure a most important step, and lay a solid foundation on which to proceed.

U. Unless I can prove this point, I should despair of the success of the Unions; nay more, if they or their friends cannot demonstrate that their measures will promote the substantial interest of the public, and permanently improve the condition of the whole population, it will be impossible for them to succeed, nor would I, on any whose minds are properly constituted, desire them to succeed.

S. The foundation for the change proposed is so sound that I am impatient to learn the character of the architects, and the design of the superstructure which they intend to erect upon it. And first, what are the delegates to do upon their arrival in town?

U. To consider well what improvements can now be advantageously made in the initiating ceremony, and in the general laws and regulations for the Unions of Great Britain and Ireland; that there may be but one unobjectionable mode of initiation, and one code of laws and regulations in conformity to the laws of the land; and that they may be freed from all that can be offensive to common sense and plain understanding, and so evident and simple that the untutored members of the Trades' Unions may be easily instructed in the reason for the adoption of each of them.

S. All this is as it should be. If the majority of the members of the Trades' Unions are prepared to elect delegates who can begin their important task in this manner, I shall be compelled to change my opinion, and begin to think that they are indeed capable of taking their own affairs into their own hands. What is to be their next proceeding?

U. It will be proposed to them to take into

their calm, and, as far as possible, their unprejudiced consideration, in what manner they can make the best use of their capital, which is their labour, or powers of producing wealth. To discover, in short, how each member of the Union can be induced to contribute the most largely of his or her services for the benefit of the Union, and to secure, in return, the most solid permanent advantages for himself or herself; for without the latter consideration, no Union can long maintain itself.

S. Do you mean that all the members shall be regularly daily employed, directly or indirectly, for the benefit of the Union and of themselves?

U. Most certainly; for we have now advanced so far in positive knowledge as to know that a day spent in idleness is a day's loss of capital to the Union, and to the world, a day's loss of the wealth which the individual could produce to the public, and a day's wealth expended by a member without utility or benefit to any one.

S. This is true; but do you expect that the Unions can form arrangements to keep all their members at all times in employment, that would be beneficial to them, that would increase and not diminish their wealth?

U. Well may you put this question, for the British Government, and the wealthy portion of society, after many trials, have failed to accomplish this purpose; but the Unions must do it, or their Union will be of no permanent benefit to the working classes.

S. As the greatest statesmen have been, after every trial, unequal to this task, on what principle do you expect the Unions, composed of plain, uneducated men, can accomplish it?

U. 1st. Because they are plain, uneducated men, whose minds will not be perplexed by ingenious theories, formed in opposition to matters of fact and self-evident deductions from them. 2nd. Because these uneducated men are more likely to understand that it is much more easy, pleasant, and economical to support men when usefully employed, than when they are idle, or viciously occupied; and that it is far better to train all from birth in good habits of body and mind, and to insure to them a fund of valuable practical knowledge, obtained from general and undisputed facts, than to entirely neglect them through infancy, childhood, and youth, and thus allow them to grow up uninformed, and to become useless, and too often vicious, and an evil instead of a good to themselves, their parents, and society.

S. All this I readily admit, but how are the Union to insure constant beneficial employment to all their members, seeing that hitherto they have failed to do so, and that now, in almost every branch of trade and business, there is a surplus of applicants for employment, and, in many general trades, an excess of one-third over the present demand for them?

U. Are the whole population of these islands fully supplied with good houses, clothes, food, education, and the means of reasonable leisure and recreation?

S. Certainly not.

U. And do you suppose that all these are not desired by the whole population?

S. I know that all wish to have them if they could obtain them.

U. Then there is a natural demand for all these things?

S. Yes.

U. Sufficient to employ all the industrious classes?

S. Yes, I have no doubt, and many more than these islands now contain.

U. And who, do you think, ought first to be supplied with these articles, those who produce them, or those who live on the industry of others without producing any wealth or any thing of value to society?

S. Independent of the artificial arrangements of society, which give power to the accidental possessors of money over the wealth produced by the industrious, I think that, naturally, or justly, the producers of wealth ought first to have all their wants supplied, and the non-producers afterwards.

U. Such ought to be the order of society, and it is evident the time approaches, and is near at hand, when it will be the established order of society. But the Unions desire to effect this change in such a manner, that society shall experience no disorder, and, if possible, that no one shall be injured by it, either in mind, body, or estate.

S. This is the right course, the proper mode of proceeding, but tell me how the Unions mean to effect it. This information is what all desire to know.

U. It was stated that there is upon the average about one-third more applicants in each trade than there is profitable employment for to the capitalists who now find them work. As long as these applicants shall petition for employment, the monied value of labour must continue annually to fall, and the industrious classes to become every year more and more destitute. The Unions, therefore, look forward to the formation of arrangements to employ this one-third of now idle, and consequently worse than useless, portion of their number in such a manner that they shall daily produce as much food, raiment, dwelling, or some other necessary of life, as will be equal to their own consumption of these things, giving to their fellow-workmen who are now in employment, and to society generally, quite as much as they receive from them. This employment is to be first upon land, that they may supply themselves and their comrades with food; and as they advance in knowledge and experience, they will gradually add other occupations to fill up their time, until at length they will unavoidably discover the best arrangement that can now be adopted to make their industry and skill the most valuable to themselves and society.

S. But is not this now in practice under the direction of the capitalists?

U. No; the persons possessing the most capital appear to be the most ignorant how to apply it beneficially. The explanation of this part of my subject I will give at our next meeting.

AN ADDRESS

From the Brothers of the Grand Lodge of Miscellaneous Operatives to the Lodges in Union, and to the Operatives of Great Britain and Ireland.

“Who dare be free, themselves must strike the blow.”

Brothers and Friends,—The ardent love of freedom which animated the bosoms of our ancestors, and led them to prefer death to an ignominious bondage, is not, we trust, yet quite extinct in us, their descendants; and though our attempts to throw off the yoke which oppresses us have not hitherto been crowned with success, still shall we be found rallying round the standard of Liberty whenever her banners are unfurled, and, gathering fresh courage and

experience from every partial defeat, return to the conflict with renewed determination to succeed in establishing the rights of industry and of humanity, or to perish in the attempt. It is true that the bondage under which we have groaned for ages, and which still threatens to inflict increasing destitution and misery upon us and our families, is, strictly speaking, not a physical bondage, that is, we are not forcibly torn from our native soil, from our relatives and friends, and placed under the overseer and the lash, and, by the dread of corporal punishment in case of refusal, forced to perform our daily task—no, our's is a slavery that has been founded and perpetuated by fraud rather than by force, it having been discovered that the bondage of force could last only so long as the tyrants were sufficiently strong to keep down the slaves; and that when this ceased to be the case, the reaction was of a most tremendous description, which made the tyrants quail. Cunning, therefore, set to work, and soon discovered that by means of *money* human beings might be, even with their own consent, more completely subjected to the will and caprice of their fellow beings than they ever had been by physical force; this is the discovery that for two thousand years, at least, has perpetuated the misery of man. The time, however, has at length arrived when this "mystery of iniquity" will no longer be enabled to carry on its mischievous and baneful work. The great truth that *labour is the only source of wealth*, has arrested the magic influence of this crafty money fraud, and is destined, ere long, completely to destroy its power over the real producers of wealth, and to give them that which, by this fraud, has so long been kept back from them—the possession of the fruits of their labour.

Seeing, then, that it is not by force, but by fraud, that our ignominious bondage is supported and perpetuated, it follows that it is not by the reaction of force—not by violence of any kind, that our deliverance is to be effected. No, brothers and friends, this has been one of our fatal mistakes, and whenever resorted to has served only to rivet more securely the chain that has hitherto bound us. So generally, however, has the conviction of the utter uselessness of resorting to force now obtained amongst us, that we do not believe any thing can induce us again to resort to it as a mode of deliverance. But our appeal to force having been abandoned, our attention has been distracted by a variety of other expedients that have from time to time been presented to us; and thus we have been divided into parties, and have hitherto done little more than counteract the designs of each other, instead of effecting any permanent good. All our unions and strikes have, therefore, done nothing for us; for whether we have succeeded temporarily or not, it is quite clear that no lasting advantage has resulted from them, of which we have the fullest proof in our general condition at the present moment. Like the former appeals to force, however, they have given us the valuable experience that we have not yet adopted the way by which our deliverance is to be effected. What, then, remains to be done? To us the course seems plain and clear; and the first step is to form one concentrated union of all the operatives and of all those who will espouse their cause throughout the United Kingdom. A meeting of delegates has been called in London on the first Monday in August; let these delegates be not merely from the lodges of what has been called the Consolidated Union,

but from the Builders, the Potters, the Northern Unions, in short, from all Unions and all Trades in Great Britain and Ireland; let there not be a single trade or operative that shall not be represented in this Congress; and then may we hope that all individual and partial proceedings will be laid aside, and measures universally be adopted that no power on earth can countervail. We have recently witnessed, brothers and friends, the powerful phalanx that is arrayed against us. We have now evidently to contend, not only with our employers, but with all their customers, with the government, the aristocracy, the magistracy, the press, and, in short, with all the interests, great and small, with very few exceptions, that are not immediately identified with ourselves. No single trade, therefore, can withstand such a power, but one by one they will all be defeated. What, then, can save us from sinking still lower and lower in the gulph of destitution and misery, in which we are already prostrated? Nothing but union; one solid, compact, and concentrated Union: this, and this only, can save us; and if we neglect this, there remains to us nothing but the vilest, the most degrading and abject submission to the despotism of capital, of which ourselves, our wives, and infant children, are doomed to be the crouching and timid slaves. Will we, then, be free? ourselves must strike the blow! Send up your delegates to the Congress, and let them not be instructed to stipulate for partial strikes, or the individual advantage of any particular trade; but let them come with universal goodwill in their hearts, and with the determination to adopt those measures that shall strike at the root of the evil by which we are destroyed, which shall remove the causes of your want of intelligence, and root out poverty and misery from all the wealth producers in the empire. Will any one say, Oh, we have had enough of union! Did not our brothers, the Tailors, belong to the Consolidated Union, and what has it done for them? What have the Unions done for Derby or any other place? Brothers and friends, permit us to intreat of you not to reason intemperately nor judge rashly in this matter, inasmuch as our future welfare much depends on the decision to which we shall arrive at the present moment. We ourselves have endeavoured to look at this subject dispassionately, and our mature conviction is, that the failures in these and a thousand other similar cases have arisen solely from the want of union. True, the tailors belonged to the Consolidated Union; but what is the Consolidated Union? We lament to say that hitherto it has been little more than a name, of which we have the strongest evidence in that it failed to support our brothers, the tailors; but is this a reason for not having a *real* Union? we grant it to be a reason for not having a Union in *name* merely, but it is also the strongest argument for the necessity of a *real* Union. This is the one thing needful; and if all can be induced to set about effecting this with full purpose of heart, then indeed may we lift up our heads, for our deliverance draweth nigh. Again, then, we say, let there not be a single trade or operative unrepresented at the approaching Congress; and if every trade cannot send a delegate, let them unite in districts, and send up one or two to represent each district; but let it be a *delegate-meeting from all the operatives of the empire*, for any thing short of this will, after all, effect but a partial union; and we want, and must now have, a union of all.

We have refrained, brothers and friends, from stating any of those arrangements which may appear to us calculated to insure employment for the unemployed, just and ample reward for our labour, the means of instruction and recreation for ourselves and families, and comfort and happiness for all; because these are measures which will be for the mature consideration of our delegates when they are assembled; and because we are most anxious now to fix your attention upon this first great object, a *universal Union*. Let us but secure this, and every thing else will be of easy attainment; but without this, nothing can be done.

We call, then, upon all the lodges in union, whether of the Consolidated or not, upon all the Trades' Unions, and upon every operative in the empire, in whose bosom there yet remains one spark of freedom, one glow of affection for their suffering wives and families, one pang of sympathy for their oppressed and degraded fellow-labourers, or even one particle of self-esteem or desire of self-preservation; we call upon every one not utterly destitute of all these impulses of our common nature now to come forward, and aid us in the great design of uniting the operatives of Great Britain and Ireland in one grand consolidated body, forming thenceforward the *UNITED ORDER OF INDUSTRY*. We call upon them to lay aside all their trade and party feelings, petty intrigues, jealousies, and suspicions, with all other things that have hitherto sown division amongst us, and to let the only strife now be, who shall most effectually advance the cause of universal union. That this appeal may be responded to by each and all of you, is the earnest desire of, brothers and friends, your sincere well-wishers,

THE BROTHERS OF THE GRAND LODGE
OF MISCELLANEOUS OPERATIVES.

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, JUNE 28.

Mr. Owen lectured. After remarking that he wished to make his lectures, delivered in that Institution, of practical benefit to all parties, and to place before his audience the truth on all subjects, he proceeded to observe that, on the all-important subject of education, one of the best writers he had met with was *Milne*, from whose work on "Practical Education" he had before given extracts: and he would then continue the subject, promising, however, that although the writer was generally correct in theory, he failed when he came to apply his principles to practice,—and he cautioned his hearers, in reading the opinions of *Milne*, to beware how they adopted his conclusions. The following extracts were then read and commented upon:—

"The object of all education being to form the mind and body to act from such principles and habits as should be most conducive to its own happiness, it becomes the business of the teacher to explain and demonstrate what those principles and habits are, in order to convince his pupils of their truth.

"It must be admitted that every effect has an adequate cause; that every adequate cause is certain of producing its proper effect; that moral conduct is the effect of an adequate cause; that want of moral conduct is owing to the want of an adequate cause; that there are many persons in the world who act in conformity to moral principles, and have a good moral conduct; and that, as like causes produce like effects, therefore, if the causes of moral conduct be moral principles, and could

be rendered general, the effects would also be general.

"While like causes produce like effects, we have like effects produced sometimes from different causes. There are many ways of producing the same chemical products, and it is the same with morality: some few may abstain from committing crimes, because of the dreadful threatenings of a future state of punishment; others from a hope to gain a future state of bliss; some may practise virtue, from a dread of present punishment; others from perceiving that by acting according to the rules of morality they have the best chance of advancing their present happiness and wealth, as well as the wealth and happiness of their neighbours.

"While in the different ways of producing chemical products some are preferable to others, so, in the causes that are employed to produce moral habits, some are more direct, easy, and certain than others; those that are the most certain and powerful ought to be adopted, if they produce the effect without injury to the other parts of the moral system. Physicians sometimes cure one disease by bringing on another not less dangerous; this may also be done in morals. Evils may be prevented by causing others quite as bad, or even more dangerous.

"It has been maintained by many, that a man cannot be made moral without first making him religious; nothing but the most absurd of prejudices could ever make this proposition be believed by any man of common observation. If morality depended on true religion, scarce as it is, it would still be more so—for it will not be contended that false religion will make men moral; we should then see morality confined to one sect or class, and only to the truly religious of that class. I am not contending that true religion may not make moral men; I am only arguing that there have existed, does exist, and may exist, moral men without religion; and that as like causes produce like effects, all men might be made moral, if the same causes were made to operate on all; which might be effected in a great degree by a proper education.

"It is to the want of a proper education that must be attributed nearly the whole of moral evil; or, more correctly, to the present mode of education, by which prejudices are carefully instilled into the mind of youth, in place of guarding it against them.

It is an old and a true observation; that
"Tis education forms the common mind;

Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined."

"This metaphor is a beautiful picture of the real state of man, and forms a truer representation than on a superficial glance might at first be perceived.

"A twig or young tree has a natural tendency to grow erect; but, if kept bent in any particular direction, it takes the set in a very short time, and has thereafter very little or no power of itself to recover its natural upright direction; yet an external force may still set it straight, if carefully applied before it get to certain age and strength; so it is with man; in youth the mind, as well as the body, may be bent into the most hideous and fantastic shapes, and it is painful to observe that it has only one direction in which it ought to grow, while there are an infinite number into which it may be bent.

"The care that ought, therefore, to be taken to prevent any external object from giving the mind of youth an unnatural bend cannot

be too great; in short, it is not in turning and thwarting Nature, that we improve any of her works; it is only by assisting and combining our efforts with her's, in preventing her from making deviations from her own proper path, that we can serve or aid her operations.

"The greatest evil which it is in man's power to inflict on the mind of man, is to bend or prejudice it, to render it unfit for perceiving truth, and incapable of judging between right and wrong.

"What would we call that man, who, to prevent our going astray, should injure our sight, so that we could never after see objects in their true colours? we should not consider he had thereby done us a favour, even though he had done it with a friendly intention; and what aggravates the evil is, that we are insensible of the true state of our vision, and won't believe it is injured, until, by some means, we are made to recover it.

"That the eyes of the mind are not less injured and incapacitated for judging of principles and actions, by instilling prejudices, may easily be made obvious. It is not many years since a belief in the existence of ghosts, witches and fairies was very common in Britain, and is still so in some parts of it; at one period it would have been as heretical to have denied the existence of witches, as it is at present to be a Rowite or a Southcottian.

"Nothing is too absurd if it is the belief of the multitude. We are told that, in the thirteenth century, several departments of France were overrun with rats; and that, in order to get quit of them, an action was brought against them in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and they were accordingly summoned to depart in six days under pain of excommunication.

"In some districts in France still, it is said, that when their cattle are diseased, they are driven to the vicinity of the church, that they may be within hearing of mass. I need hardly ask, what but early prejudices imposed by early education on the mind, could account for such gross superstitions?"

Mr. Owen here observed that we need not go to France for such instances of superstition. A few years ago, when he lived in Scotland, there was, about two miles from his residence, an entailed estate, and with the estate was entailed a silver penny, the real value of which might be about threepence; but if it were lost the owner of the estate was to forfeit one thousand pounds sterling. To this penny there were some peculiar virtues attached. So great was the faith placed in these virtues, that the farmers of Cumberland, Northumberland, and different adjoining districts, when their cattle were diseased, used to drive them all the way to this estate to drink of the water in which the penny had been placed for some time, in the firm belief of this being an infallible remedy for all diseases.

"A more important question, however, that presents itself, is, by what means shall man get rid of prejudices? Indeed, it is to be feared that he will never get entirely clear of them. It would however assist much, if a full and fair discussion were not only permitted, but encouraged.

"Were discussions conducted without personalities, without imputing improper motives, without satire and irony, or with a spirit of mildness and a sincere desire for discovering truth, we should then soon behold prejudice and ignorance flying from our island. Confirmed habits, a predilection for old institutions,

and interested motives, are not likely to be soon shaken off mankind; and till man is completely convinced of the cause, the evil, and the extent of prejudices, there is very little prospect of much progress being made in the paths of wisdom and truth.

"What opinion would be formed of a government officer who should approach a court of justice, and thus address the jury: 'Gentlemen of the jury, I have been commissioned by my sovereign to state to you my opinion of this case, upon which you are called to judge, and which I have done according to the best of my judgment; nevertheless, you are bound by oath to give a verdict according to your own judgment; but take care, and forget not that I am commissioned in my instructions to tell you, also, that, as certain as I exist, you will be doomed, as rebels, to severe punishment during your whole lives, if you form any other judgment, or come to any other conclusion, than that which I have told you is the right one.'

"How would such a jury be qualified to decide impartially with such a danger threatened? Would they not be apt to conceal their real opinion, and to find a verdict according to the opinion of the government officer; especially if they believed that the punishment threatened would be actually inflicted?

"The very thoughts of the punishment would make them search for all the arguments they could find to bring them to the same opinion as this officer; and, for the same reason, they would be inclined to neglect and overlook those presented on the other side of the question. What jury could be proof against such a perversion of power? Could you imagine any crime more calculated to bias and prejudice the mind? Is it not one of the greatest of crimes a man can be guilty of, to threaten and bias a jury in order to obtain a particular verdict? The crime, however, would be still more aggravated, if the jury consisted of young and inexperienced jurors, who had been placed there that they might be the easier imposed on.

"Would not a jury be more likely to give a true verdict if this officer were either not to interpose his opinion or to address them as follows:—'Gentlemen, this is a case of great intricacy, one of which children are incapable of judging; and it will require each of you to search the evidence on both sides with all the discrimination of which you are possessed, and still you may find it difficult to satisfy yourselves on which side the truth lies: I have endeavoured to sum up the evidence on both sides as impartially as I could, but it is quite possible that I may have made omissions, or taken wrong views of it, therefore remember that you are the judges who are to answer to your own consciences for the verdict you give. By your own judgment, therefore, every one of you ought to be directed. If you give a verdict according to what you believe to be truth, no blame or guilt can attach to you whatever that judgment may be; you will have committed a moral commendable action, one for which no just judge would ever subject you to punishment.'

This address, or something like it, would evidently be better calculated to draw forth an impartial or just verdict than the former.

"If it be criminal to bias the minds of a jury by holding out rewards or punishments as the consequence of a particular verdict, can it be less so in biasing the minds of children by telling them that, if they believe such a doctrine, it will subject them to punishment; or

that those who don't believe a certain doctrine will be damned? Is not this acting the part of the government officer? Is not this biasing the minds of the jury? Is not this destroying mental vision? prejudicing the mind and throwing a barrier in the way of truth? This is planting prejudices in the bosom of youth, in place of guarding it against them. If the conduct of the government officer were criminal and blameable, how are such practices to be accounted harmless in the teachers either of youth or adults?

"By prejudices, the mind is rendered more difficult of access to truth, than if kept open and undetermined till enough evidence is furnished.

"It is to the want of proper instruction, by which the mind may be guarded against prejudices, and to the want of a proper moral education to which all moral evils must be ascribed. Man may invent punishments and enact laws, but so long as he does not remove the cause of evil, the evil will be generated: it will exist in embryo, though it may not come to maturity. Punishment has for its object the prevention of a breach of the laws, not revenge for injuries; punishment ought, therefore, to be had recourse to only when all other methods for preventing crime have failed, the reasons for which will be afterward illustrated. The humane way of viewing all breaches of the law, or aberrations from the path of justice and moral rectitude is, to look upon them as diseases of the mind, brought on by want of mental instruction, and which ought to excite our pity rather than our hatred or revenge; because if man perceived his true interest even in this transitory world, he would not stray from the path of moral rectitude. It will be difficult to find a reason why a man ought to be punished for diseases of the mind or judgment more than for diseases of the body. In both cases, care should be taken to prevent the disease, by removing the cause. If the disease has got a seat and cannot be removed, the patient should be confined, to prevent him injuring the community; and this seems the greatest extent to which punishments ought to extend, beyond making retribution, where that is practicable.

"From what has now been stated the following conclusions may be drawn.

"1. That one great cause of error is, the inculcating of prejudices by the present mode of education.

"2. That the greatest part of moral crime is caused by the want of moral instruction.

"3. That a general course of moral instruction is practicable, in which it might be demonstrated, that all moral evil arises from a difference of opinion.

"4. That all difference of opinion arises from prejudices.

"5. That all prejudices might be prevented by education."

"We have to look," observed Mr. Owen, "to a right education for the improvement of our condition; but are we to sit down contented, and wait till this can be given to a new generation? No! we must consider whether the adult population cannot be educated as well as the rising generation. I believe they may. A few years ago but a very small number of individuals dared to speak of these subjects in public; but by persevering in the cause, the truth has now gone forth to the uttermost parts of the earth, where it will germinate, and produce fruit of the most unbounded benefit for all mankind."

Holders of notes are requested to bring them in on or before the 12th of July.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—Perhaps you will allow an "Old Stager" among the Unions to offer an opinion in your miscellany respecting the chief causes of their failure.

I remember, when the "new order" was rising into importance by the rapid increase of its members, that the prevailing idea was an imperative necessity to have as many in the Union as possible. A spirit of proselytism, in consequence, raged for a considerable time, and this was in some measure forwarded by the mystery in which the Grand Lodges in Manchester clothed their proceedings, and in some measure by the newly-awakened desire of their delegates to see the country, for which the opening of new lodges presented a favourable opportunity. The arguments made use of by the men of Manchester, in order to get as many as possible into union, were in this style, "You see, brothers, if you do not get these shopmates to join, they will go in and take our places when we strike; therefore, by all fair means we must induce them to enter the lodge." This reasoning was specious enough at the time, and had the effect of crowding the lodges with new candidates for admission.

The result, however, does not go far to establish the permanent advantage of this indiscriminate admission; for all who have paid the least attention to the minutiae of management must perceive that this zeal for numerical strength produced a real weakness; it gave the power of demolishing the reputation of the worthy into the hands of the unworthy—it gave the frugal and faithful the bitter reward of being supplanted by the idle and profligate. The worst workmen, and the least provident, neglected or refused to pay their contributions, with the threat for ever on their lips that they would "go in." To keep these fellows quiet, the Union lost its own strength, the steady members grew sick of subscribing when they found they were the only ones who did pay, and that the most prudent measures were clamoured down by the ignorant and idle. Previous to witnessing these scenes, I was, Sir, an enthusiast for democracy; but my experience has convinced me that the only sure government for a union of the working class will be a mixed one, consisting of different grades. There will have to be a senate of intelligence, possessing, of course, no privileges save those which their mental superiority obtains for them; but it must be placed in a position where it can be effective, and not buried in the hubbub of riot and drunkenness.

A college of artisans should be established by the intelligent of all trades forming a Union, confining their efforts, in the first place, to one object, viz. the securing of a building to assemble in. Nothing of an important nature should be attempted till this first great and essential measure was accomplished. This common property would give them at once a stake in their country, "and would appear to the public as the splendid rival of the gin shop." If we wait for the mass to do this, we deceive ourselves; there must be a vanguard; and if this metropolis cannot produce a faithful band of this description to pioneer the way to redemption, there is little hope for any permanent good arising from promiscuous union.

I have much to say on this subject, but if you will oblige me by sending this forth as a feeler, I shall be satisfied at present.—Your's, truly, AN OLD STAGER.

OPERATIVE SHOEMAKERS' SOCIETY

14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

THE Members of this Society having made arrangements with the Friendly Society of Operative Cordwainers for the distribution of the manufactures of the turned-out men of Wellingborough, and other places, do now call upon their brothers, and the friends of industry for their support, in placing industry in its proper position—profit not being the object of this Society, but the employment of the men who have been turned out by their masters. They will, therefore, invariably adhere to a regularity of prices, which will be the cost price of the article, and a sufficient percentage to defray incidental expenses; the consumer will thereby be supplied with goods which cannot fail to give general satisfaction. On behalf of the Society, J. CARTER.

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street.

Mr. Smith, Sunday morning, at half-past eleven. Mr. Owen, Sunday evening, at seven o'clock.

The 57th Social Festival of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, July 14.

A Discussion on Tuesday evening, 1st July.

A General Meeting of the Friends of the Social System will be held on Monday evening, the 6th of July, to devise arrangements for effectually carrying out the original objects of the Institution.

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TO CO-OPERATORS.

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THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 14, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 6.

Mr. Smith lectured from Ezekiel xlviii. 30: 'Repent, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin.'

It has been the custom, for many generations, for the teachers of morality to inculcate the duty of individual repentance, and perhaps they scarcely ever imagined the possibility of a national repentance. This, according to all expounders of the sacred books, is a miracle which would require the interference of more than an ordinary power to accomplish, for it is a circumstance which we have never witnessed, nor has history ever recorded it. We read of such things as national repentance in the Scriptures; of the people of Nineveh repenting in sackcloth and ashes at the preaching of Jonah, and the Jewish nation repenting after their folly had brought them to the verge of national destruction; and we read a few days of the king of Bavaria's splendid penitential procession to intercede with heaven for little more rain to water the earth; and we read of the penitence of monks and other men, who punished their bodies with whips, with hunger, and iron beds, for the commission of sins which it was hard for them to avoid. But with all these various kinds of repentance, the world has always been growing sicker and worse; no beneficial change has been effected; the repentance was merely a hypocritical parade of grief, for what men could not help, or did not strive to mend; in most cases it was an affected sorrow, some superstitious acts of idolatry or other ceremonies, to which they were taught to look as the cause of all their sufferings. And very true this repentance, as it was called, was accompanied by some of the most barbarous measures, by which the prevailing party expected to secure the protection of heaven. It can be more appropriately styled a fit of insanity, than repentance; but the revolting business of a cruel superstition, which has more borne sway in every country since the beginning of human existence, has conferred a false respectability upon it to which it is by no means entitled.

Unhappy as this species of repentance is, it

has still its advocates in modern times, like any other absurdity. Our modern fast-days are nothing else than this mock repentance, which is thought to be of such material importance as to call for an act of the legislature to appoint it. On this occasion the people demonstrate the sincerity of their penitence by shutting up their shops, and going to church as if it were a Sunday; then going home again, and spending the afternoon in a regular feast, without having discovered the error of their past conduct, or passed any resolutions to effect a change for the better. The whole frame of society moves on to-morrow as if no such farce as a national fast and humiliation had ever been acted. Thus no benefit results from the measure; the infidel laughs and enquires the use of all such mummary; the Christian regrets that it is of no use, but attributes its failure to the want of sincerity on the part of the people. One party says it should have been a true fast, and that the people should have abstained from eating and drinking; another party says that a spiritual fast is all that is meant,—that if the people had inwardly felt the error of their ways, and resolved to amend their faults in future, it would have been a blessing to the nation; and we say so too. Had the people really discovered their errors, and resolved to abandon them, their fast-day would have proved a day of grace, the commencement of a new era of reformation. But, alas, such is the ignorance of the people, that they look for errors where errors are not to be found. They are like little children who cannot sleep of a night, and attribute their restlessness to the omission of their prayers, which they diligently repeat in the fond expectation of being lulled to rest as a reward for the performance of the moral duty. They never think of the natural and only cause of their restlessness—the heat of the climate, or perhaps the feverish heat of their bodies; and men are equally foolish in their search for the causes of national calamities, which they most frequently ascribe to a similar cause, and expect to find a remedy by a similar process.

If all these instances of national repentance have proved nothing more than national mummary, very little more can be said in favour of the repentance of individuals. We have heard of numerous instances of reformed drunkards, and reformed debauchees of every sort; and

happy it is for the individuals themselves, and those who are connected with them, when prudence has so far gained the victory over passions so degrading to our common nature; but when these debauchees are once reformed, what are they? they are no better than the rest of mankind, who are never reformed. If our morality and our religion are of no other use than merely to cure the grossest licentiousness, to reclaim the drunkard, the murderer, and the thief, they are of very little use; for few of these characters ever come within the hearing of their instruction, and when they are reclaimed, it is more frequently by the lash of extreme affliction, or the severity of the magisterial rod. The murderer repents of his deeds when they have brought him to a violent and shameful death; the thief, perhaps, experiences sincere regret when he has arrived at the hulks, or has wrought a few years at Macquarrie Harbour, fed upon flour and water, and standing up to his middle in mud; the drunkard, when he has brought himself and his family to poverty, or before he has arrived at the extremity of wretchedness, mayhap reproaches himself for his former imprudences, and makes new resolutions for his future conduct, by which he saves himself and regains his former status in society. All these kinds of reformation have taken place, and are by no means uncommon; but who ever heard of the reformation of ordinary men, men of sober habits, the men who alone lend an ear to the instructions of good morality, or employ their minds in reading and reflection? Yet these are the men who rule the affairs of the nation. The country is not governed by the notorious thief, pickpocket, or drunkard. Our legislators, however extortionate in their demands upon the people in what they call a legal way, are neither guilty of petty larcenies nor gross debaucheries; theirs is the morality of the bulk of society, a morality which is sanctioned by law, and a sobriety of conduct which avoids every species of excess in the gratification of passion which would unfit them for duty. It is this legal morality which requires reform; the immorality of the drunkard, the thief, and the assailant, is a species of excrescence on the common morality of the age; teaching and preaching is of no use in its correction, for it listens not to advice; but the common morality of the age is that which

forms the character of the people, which regulates the intercourse of society, which makes governments good or bad, and the distribution of the wealth of society just or unjust.

Well, what is done to cure this morality of the age?—Nothing. It is never reproached, it is accounted the standard for rich and poor; if you attack it, you are accounted immoral, contemptuously styled an innovator and a disturber of the public peace; nay, as if it was considered immaculate and perfect, if you propose to effect any improvement upon it, you are branded with immorality for your pains; so that the modern moralist and preacher of righteousness has nothing to do but merely to attack the grossest excesses of debauchery; and if he succeeds in reducing these, and bringing all men to the standard of common every-day morality, that is all he can do or expects to do. Thus, then, the world is all right, and it is only a few drunkards and debauchees who are wrong! hence our moralists have long ago ceased to preach up a national repentance; they address themselves to individuals only, supposing that the only species of national repentance which ever can be effected is a national fast-day occasionally, to secure the forgiveness of heaven for the past, and favour for the future.

We are very far inferior to the ancients in the science of the formation of national character. With them, the education of the public mind was accounted the most important concern of government; hence the public places of assembly were managed entirely by the government, and supported at the public expense. But this system of public instruction was directly the reverse of ours; it was made attractive to the people in order that it might have its full weight upon them; the public taste was cultivated, whilst the public morals were taught and corrected; they neither went before the age in presenting such instruction as the people could not comprehend, nor did they keep behind the age in serving up old dishes which the people could no longer relish. It was by this judicious accompaniment of the public mind and public instruction that the national character was formed, and a unity of sentiment made current amongst the whole population. But the only national institution which we have, is one which loses all its effect upon the public mind, by being almost directly opposed to their feelings and interests. The church is hated by the common people, and is merely a political tool of the great; it has no moral influence on the public mind; it is only a sower of division amongst the people, stirring up all the worst passions of human nature, which it is paid largely out of the public purse to destroy. It aggravates the evil which it is hired to cure; and, to show its insincerity in the cause of reformation, it demands all its political and pecuniary privileges, even when it perceives its moral influence gone, and when the whole nation has declared it a public nuisance.

Were the enormous revenues of the church expended upon a national institution, of which all would approve, that is, a scientific institution for adults, there are very few minds in the country so extremely barbarous as not to give their sanction to the outlay of public money for such a purpose. Science has no party spirit; no sectarian feelings; men of all religious denominations would then meet together in bro-

therly love and affection, and the universal increase of intelligence would soon give palpable demonstration to the public that it is better to instruct the people in things they can comprehend, and reduce to practice in the various avocations of life, than to waste millions of money upon abstract speculations, which can neither inform the understanding nor refine the morals. This would be a reformation of government, and a national reformation; it would be a compliance with the command of our text, "Repent, and turn ye from your transgressions;" and the result would be the blessing which is always promised to genuine repentance.

Never was a better opportunity for national repentance than now, for the bulk of the nation is calling aloud for it; but very little progress is being made: we have merely types or shadows of good things to come, but not the good things themselves; and, strange to say, it is those very characters who profess to be the most religious who are the most averse to repent them of their iniquity and do justice to the poor. The supporters of grandmether Church are the enemies of all change. They claim the same infallibility to the church as the Roman Catholics for the pope, and ascribe all the blame, all the national iniquity and offence against God, not to the rich and the learned, but to the poor and the ignorant, to whom alone they raise the call of repentance; whilst the poor re-echo the compliment, and call upon their spiritual and temporal rulers to turn from their evil deeds. It is wasting words to attempt to show that the power of repentance lies with the rich alone, for they only have the means—they alone can make a sacrifice; the poor have no sacrifice to make. It would be an equal waste of words and time to attempt to prove, what has been demonstrated a thousand times, that their conduct has been all along condemned by their professions, and by the sacred book which they denominate the standard of right and wrong. It were useless to prove that their riches, their pride, their haughty demeanour and distance from the poor, are merely a piece of infamous burlesque upon religion; that their magisterial prosecutions, their state religions, their fines, and their prisons, to keep their opponents in awe, are in direct hostility to the spirit of their master, whose kingdom is not of this world. All this has been done again and again; but their riches and political power have screened them from all the offensive weapons of reason and truth; and, as money can purchase justice at the bar, so they, by their political ascendancy, have purchased a verdict of acquittal for themselves, and are regarded as the representatives of Christ and his holy evangel—the patterns for others to follow—the beaux ideal of moral worth.

If these men and their morals are the patterns of virtue, then the beauties and the excellencies of Virtue have been sadly overrated; there are few redeeming qualities in her; she is neither just nor generous. Selfishness is her prevailing character; she is both a monopolist, a sectarian, and a persecutor; and it might make a subject for very tough discussion, whether the drunkard or the respectable moralist and legislator of the day is the most ruinous and obnoxious character. The one is the parent, the other the offspring. The legislator and moralist devises laws of inequality, which harass one portion of the community to aggrandize another. These laws degrade the poor; they reduce them to extreme wretched-

ness, and keep them in extreme ignorance; and in this state of mental degeneracy they abandon themselves to the guidance of depraved sensual propensities. How can it be otherwise? man is an active being, a creature of strong passions, fond of everlasting excitement; and it ought to be the study of every legislator to regulate that excitement by presenting temptations of a moral and refining character. It is not by penal enactments that the evil can be subdued. It is not by threats and stripes, by prisons, or by fines, that a moral character can be purified. The passions of men are as elastic as the air we breathe, and equally subversive of the stability of all human institutions, if confined by force within too narrow a sphere of action. The air which is confined in the bowels of the earth must somewhere find a vent; and in working its way out of its place of confinement it shakes the solid surface of the ground, tears up the strata of rocks beneath, and bursts asunder the everlasting mountains. 'Tis even so with the active spirit of man: it must be under frequent excitement; the dull routine of life is pleasant to no man. Even the legislators themselves must have their recess from the labours of law-making; they have their Christmas recess, and their Easter recess, and they have their great summer vacation, besides all their other private retreats which they make from the house, to spend their evenings at social dinners, public assemblies, theatres, or clubs, to break the uniformity of public business, and give elasticity to their animal spirits. Can these men expect the poor to enjoy life, or even to spend life, without some similar variety of excitement and employment? It would be unreasonable to entertain such expectations. Then why do they not provide such relaxations for all? why leave it to individual caprice and individual poverty; which only resorts to low brutality and drunkenness, because this is the only kind of excitement which comes within its reach? We may calculate for a certainty upon seeing three-fourths of the debauchery of the common people, if, instead of spending the national resources in pampering the pensioned men and daughters of the aristocracy, we were to employ that sum in providing diversions for the people, and the wasted resources of the great spiritual mother in furnishing them with popular scientific instruction. To complete this reform, we should only propose the system of monopoly should be destroyed by the destruction of the exclusive privileges of hereditary peerage, and the repeal of those unequal laws which give an undue ascendancy to men of fortune, by securing to them and their posterity for ever the land, which, if not to be the common property of all, ought at least to be the common price which all by industry and talent may obtain. Now, however, even this his competition is denied, and the wealthy tool of the land-inheriting rogue may secure, in estate to himself and his heirs, setting all competition and the claims of creditors at defiance for ever.

DISCUSSION

Between a Universalist and a Stronger Universalist.

A. At the conclusion of our last convention, you stated that capitalists did not know how to employ their money the most beneficially. This assertion appears to militate against the established principle that self-interest is the best guide for man; it is, therefore, necessary that you give the explanation which you promised when we separated.

U. Self-interest, when properly understood, is the only sure guide to every kind of excellence, to permanent prosperity and happiness; but to act thus presupposes a more extended knowledge of human nature and of society than has hitherto been given to any population, or to any class or division of mankind, in any country; for men have not yet advanced further than to understand what is termed individual interest. Now, individual interest is a principle of action directly opposed to an enlightened self-interest, for it necessarily leads to evil of every kind. Individual interest is almost always opposed, not only to general happiness, but also to the happiness of the individuals who are governed by it.

S. And you conclude, of course, that the present principle of action which influences the capitalists is the ordinary and mistaken individual interest, and not enlightened self-interest?

U. I do; for it is evident they have not acquired a knowledge of their true self-interest; and their capital, in consequence, is of far less value to them and to society than it might be made if it were applied in conformity with enlightened self-interest.

S. If you can prove, to their satisfaction, that their capital is not applied to produce the most wealth to themselves and to society, you would effect a change in their conduct.

U. Experience will, ere long, convince them that their present proceedings must diminish general wealth instead of increasing it, and that their individual wealth will be soon in great jeopardy.

S. How could the capitalists invest their money to secure their capital, increase the general wealth, and add to their own?

U. By the adoption of other arrangements, to give perpetual employment to all the industrious classes, by which they would daily add to the wealth of society.

S. Could perpetual employment be provided for all the industrious classes without deranging the present order of society?

U. Yes, by the union of the capitalists, landowners, farmers, and operatives; and under such arrangements as would materially benefit each class, and cordially unite their interests.

S. Could this change be effected without throwing society into confusion?

U. It would prevent confusion; for society at this moment is in the greatest disorder throughout all states: the change proposed would, at once, put a stop to the further progress of this alarming condition of society, and soon place it in a state of order and of continued rapid improvement.

S. How do you propose to secure the property of the capitalist?

U. By giving him full security over more able and valuable property than he can now obtain; and a property that would be made usually to improve in value.

S. How do you mean to secure the interest the landowner?

U. By annually improving the value of his id, through an improved mode of spade cultivation united with manufactures, making abundance of wealth or produce, and giving him a due share of the increase.

S. How will you improve the condition of the farmer?

U. By allowing him also his due share of a large increase which will be made to the value.

S. How will you remunerate the operatives and superintendents of all the other necessities and comforts of life?

U. In like manner, by giving them also their due share of the increased productions which their regular and well-directed industry would daily bring forth; or, in other words, I would produce a vast increase to the general wealth of society, by the constant full occupation of all our producing powers, manual and scientific; and out of this great increase I would reward all upon principles of strict equity and justice.

S. Why, truly, this is a notable plan of you wise unionists; you will soon produce as much of every thing as every one will require, and a great surplus beyond; but who will buy your surplus?—Who will give you gold and silver for it? For you well know that, unless you can get quit of your surplus productions of food, clothes, houses, and furniture, and of all the comforts and beneficial luxuries necessary for the enjoyment of life, and exchange them for money, for hard cash, gold and silver, or bank notes, all your productions become of no marketable value; they would be a burden and a grievous loss to the capitalists, landowners, farmers, and general producers, both operatives and superintendents.

U. So then the world of producers and the capitalists are at a stand in their progress towards independence and happiness, because the old money of the world cannot be made and brought into circulation as rapidly as the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life can be raised from the soil, and made or manufactured?

S. Yes, exactly so.

U. And this is the sole cause of the poverty which exists, and of all the innumerable evils which it engenders. It is also the cause of so much surplus labour, and the necessity, in consequence, for emigration. Do you not see how easy, if all these people were fully employed under a wise direction, and as much new machinery put into action as, with the surplus capital now in this country, could speedily be done, what an overwhelming quantity of all the necessities, comforts, and beneficial luxuries we should have?

S. Yes, I am fully aware of the immense—of the unlimitable powers of production which the British and Irish populations have at their command, and that if these powers were in full action, without any portion of the industrious classes being over-worked, or the children being prematurely employed, that the barns, and farm-yards, and stores, and warehouses, would be over-filled, and that a great increase of them would be annually required to receive the continually increasing quantities, even should the whole population be permitted to consume of them all at their pleasure. But, then, what a dreadful state of society that would be! no buyers at home for money! What would they do with all this wealth if none could be found to take it away from them? The owners of all this unlimitable quantity of all kinds of production would be compelled in their own defence to exchange commodities with each other upon some principle of equity, or to allow it to be freely used to prevent its total destruction. Why, if we had not a foreign trade to take off this surplus wealth which we should thus so easily produce, the whole of it would become of so little market value, that no one would think any more of it than they now do of water; and the very paupers would be allowed freely to use it, in consequence of the universal plenty which would exist every where. What a useful and hope-

less condition this would be for any people, were it not that the foreign demand would carry off the surplus! The great abundance which we might thus produce would command the foreign trade of the whole world, because we could then give foreigners so large a quantity of our wealth for so small a quantity of their gold and silver, or mere representation of real wealth. You know we have in the last thirty or forty years made a great progress in this respect, for we now give three times the quantity of our wealth for the same weight of gold or silver that we did thirty-five years ago.

U. What you say is very true; and you know your friends, the wise, modern political economists, deem it the very essence of prosperity that we should import as much gold and silver from all parts of the world as it is possible to procure, and to export the greatest quantity of our industrious population to all parts of the world, thus making a happy exchange of these metals for the human powers and faculties; it being the great business and duty of governments to collect these metals within their dominions, without having any regard whatever to the happiness of those who produce the necessities, comforts, and beneficial luxuries of life.

S. Stop! A most anxious and painful thought just occurs to me, and I cannot bear to think, without alarm, of the consequences which might follow. Suppose, if other nations, seeing that we were putting all our powers of production, men and machines, mind and science, into full activity, were to take it into their heads to do exactly the same thing, and make all kinds of wealth in foreign countries to be so abundant that to take our wealth there would be worse than taking coals to Newcastle. What would become of us, for we could not get any money from them? A new state or condition of society would be unavoidable, and we should be compelled, without the present money or circulating medium, to devise a better, do without one altogether, or starve in the midst of plenty, and of the means to add to this abundance to an unlimitable extent. Which of these events do you think would occur?

U. It is a curious question, but yet easily answered. If the British and Irish population, including the highest to the lowest, continue the ignorant, irrational worshipper of gold and silver, and the far worse than ass-like animal that it now is, then gold and silver will be preferred as at present, and gold will go on advancing in estimation, while misery will increase with the further derangement of the human faculties, and violence and revolution upon revolution will agitate and often demolish whole nations. But should the British and Irish population now have its eyes opened, and in consequence discover the pitiable plight in which it is, and the utter absurdity of its condition, then will it no longer sacrifice its children and its happiness to Moloch; but it will at once exchange the artificial value of these accursed metals for a superior state of continually increasing happiness.

S. What! will the world exist without gold and silver money?

U. Yes, and a thousand times better than with it; for true it is that artificial money is the root, if not of all, of an immense amount of evil.

S. And do you really think that we could enjoy the necessities, comforts, and beneficial luxuries of life, without buying them with gold and silver?

U. I know you never can enjoy them until you can always freely have them without money and without price.

S. And do you really think that that period is approaching?

U. I know it is near at hand, and that the union of the working classes will effect it, by rendering a union of all classes unavoidable; and that union will open the eyes of all, and speedily change the absurd proceedings of our worldly-wise men, which is arrant foolishness, into a conduct founded on common sense and plain understanding.

S. What! do you venture to call our wise statesmen and legislators, our great financiers and bankers, our great merchants, manufacturers, and men of business, our learned and professional men, and all the great, rich, and noble men of this mighty empire, absurd and irrational?

U. If it be true that all that has life desires to be happy, and that these great men, as you call them, are included in your proposition, then do I deliberately say, with a full knowledge of all the premises, that, of all animals of which we have knowledge, these so called great men of Great Britain and Ireland are the most absurd and irrational, because they have long acted, and are now acting, upon the most extended scale, more than all other animals, in direct opposition to their own happiness.

S. This is a very extraordinary statement; but as you say there is a substantial cause for every thing, what is the cause of this striking anomaly, if it be true?

U. Ignorance! and especially the want of practical knowledge among the upper and middle classes.

S. Then you conclude that the cause of the present distress is not the want of the most ample means to furnish food, clothes, dwelling, or any of the necessities or comforts of life in great abundance for all, but to the want of knowledge in the upper and middle classes to give a right direction to the manual labour and to the science at the command of the government, or capital?

U. Yes, such are my convictions, and that the soil and materials of Great Britain and Ireland are capable, aided by chemistry and mechanism, to give not only ample employment, but also abundance of every substantial good that the human heart can desire, to a very increased population. The ignorance of the upper and middle classes I will make evident in our next conversation.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—In your *Crisis* of June 28, there is a letter signed "An Operative," the purport of which is to prove that the soils of Great Britain and Ireland are incapable of growing a sufficient quantity of food for their present population. His argument is, that "he is not ignorant of the actual production of the land of Great Britain and Ireland, and also of their powers or capability of production." The simple reply to this statement is, that he may know the actual production of our soil, as he may learn the quantity of shoes, clothes, hats, or of cotton, wool, silk, &c., made or manufactured; but his letter is a convincing proof that he is as *uninformed* respecting the powers of the

soil as he is probably of the powers of production in all the other departments of life. The farmer produces as much food as he finds a profitable demand for under the existing system of money wages for labour, and of individual competition, and somewhat more; and in consequence of this excess over the artificial demand, so many farmers are now living upon or wasting their capital, or are insolvent. No more food is produced, *solely* because, if greater quantities were brought to market, the prices would be so far reduced that all the farmers would become bankrupts. So with shoes, clothes, hats, and all manner of manufactured articles; as much of these are brought to sale as will afford a profit to all the producers, and, through individual competition, a surplus also beyond this quantity, which causes anxieties, bankruptcies, and distress, and daily increases the evils of individual competition among the producers and distributors. And should this irrational and unnatural state of affairs be allowed to proceed much longer, the whole of the population, through increasing distress, will be demoralized until every kind of disorder is likely to ensue, and life and property will become most insecure.

All the productions of this country, and especially those of the soil and the sea, could be easily increased six, eight, or ten-fold, if a monied profit could be obtained for them when ready for sale.

Let "an Operative" go to Fulham and the district around, and enquire what weight of good, wholesome vegetable food is produced annually per acre by the market-gardeners, who but very imperfectly cultivate that soil, and then compare the amount with the actual quantities produced per acre over Great Britain and Ireland. The difference is enormous; and yet, under a wise direction of our producing power, every acre of land, exclusive of mountains, may be made most advantageously for all, when there shall be a population at home sufficiently numerous to consume it, to produce much more than the Fulham acres.

How easily also could the British and Irish population near to the coast be trained to obtain, for their amusement only, an inexhaustible quantity of fish for food, which, by rail-roads, properly constructed, could be conveyed in excellent order to every part of the interior of both islands!

The grossest ignorance only of our unlimited means of increasing all our productions could have induced "an Operative" to recommend me to procure ten or twenty millions of acres of good land, or of those "fine foreign soils," as he calls them, and import their produce into this country.

Never, I trust, will the day arrive when the British and Irish population shall depend upon any foreign soil for their food, or upon any other hands than their own for the direct means of their sustenance. Is not the animal which is dependent upon another for its food, the necessary slave of its feeder? When the British islands shall depend upon their colonies or upon foreign countries for food to support their inhabitants, then will they become the land of slaves,—one great manufactory, employing men, women, and children in every disagreeable and unhealthy occupation, without regard to age or sex; while the non-producing capitalists will forsake, for other more cheering climes, this Pandemonium of smoke, fire, steam, filth,

and all the discordant bellowing, crashes, and thunders of enormous mechanical engines and operations sufficient to draw away from its shores all who delight in improved nature, rural scenes, or the natural happiness of mankind.

"An Operative," and all of his class, are unacquainted with our co-operative views; we never intend to over-people any country, but to people it up to its means of giving the *highest possible enjoyment or happiness to each individual of the population*,—a degree of happiness, in fact, to which no one has attained or can attain under the existing wretched, hypocritical mental system, or the demoralizing individual competitive system, which now prevails throughout this and other countries. Our object is to secure the greatest degree of excellence and happiness for all, and we are quite sure that a system of mere manufactures or of individual competition can never make any people either moral or happy.

The British islands are capable of being made a terrestrial paradise, with a right application of far less labour and capital than are now employed to make them a Pandemonium, governed solely by the despot Moloch; and it is also equally easy to reform the character of the existing adult population, and to train the rising generation to become fit inhabitants of this paradise.

There has not been one rational step yet taken by the governing parties in the state to remove the causes of crime or of poverty; but an innumerable number have been made, and are daily making, to increase both poverty and crime among the industrious classes, and vice and crime among the unproductive.

When our government shall decide to govern well and wisely, and seriously occupy itself in good earnest to remove the causes of ignorance, of poverty, and of crime from among the population, then, and then only, will the daily increasing difficulties of governing cease, and they then only will acquire the warm support of all the producing classes, and soon make it the high fashion for all to become nationally useful, and thus learn to enjoy themselves by promoting the happiness of others. This change must soon be made.

ROBERT OWEN.

London, 6th July, 1834.

P. S. It is only in an irrational state of public and private affairs that there could be at one and the same time both an *excess* of population, an *excess* of capital, and an *excess* of production over the demand.

At Lawrence-street Chapel, Birmingham, June 29th, after the morning service was over, two Christian Dissenters, desiring the congregation to stop, took the marriage affair into their own hands in the following manner:—

Copy.—"Before this congregation, I, Edward West, give you, Mary Matilda Luckock, this ring to wear as a memorial of our marriage, and this written pledge, stamped with the impressions of the *United Rights of Man and Woman*; declaring I will be your faithful husband from this time henceforth."

"Before this congregation, I, Mary Matilda Luckock, receive this ring to wear as a memorial of our marriage, and this written pledge, stamped with the impressions of the *United Rights of Man and Woman*; declaring I will be your faithful wife from this time henceforth."

(Signed),—Charles Bradley, jun.; Roger Holmworth; Charles West; Joseph Collins; James Hodges, and others.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Refert Omnes (?) is too mysterious; we think his letter, however important in a moral sense, is not suitable for our columns; it will excite many dangerous suspicions; we ourselves don't understand him.

One of the Unwashed in our next.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 12.

ONE fatal blow succeeds another to accomplish the dissolution of the Grand Consolidated. The Tailors gave the first mortal wound, and the Executive themselves have now pierced it to the heart. "Where are the Executive now?" we asked this day two months, and were sadly reproached for our impatience; "and what are they about, where are their reports, &c. We would advise our friends of the Unions to take instant and more effectual measures to complete their organization, to elect their councillors, and invest them with proper authority. Without an intelligible system of transacting business, we fear that much evil will accrue, jealousies will speedily be aroused, divisions will follow, and wide breaches be created, which may now be prevented." We found no sympathy in giving utterance to these sentiments, although we plainly discovered the folly of the system, if system it might be called, upon which the authorities were acting; and therefore, as it looks very foolish in a solitary dog to keep up an everlasting bark when none of the kennel seem disposed to accompany him, we put a muzzle on our mouths and said no more. Now many of our fears are realized, and we are exceedingly sorry to find that "our predictions," as a contemporary lately expressed himself, "are all in the fair way of becoming prophecies."

We have a melancholy tale to tell of the honesty of one at least of the Union abinet. The Worcester delegate, Mr. Hall, a stone-mason, and one of the four Executives, has already embarked for Sidney, New South Wales, and God knows how much of the money of the poor operatives he has taken along with him. Various reports are circulated, but it is only many-tongued Fame to whose authority we can trust for the amount, for the books are unable to tell. One report says he has got two hundred pounds of goods on board, besides the money, with which, without doubt, he has amply provided himself. But without giving ear to these idle and injunctural rumours, we shall only state what we know to be facts. A few days after Mr. Hall's disappearance, the suspicions of the remainder of the Executive being aroused, they traced him, by means of a post-office check, to the General Harcourt, bound with emigrants to New South Wales. The vessel had sailed; but Mr. Watkins started off immediately to Dover,

in hopes of overtaking her in the straits. He did overtake her, but could not procure a writ, with which he had neglected to provide himself in London. However, he took a cutter, and went on board the vessel, where he discovered his old colleague, who stretched out his hand to welcome him. Watkins, however, refused to salute him, and publicly denounced him as a traitor before the passengers. Hall, after some little altercation, delivered up his gold watch (for which he had lately paid about thirty pounds, the fruits of his honest industry in transacting the business of the Unions) and four sovereigns, which Watkins very wisely received, though his first impulse was to refuse them with contempt. Watkins then returned, and arrived in London on Monday afternoon, when he immediately started to Brighton, accompanied by an officer, expecting to overtake him once more, by means of a steam-boat, before he launched into the wide Atlantic.

Since this occurrence took place, a packet of papers, which had been delivered by Brown into the hands of one of his colleagues when he was apprehended for the debt for which he now suffers imprisonment in Whitecross-street, and which had remained unopened till Monday, was then unsealed, and there was discovered a card, stating the amount of passage-money for two families. It looks from this circumstantial evidence as if the two had determined to become fellow-visitors of the Dorchester convicts, for whose widows and children upwards of one hundred pounds have been put into their hands, whilst only fifteen have been remitted to the sufferers. How miserably have all these pecuniary transactions been conducted ever since they were taken out of the hands of the *Pioneer*, which gave a faithful account of every sixpence received and expended from the first to the last day of its honest and active service! From the day that that paper and its conductors ceased to be the agents of the Unions, every thing has been mismanaged—Derby fallen—Dorchester neglected—money subscribed, and not accounted for.

Amongst other features of the moral character of the renegade Hall (*we hope our readers will not confound him with Hall of Derby*), is the fact that he had before his disappearance incurred a debt of about seven pounds to a surgeon for medical treatment of a most filthy and immoral disease, the well-earned reward of his idleness and debauchery. He has a wife and children at Worcester. We only mention this circumstance of his private debauchery, because it is our opinion that a public character is public property, and bound in honour to preserve his body as well as his reputation for the sake of those whom he serves and represents. A private character may do as he has a mind;

he may drink, debauch, and satiate his soul with every species of surfeit; he is responsible only to himself, and we shall not reproach him, we shall only avoid the company of the wretch, and leave him to find the level of his own moral rank; but the vices of a public character ought never to be overlooked; he is not his own master; neither his body, his mind, nor his time is his own; he is the servant of the public, who have the same right to criticise his private morals that a wife has to investigate the amorous intrigues of her husband. None but a man temperate in his passions and temperate in his morals can be a faithful servant of the working classes, who ought to scrutinize in the most inquisitorial manner the character of their delegates before they nominate them to the important offices of secretaries, treasurers, committee men, or executives. It too often happens that these authorities are indebted for their election more to their own impudence and fluency or plausibility of speech, protestations of honesty, or affectation of principle, than to any real merit which they possess; for real merit is not likely to command the suffrage of the populace by the prepossession of its looks, which are too modest and retiring, too simple and unaffected, to extort admiration. It is a difficult thing to select a good trust-worthy character from a class of men who have never been tried in situations of trust, and know not the strength of the temptations of office. But we trust that the operatives of England are not to be deterred from vigorously pursuing their plans of amelioration by the occasional roguery of one or more of their accredited servants; but that, once deceived, they will not yet cease to trust, but trust with more circumspection and more effectual checks upon designing knavery than they have hitherto employed.

To stand still is to continue slaves; to progress in the midst of almost insuperable difficulties is to show yourselves heroes, and men worthy of that success which generally accompanies resolution and prudence. What has now occurred will teach you, not that you cannot trust in the ultimate redemption of your species, but that you cannot put faith in individual men; that whilst you are paying them handsomely for consulting your general welfare, they may only be plotting schemes of mischief, by which they may aggrandize themselves at the expense of their constituents. Whilst Hall was receiving two guineas per week for bearing the name of your Executive, he was privately bargaining in stockings and gloves with the subscription funds, and studying the markets of New South Wales, to determine what species of goods it would be most profitable for him to export. It would be better for you to employ a rascally lawyer to transact your business, than such men as he

The lawyer would charge not half so much as your Executive have cost you, which is eight guineas per week at least, independent of a hundred items, which imagination may conjure up, but of which no written record can give any account. And what have they done? Broken the hearts of the Derby operatives and the Dorchester widows, and cast a slur upon the moral and intellectual character of the working classes!

EXTRACT

From "The Co-operative Gallery of Portraits."
(Continued from page 80)

But here comes one, whose air and port bespeak
A mind at peace within—with all around:
No flush of passion on his sober cheek;
Tranquil as ocean when the blue profound
Shines like a mirror, and no ripples break
Its glassy surface; but with voiceless sound
Seems like an infant slumbering at rest,
And gently pillow'd on its mother's breast.

They press around and anxiously enquire
Of health and friends, his journey and successes;
Of Yorkshire, Birmingham, they next desire
To hear, and stay him with their warm caresses,
Till patient courtesy might almost tire.
Each he salutes; but oh! when he addresses
The circling throng, their deep attention mark!
For 'tis the venerable patriarch.

He hails their progress with delight, and sees,
E'en in their contests, cause for gratulation,
Comparing it to autumn's sweeping breeze,
Which keeps the air in healthy agitation;
Exhorts to charity and love—for these
Preserve the mind from languor and stagnation.
And thus, with hope and expectation rife,
Re-quickens all to energy and life.

Howard of modern times! to thee we'll raise
No flattering monuments of brass or stone;
Nor will we seek to celebrate thy praise
In other records than our bosoms own.
Child of Philanthropy! around thee plays
A halo of affections as thy zone:
A name of honour shall thy brows invest;
In giving, riches, blessing—still more blest!

Then bigotry may rave; the lip of scorn
May curl derisive, and the fangs of hate
May leave the traces of their slimy spawn,
Befooled that they ne'er could emulate:
But countless myriads—children yet unborn—
Shall to thy grave repair in mournful state;
And year by year the grateful tribute bring,
The earliest blossoms, and the fruits of spring.

What are the spoils of Fame, the warrior's meed,
The sounding title, ducal coronet,
The costly equipage, or e'en, indeed,
The pomp of royalty, which never yet
Could to the temple of Contentment lead,
(But oftener pave the way for late regret.)
Or to their owners give a single joy
That did not on possession fade and cloy!

Aye what to this, within the world to stand
Alone; the advocate of truths till then
By all denied; to dare with venturous hand
The hydra Error in his mystic den,
And drag him vanquish'd forth? Thy trusty brand
EXPERIMENT, restless, once again
Has cut the gordian knot of thousand links;
And solved the riddle of the moral Sphinx!

Friend of humanity! to thee have bow'd
Princes and potentates, and statesmen too
Confess thy wisdom; but the murky cloud
Of prejudice, impervious (save to few),
Obscure their vision; so they left the crowd
To grope its way in darkness; but the dew
Of reason, wafted on the wings of time,
Betokens day, bright pledge of scenes sublime.

O come, Philosophy, with healing beams,
Throughout our land diffuse thy sanctuous balm;
Disperse the mist of night, and chase those dreams
That petrify us with their vague alarm.
Daughter of ages, in thy bosom teems
A panacea for all mundane harm;
Prepare thy strength; for thee's reserved the task
To tear from off Hypocrisy the mask!

When shall the nation from its slumbers wake?
Then for the contest—bark! the battle-cry
Sounds like a thunder peal! the mountains shake!
They're all resolved on death or victory.
The tyrants tremble; see the despots quake!
They gasp—they pant—ah, whither shall they fly?

Their sceptres crumble—kingdoms—empires reel,
And all the pangs which they inflict they feel!

Speed, speed the hour! O Time, thy chariot wheels
Seem like a sluggish in the race to flag;
Too slow, too tardy for the breast which feels
The weight of slavery we're compelled to drag;
Fly as the eagle to his eyry steals,

Or as the courser scales the mountain crag!
Swift as the vulture hastens to his prey,
Bring, bring the hour to dash our chains away!

'Tis hope, the good man's staff, with friendly aid,
Has cheer'd thy journey through life's rugged stage;

And now attends thee in thy evening's shade,
To quell the sorrows of declining age;
The consciousness of rectitude has made
For thee a shelter from unsparing rage;
'Tis this shall guard thee at thy latest breath,
And soothe the mortal agonies of death.

Adieu, O, ever-honoured! fare thee well!—
Go on and conquer with increasing might;
Unfurled thy banners, for the gates of hell
Shall never crush thee in the cause of right.
For thee have thousands wept; could they but tell—
Thy name is cherish'd as their orb of sight;
And if it can avail thee, thou shalt share
The poet's blessing, and the poet's prayer!

J. BANKHEAD, F.S.O.C.

ON MIRACLES.

It is asserted by Hume, that "a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature, of which God is the author; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as entire as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined." This is the position of his argument, which he imagines nothing can destroy; and, indeed, if his definition of a miracle be correct, it cannot easily be refuted; but I humbly presume that this definition of a miracle is false. I admit that it is a definition which has been commonly considered by theologians as correct, but it is not on that account more likely to be true; indeed, I consider it particularly dangerous to revelation, because, while it makes it essential to the reality of a miracle that the very principle of uniformity of sequence should be false, on which our whole belief of causation, and consequently of the divine Being as an operator is founded, it makes the assertion of a miracle almost absurd, as it involves in the consequence of the belief of the truth of a miracle, that the Deity should produce an infraction of his own laws. As long, therefore, as a miracle is defined to be a violation of the law of nature, it is not to be wondered at that it should shock our strongest principles of belief, since it does require from us the abandonment, for the time, of the only principle by which we have been led to the belief of any power whatever, either in God himself, or in the powers or things which he has created. The assumption that a miracle is a violation of

a law of nature is untrue. The laws of nature are surely not violated when a new antecedent is followed by a new consequent; they are violated only when the antecedent being exactly the same, a different consequent is the result; therefore, when once we have brought our mind to believe in the violation of the laws of nature, we are then brought to a state that we are ignorant of what we ought to believe or disbelieve as to the succession of events; since we must in that particular case, for the time, have rejected the only principle on which the invariable relation of cause and effect is founded. While every miracle is to be considered the result of an extraordinary antecedent, since it flows direct from a higher power than is accustomed to operate in the common train of events which come beneath our view, the sequence may be regarded as out of the common course of nature; but not as contrary to that course, any more than any new result of new combinations of physical circumstances can be said to be contrary to the course of events to which, from the absolute novelty of the circumstances, it has truly no relation of agreement or disagreement. The Almighty Being, of whose powerful agency the universe which springs from it affords evidence so magnificent, has surely not ceased to be one of the powers of nature, but still remains one of these powers as much as any other power whose hourly or momentary operation is most familiar to us; and it must be very false philosophy which would exclude his omnipotent will from the number of powers, or assert any extraordinary appearances that may have flowed from his agency to be violations of an order in which the ordinary sequences were different before, because the ordinary antecedents in all former time were different. I am fully impressed with a conviction that a miracle, if it truly take place, so far from violating any physical law in the peculiar circumstances in which it takes place, is the natural result of the operation of a physical power as much as any other rare phenomenon, and we may therefore derive some light in our enquiry from the consideration of the frame of mind with which we receive the narrative of any other physical event so extraordinary as to be altogether new to our experience.

For instance, the processes of chemistry, to those unacquainted with them, are nearly as miraculous as the resurrection of Lazarus. The natural phenomena of the heavens, before they were understood, were productive of the very highest degrees of admiration and astonishment that the human mind could experience. The rainbow that first appeared in the sky was a miracle, because the first; that is, the like had never been seen before, and because it was shown by God for a sign that the world would never again be destroyed by a deluge; but at this day, because rainbows are often seen, no man looks upon them as miracles. Again, many wonderful works are produced by human art, which we do not now call miracles, only because we now understand the process, or *modus operandi*, by which these wonderful works are effected. It has always struck me that admiration depends for the most part upon men's knowledge and experience, so that what seems to be a miracle to one man does not appear to be so to another who has a more extensive knowledge. Ignorant and superstitious persons are disposed to believe in and take for granted as miracles those things which the learned and well-experienced do not at all

admire; thus, eclipses of the sun and of the moon have frequently, in times past, been mistaken for supernatural effects; while the astronomers, understanding the natural causes of them, have certainly predicted them. Admiration, therefore, is generally greater or less, according to the various degrees of science and observation among men, the most ignorant being the most liable to wonder; and the causes of admiration, which many times make a miracle of what is purely natural, we have found to be *rarity of events, and ignorance of their causes*. If we vary this enquiry, we shall come to the same results. To an omniscient mind there can be no miracle; but to every created being natural appearances will appear to be miraculous in the exact ratio of the intellect and information. We are not to assume a thing to be contrary to nature merely because it may be above or beyond our comprehension; for instance, if a man should be transformed into a stone, it would to us be a miracle, because it would be what we had never seen; but the petrification of wood would not be a miracle, because such things have often been seen, and we know they exist, although we may, perhaps, be not able to explain the process. I cannot help thinking that superstition, or false views of the divine Being, has had a great share in giving the opinion that miracles are violations of the laws of nature; for such minds being greatly agitated with hope and fear, they very often fancy an extraordinary power in all contingents which are unusual, and the natural causes of which they do not comprehend, as if those contingents proceeded not from the order of nature, but from the immediate operation of God changing that order; especially if the change seems to promise any advantage to themselves, they have no objection to a special interposition of Providence being exerted in their behalf, or as a judgment upon their enemies; thus involving the supreme Being in their petty animosities. We ought to be sure that we well understand what the laws of nature are, before we presume that they have been broken. T. T.

[We believe it is not now generally maintained by the critical advocates of revelation that a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature. Such is merely the idea of the vulgar; nor do we conceive that there is any necessity for resorting to any such definition, as long as the return of a superintending Providence is granted. If life be a galvanic operation of the organization, as Sir Richard Phillips would call it, the restoration of a dead body to life is not more unnatural than the filling of a pair of bellows with wind after they have been emptied. The whole atmosphere is full of the galvanic agent; and what marvel is it that it should begin to act after having stopped for a while? The wonder is that it does not do it more frequently. So far, we certainly agree with our correspondent, that a miracle is no violation of the laws of nature, and that it is an ignorance only that causes us to wonder at no event more than another. The creation of a child in the womb is a greater miracle than the raising of a dead man to life; for, in the former case, there is an organization to be formed for the living principle; in the latter, the organization is already formed, and only requires the living principle to set it in action. If there is any thing in nature which is not wonderful, it is the resurrection of a dead body; it is not common; but why it should not be so we cannot tell.—But our correspondent shows

some very narrow conceptions of Deity when he speaks of other powers of nature besides God. Pray, what is God but the aggregate of all power? It is an absurdity to talk of a rival. The theology of T. T. seems to be a species of polytheism; he acknowledges a superior god, but he has an indefinite number of minor gods, "*Dei minorum gentium*," to act as underlings. We cannot understand a division of the power of nature; it is one and indivisible, but infinitely modified by the various organizations and combinations of matter.—Ed.]

NICOLAI'S VISION.

During the ten latter months of the year 1790, I had experienced several melancholy incidents which deeply affected me, particularly in September, from which time I suffered an almost uninterrupted series of misfortunes, that affected me with the most poignant grief. I was accustomed to be bled twice a-year, and this had been done once, on the 9th of July, but was omitted to be repeated at the end of the year 1790. I had in 1783 been suddenly taken with a violent vertigo, which my physicians imputed to obstructions in the fixed vessels of the abdomen, brought on by a sedentary life, and a continual exertion of the mind. This indisposition was successfully removed by means of a more strict diet. In the beginning I had found the use of leeches applied to the arms particularly efficacious, and they were afterwards repeated two or three times annually when I felt congestions in the head. The last leeches which had been put on previous to the appearance of the phantoms of which I am about to speak, had been applied on the 1st of March, 1790. Less blood had consequently been evacuated in 1790 than was usual with me, and from September I was constantly occupied in business that required the most unremitting exertions, and which was rendered still more perplexing by frequent interruptions. I had in January and February of the year 1791 the additional misfortune to experience several extremely unpleasant circumstances, which was followed, on the 24th of February, by a most unpleasant alteration. My wife and another person came into my apartment in the morning in order to console me, but I was too much agitated by a series of incidents which had powerfully affected my moral feeling to be capable of attending to them. On a sudden I perceived at about the distance of ten steps, a form like that of a deceased person. I pointed at it, asking my wife if she did not see it. It was but natural that she should not see any thing; my question, therefore, alarmed her very much, and she sent immediately for a physician. The phantom continued about eight minutes. I grew at length more calm, and being extremely exhausted, fell into a restless sleep, which lasted about half an hour. The physician ascribed the apparition to violent mental emotion, and hoped there would be no return. But the violent agitation of my mind had in some way disordered my nerves and produced farther consequences, which deserve a more minute description.

At four in the afternoon, the form which I had seen in the morning reappeared. I was by myself when this happened, and being rather uneasy at the incident, went to my wife's apartment, but there likewise I was persecuted by the apparition, which, however, at intervals disappeared, and always presented itself in a standing posture. About six o'clock there ap-

peared also several walking figures, which had no connexion with the first.

After the first day the form of the deceased person no more appeared, but its place was supplied with many other phantoms, representing acquaintances, but mostly strangers. Those whom I knew were composed of living and deceased persons, but the number of the latter was comparatively small. I observed the persons with whom I daily conversed did not appear as phantoms, these representing chiefly those who lived at some distance from me; these phantoms seemed equally clear and distinct at all times, and under all circumstances, both when I was by myself and when in company, and as well in the day as at night, and as well in my own house as abroad; they were, however, less frequent when I was in the house of a friend, and lately appeared to me in the street. When I shut my eyes, those phantoms would sometimes vanish entirely, though there were instances when I beheld them with my eyes closed; yet when they disappeared on such occasions they generally returned when I opened mine eyes. I conversed sometimes with my physician and my wife of the phantoms which at that moment surrounded me; they appeared more frequently walking than at rest, nor were they constantly present. They frequently did not come for some time, but always reappeared for a longer or shorter period, either singly or in company; the latter, however, being most frequently the case. I generally saw human forms of both sexes, but they usually seemed not to take the smallest notice of each other, moving as in a marketplace, where all are eager to pass through the crowd; at times, however, they seemed to be transacting business with each other. I saw also several times people on horseback, dogs and birds. All these phantoms appeared to me in their natural size, and as distinct as if alive, exhibiting different shades of carnation in the uncovered parts, as well as different colours and fashions in their dresses, though the colours seemed somewhat paler than in real nature. None of the figures appeared particularly terrible, comical, or disgusting; most of them being of an indifferent shape, and some presenting a pleasing aspect. The longer these phantoms continued to visit me, the more frequently did they return, while at the same time they increased in number; about four weeks after they had first appeared I also began to hear them talk: the phantoms sometimes conversed amongst themselves, but more frequently addressed their discourse to me. Their speeches were commonly short, and never of an unpleasant turn. At different times there appeared to me both dear and sensible friends of both sexes whose addresses tended to appease my grief, which had not yet wholly subsided. Their consolatory speeches were in general addressed to me when I was alone. Sometimes, however, I was addressed by these consoling friends while I was engaged in company, and not unfrequently while real persons were speaking to me. These consolatory addresses consisted sometimes of abrupt phrases, and at other times they were regularly executed.

Though my mind and body were in a tolerable state of sanity all this time, and these phantoms became so familiar to me that they did not cause me the slightest uneasiness, and though I even sometimes amused myself with surveying them, and spoke jocularly of them to my physician and my wife, I yet did not neglect to use proper medicines, especially when

they began to haunt me the whole day, and even at night as soon as I waked.

At last it was agreed that leeches should be again applied to me as formerly, which was actually done April 20, 1791, at eleven o'clock in the morning. No person was with me besides the surgeon; but during the operation my chamber was crowded with human phantasms of all descriptions: this continued uninterruptedly till about half an hour after four o'clock, just when my digestion commenced. I then perceived that they began to move more slowly soon after their colour began to fade, and at seven o'clock they were entirely white. But they moved very little, although the forms were as distinct as before, growing, however, by degrees more obscure, yet not fewer in number, as had generally been the case. The phantasms did not withdraw, nor did they vanish—a circumstance which, previous to that time, had frequently happened. They now seemed to dissolve in the air, while fragments of them continued visible for some time: about eight o'clock the room was entirely cleared of my fantastic visitors. Since that time I have felt twice or three times a sensation as if these phantasms were going to reappear, without, however, actually seeing any thing. The same sensation surprised me just before I drew up this account, while I was examining some papers relative to these apparitions which I had drawn up in the year 1791.—*MAYO'S Outlines of Physiology, printed 1829.*

REJECTION OF THE BILL FOR THE REMOVAL OF JEWISH DISABILITIES.

THE bill for the removal of the Jewish disabilities, which was carried through the Commons' House by so large a majority, has been flung out by as large a majority of the Lords. With this frank opposition to public opinion we are far from quarrelling. It seems to us above all things desirable that the Lords should manifest their true dispositions—should show themselves as they are—for thus the dullest will be made to see the incurable nature of the hereditary legislature. Desiring that the disposition of the house should be distinctly understood, we cannot wish it to put itself under restraint, and to assume virtues which it has not. Let the people see its tendencies, and thence judge of its utility.—The Archbishop of Canterbury observed, with amusing simplicity, “the Jews were a useful set of citizens, usually occupying themselves in money-getting callings, (a laugh.) He was far from availing himself of that circumstance as an objection, for as for their being a money-getting people, he believed they had that propensity but in common with many Christians.” He, his grace of Canterbury, with twenty thousand pounds a-year stuffed in his apostolic wallet, “believed that the Jews had a propensity of money-getting but in common with many Christians!” This is said by a priest at the head of a hierarchy, every step of which is inlaid with gold—every advancement measured out in pelf—every incentive proposed in the shape of gain. Is there an honour in the church which is not counted in hard money? Is there an office in the church which is not sought for money, and for money only? Is not the purse of Judas the very heart of the hierarchy? Did not this very archbishop declare, in so many words, that gentlemen would not enter the service of religion if bishoprics were reduced to 4,600*l.* a-year?

* * And the archbishop of Canterbury, in his candour, admits that “Jews have the propensity of money-getting but in common with many Christians,—in common, we may add, with right reverend bishops. Nay, more: is there any anxiety of men for their wealth like the anxiety of the clergy for their wealth? Is not their's a love of Mammon, which has the most apprehensive jealousy? Are they not perpetually quaking for their gold, and protesting that all religion will go with it? as if Plutus, indeed, were their deity, and his substance their sacrament. Where do we find any other class of men so absurdly apprehensive of danger to their possessions? From lawyers, when their interests are approached with the besom of reform, we do not hear cries that justice is in danger; from soldiers, in the same case, we do not hear cries that courage is in danger; nor from physicians, that vitality is in danger; but at the whiff and wind of a tithe, or residence, or plurality bill, or a commission of enquiry—the church is in danger! The high priests would keep their Mammon as Mahometans keep their minions—veiled and sacred from the gaze of man; the common view of it is to them profanation. They love their possessions as the Moor loved his Desdemona—not wisely, but too well. But why do we touch upon the love of churchmen for their wealth? it is a theme inexhaustible; and what compass have we for the handling of so vast a subject? We have seen a collection of anecdotes of the extravagances which men have committed for the love of women; and a similar work, but illustrative of a more fervid, and also a more jealous passion, might be compiled of the excesses to which churchmen have carried their love of gold. For the love of four shillings and fourpence, the reverend Francis Lundy threw Dodsworth, a poor labourer, into prison. What a passion does this evince, and for silver too! Imagine, then, the lengths, the number of Dodsworths, that such a lover would sacrifice for a guinea! Imagine him a bishop, and what would he not do for the revenues of a see! The world would be well lost by such an Antony for such a Cleopatra. And the archbishop of Canterbury believes that Jews have a money-getting propensity but in common with many Christians! How shrewdly he confesses the mote in his brother's eye! how insensible to the beam in his own! The difference is only this—that Jews get money by earning it, and wealthy high priests are money-getting without earning it.—*Spectator.*

(Extract of a Letter from Paris).—“From England we have received much intelligence within these few days that has surprised us. One article of that kind was the rejection, by the House of Lords, of the bill for the emancipation of the Jews. I was passing up the Rue de la Paix in the morning (Thursday last), when the account of the rejection of the bill was received here, and was stopped by an individual well known to you, ‘to point out to me an instance’ (as he termed it) ‘of the superior liberality of the Prussian government in that respect.’ ‘Do you see the stout man now approaching us?’—‘I do.’ ‘That is M. Zibberman, late ambassador of Prussia to the Spanish court—he is a Jew, and a professed Jew—and the Prussian government is a despotism, and the British government is self-styled free!’

“I met the same party an hour later in the

day, at the Bourse. ‘Do you recollect the subject of our conversation this morning?’ he asked. ‘I do—the Jewish disabilities.’ ‘Well, bad as they are in other respects, the French are not bigots. Do you see that gentleman under the peristyle, smoking a cigar?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘That is M. Fould, the banker, lately elected a deputy for Saint Quentin—he is a Jew!’”

JUMPING RANTERS.—At the Court-house, R. Clay and John Price, two lads, were brought before the magistrates, charged with assaulting William Lord and R. Whittaker, in the Jumping Ranters' chapel, at the Bank. The assault was sworn to by several witnesses, and denied by others, but the evidence against Clay and Price being very strong, they were each fined eight shillings and costs. At the conclusion of this case, Mr. Markland addressed a few remarks to the persons concerned in the above chapel, to the effect that they would conduct their worship in a more rational manner; and on his expressing his wonder at jumping being used in religious services, he was informed by one of the preachers that it was the “outpouring of God's spirit!”—*Leeds Mercury.*

GENERAL MEETING.

On Monday evening last a general meeting of the friends of the Institution, Charlotte-street, called by the committee, was held in the Institution, to hear the report of the business from the commencement up to the present time, and to devise the best means of supporting and carrying out the objects of the Institution. The accounts having been read, a committee was appointed out of the meeting, which was numerous, and consisted of many of the known and tried friends of the cause, to examine the past transactions, and to prepare a plan for effective adoption; the meeting then adjourned till Thursday, the 17th inst., at eight in the evening, when the committee will report. From the unanimity and good feeling of the meeting, the best result may be anticipated.

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street.
Mr. Smith, Sunday morning, at half-past eleven.
Mr. Owen, Sunday evening, at seven o'clock.

The 57th Social Festival of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, July 14. Tickets 1*s.* 6*d.*, or 1*s.* and a one-hour note each, tea and coffee included.

A Discussion on Tuesday evening, 15th July. Subject: “What are the remedies for the permanent removal of poverty from the productive classes?” Chair taken at eight o'clock.

An Adjourned General Meeting of the Friends of the Social System will be held on Thursday evening, the 17th inst., at 8 o'clock, to hear the report of the Committee appointed on Monday evening last.

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SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 13.

Mr. Smith lectured on "EQUALITY."

There is both equality and inequality in nature, and they are both of them good: without equality all would be confusion, and without inequality all would be motionless. It is inequality which produces every thing that we call action and passion; and it is equality that produces what we call rest. Inequality, therefore, according to the analogy of nature, is the sphere of turbulence, compulsion, and war; equality is the sphere of peace. I have often observed that the two extremes of nature are equally good and equally bad. It is the union of the two extremes that constitutes perfection. Thus it would be a scene of dreadful confusion and disorder if the system of inequality were carried to excess; one element of nature contending with another element, and one passion subduing another passion, holding it in thralldom until it had exhausted itself, and then submitting in its turn to the superior influence of its captive;—and the extreme of equality would be the very same thing as the utter annihilation of nature. The extreme of inequality, then, is chaos; and the extreme of equality is annihilation, or death.

But it may also be said that the extremes of equality and inequality lead to the same result, that is, rest. Thus, if two forces are perfectly equal, they neutralize each other, and produce rest; and if one force is decidedly stronger than the other, so that the two forces are unequal, then it is equally certain that one of these forces will destroy the other, and produce rest also. Every thing in nature has a tendency to go to rest, and would infallibly become perfectly still, were there not such a variety of exciting causes always in operation to keep it in motion. If the heat of the sun were equally diffused over all the earth, then there would be no motion in the atmosphere; and if there were no motion in the atmosphere, there would be no dust in it either. This would be one consolation, on a summer's day, to many an unfortunate traveller, whose enjoyment is thoroughly extinguished by the pain of ocular inflammation; but he would purchase this consolation to his eye-sight at the expense of his nose and his health; the noxious exhalations of the earth would stagnate and infest particular

spots, and this very equality of heat would produce a greater inequality of atmospheric air than now exists. It is the unequal distribution of heat on the surface of the globe which causes the commotion in the atmosphere, and this commotion is really necessary to produce a species of equality between the atmospheres of different regions. Let no man say that any thing in nature is essentially bad; nothing in nature is bad; it is only circumstances which render it so.

These ideas are useful to enable us to judge of that species of equality which can be introduced into a state of society. It is very evident that it cannot be perfect, neither is it desirable that it should be perfect. Perfect equality is the most insipid thing in nature; we seek merely such a mixture of equality and inequality as is consistent with the general happiness of all. There must always be stronger and weaker powers in nature, and the stronger powers will always get the advantage over the weaker powers, and keep them in subjection. It is right that it should be so, and whether it be right or wrong it always will be so. Weakness can never overcome strength, and strength never can submit to weakness. A strong mind will always control a weak mind, just as a swift horse will always outstrip a slow one. This may seem rather an unfortunate thing for the future prospects of mankind; but it is quite the contrary; it is this inequality which produces all action, and keeps up the motion of society. If there were only one species of power in existence, it would be unfortunate for those who are not possessed of it; but there is an infinite variety; some men are more powerful in imagination, others in judgment, some in experience, some in perseverance, some in mind, others in body, some in health, some in excitability; and this variety must for ever prevent any individual, or class of individuals, from exercising an unlimited control over others.

Yet it is melancholy to see what a motley variety of authority has been artificially produced under the present state of things. The very sight of a seal or a signet, a ring, a signature, or any other evidence of personal authority, is often sufficient to overawe the minds of thousands, and change the current of events. What an important personage a king is in the

history of mankind! the caprices or whims of an old dotard have had sufficient influence to decide the fate of nations. The resistance of George the Third to the Catholic Emancipation Bill delayed the passing of that measure for half a century; and it is more than probable that it was the desire of the new king to establish the prosperity of his reign by some popular act at the commencement that brought forth our late Reform Bill. From the king downwards the greater proportion of the power of the country is lodged in the hands of individuals, which is all collected in lumps like snow-balls. To melt these snow-balls is what we call equality. The power that these individuals possess is what we call artificial power, because they cannot carry it with them wherever they go. A king is very powerful at court in the midst of his ministers of state and his military troops, but he has no power in a motley group, where he is not distinguished or known; he cannot carry his power into the desert, or use it amongst strangers; but a working man or a man of science has his power with him in all places and under all circumstances, for his power resides in his person and in his mind. Perhaps the same may be said of the king; his power resides in his person also; and the man of science or the working-man has no more power without his instruments than the king has without his officers. If a man of science is provided with all his chemical apparatus, he can exercise his power with all the facility and majesty of a sovereign; and if the working man is possessed of his tools, he can do the same; but cast them both on a desert island, and what could they do? at first they could do nothing; they have no instruments, but they know how these instruments are to be made, and they in the course of a few years will greatly improve their circumstances by means of that natural power which they possess. Not so a king; cast him upon a desert island, and probably he becomes the most helpless creature in the universe; there he can never create instruments for exercising his office as the mechanic can do. A mechanic might discover an iron-stone, smelt it and forge it; and having done so, he is independent, by the help of the man of science, and other human assistance, which might from time to time be procured; and the two indi-

viduals, the scientific and the operative, might in the course of a few years surround themselves with many of the luxuries of art as well as the necessities of life: they could create their own subjects, which are the elements of nature; but the king cannot create his subjects; it is accident or good fortune, more than any thing else, which gives him his authority; it is confined to a particular spot; he cannot carry it out of his own palace or his own kingdom; as soon as he leaves his fortress, he is weak as another man. Hence it follows that the power of kings, governors, &c., is a species of imposition; it is not inherent in their persons, but created by certain delusive political prejudices which have been infused into people's minds.

The common acceptance of the term republic is as far from the idea of a state of political equality as monarchy itself. I could easily conceive a more unequal distribution of property in what is generally called a republic than in any other state; for if there is to be a distinction of interest admitted, there must of necessity be contending parties, whose interests continually clashing must produce a species of agitation resembling the billows of the ocean, which can never be quelled, but may easily be roused up into a furious agitation. Hence all republics have been very unstable in their political character; there is no unity of mind to be found in them, they are the creatures of excitement, as changeable as the weather, and the act which they pass to-day may be repealed to-morrow. The Greeks are a memorable example of this; at one time they extolled their heroes to the firmament; they loaded them with civic crowns and every variety of reward for services performed; but at the instigation of a rival, or the whispering of envy and jealousy, their friendship was converted into enmity, and they banished their patriots from the city. Aristides, one of the noblest characters of antiquity, suffered the fate of almost all the eminent generals of Athens; he was first extolled as a god, then, by the envy of Themistocles, he was banished the city, to which he was recalled after six years, and enjoyed the reputation of the Just until he died. On the day that he was banished by the voice of the people, who were instigated by the malice of his rival, Aristides stood amongst the crowd as they were giving in their votes by ballot, each of which votes was written on an oyster-shell; a countryman, who could not write, came up to Aristides, and asked him, as a favour, to write his own banishment upon the shell; Aristides replied, "What harm has Aristides done, my friend, that you vote for his banishment?" the farmer replied, "Oh, no harm at all, only I cannot bear to hear him called the Just Man." This story is frequently told by our moralists as an encouragement to virtue, and honours innumerable have been heaped upon Aristides for his justice and integrity; but few moralists, I dare say, could be found who have justified the peasant, or discovered any thing in him at all worthy of admiration. Yet there was a spirit of justice in this peasant which perhaps was equally valuable to society with the integrity and virtue of Aristides. The peasant could not bear to see one man landed so much above another as to engross in his own person the monopoly of justice. Aristides was the only man in Athens who was called the just man. It was certainly a scandal to the city to think that justice was such a rarity that, when such a man as Aristides appeared, the very name of justice was bestowed

upon him to distinguish him from all other men, who, of course must have been esteemed little better than scoundrels; and this monopoly of virtue is quite as offensive to a truly patriotic mind as the monopoly of power. In a state of society properly constituted, all men might be just; injustice would certainly be a rarity, for it would scarcely be practicable. The very name, therefore, of justice becomes offensive to a good man, for it only recalls to his mind the infamous system of iniquity by which injustice becomes so essential a part of every man's character that justice can scarcely be practised.

Besides, it is hard to say what motive Aristides could have for the practice of that singular self-denial for which he was celebrated. He was entrusted with immense sums of public money, and had every opportunity of enriching himself, yet died so poor that his family were helpless and supported by the state. There is often as much ambition lurking under self-denial as under the extreme of licentiousness; money is not the only test of character; many men in the dark ages of superstition resigned themselves to voluntary poverty, merely for the sake of acquiring a reputation for sanctity; and the Jesuits, who are justly esteemed the most ambitious of all sects, were remarkable for many species of mortification and self-denial. The chastity of the Jesuits is almost proverbial; many of them carried it so far, that they would not look at a woman. Father Gil did not know one woman from another by sight, so strict a watch did he keep over his senses; and he thanked God that he was short-sighted, because it had afforded him great assistance to chastity. Father Coton, who was confessor to a licentious prince, was equally chaste as Father Gil in his personal deportment. Father Spiga, aged 74 years, would never look upon a woman; he could not distinguish his own nieces the one from the other, and nothing could induce him to enter their house when he knew they were alone. Yet these Jesuits were the most ambitious of men. Similar things might be recorded of kings, generals, and heroes of every grade; what soldier in his army was more hardy, and less luxurious or effeminate, either in eating, sleeping, or clothing, than Charles XII.? yet who so jealous of his dignity and authority? Power was all that Charles delighted in, and he was content to feed upon hard biscuit, or coarse brown stale bread, and preserve the most inviolable chastity, provided he could only overrun the earth with a handful of soldiers, and give laws to other kings. To give laws to common men, gave no no pleasure to Charles; he wanted kings for his subjects, and common soldiers for his companions. This is a man who perhaps was as just as Aristides in respect to money matters; yet, for all that, Charles was a tyrant. But a monopoly of virtue is quite as bad as a monopoly of power. Any thing that raises one individual upon the pinnacle of the state or the temple, whether that be physical, moral, or intellectual excellence, is a thing to be regretted; and the name of justice, in this world of iniquity, is of a very equivocal nature. Thus, for instance, a judge would be called a just judge, who decided a case in favour of a rich man, to the utter ruin of a poor man; provided it were clear, from the letter of the law, that the rich man's claim was a legal claim. But if this is justice according to law, it is not justice according to nature; and the act of the judge,

although it was a legal act, was a very unjust one. The poor man, who is destitute of food, and out of employment, is sometimes under the necessity of committing larceny merely to get a temporary lodging and supply of food; natural justice would supply him with the food in a merciful and compassionate manner; but artificial justice reproaches him with cloudy brows, and sends him to the treadmill. The justice of this world is a species of injustice or robbery, and many men who are reputed just are nothing but rogues. When I was a school-boy, I used to admire Aristides and condemn the countryman; now, I can almost sympathise with the latter, for it grieves me to think that justice should be such a rarity, that when a just man is found he should be a man to be pointed at. All men might with the greatest ease be made just, and then there could be no monopoly of justice any more than of wealth.

We observed, in the commencement of this discourse, that the inequalities of nature tended to produce equality or rest; and we also observed that the more natural power a man had the better, and the more artificial power he had the worse for society. Nature herself is full of inequalities, and these inequalities produce action; if these inequalities are free to act, they move in the most beautiful and perfect order; but man has bound them by laws and statutes, and occasioned dire disorder. Strength, we observed, always overcomes weakness; and it is right that it should be so; but be it observed that weakness bestows as much pleasure as strength does; both extremes of nature are good, and in both mankind rejoice. The strong man rejoices in his strength, and by means of strength he can prevail over the feeble frame of one who is less brawny and muscular than himself; but he also is subject to a power that is stronger than he, and the feeble and delicate form of one whom he passionately loves will enervate all his vigour. When Samson had again and again defeated the Philistines in battle, he was conquered at last by the moral power of a woman; Samson was stronger than the woman physically, and she was stronger than Samson morally; but both were happy in their respective capacities: the woman rejoiced in her own weakness of body and Samson's strength; and Samson rejoiced in his weakness of love, and the power of his mistress's attractions.

Every lover rejoices in his own weakness, and the power of his mistress's charms; nay, I believe that the greater the inequality, the more the enjoyment. Thus, it appears that weakness is equally productive of pleasure as power. Now, there is such a variety of power and weakness in nature that it is impossible that any one man can ever have a perfect control over another, if not aided by the inequality of fortune. Inequality of fortune cramps the mind and destroys the freedom of action; no two men can be pure friends whose purses are unequal; their conversation must always be restrained and artificial; but, in equal circumstances, their minds are independent, and each calls forth with facility all the energies of his mind as well as its weaknesses; the energies rejoice in the exertion of their strength, and the weaknesses rejoice in the strength of their superior. In the present system, if a man have any species of weakness, he is in great danger of suffering by it, and this prevents him from enjoying the pleasure which it conveys. If he is very sensitive, very tender-hearted, very affable, very pliant and condescending in his dis-

position, he is very apt to be imposed upon: all these peculiarities are weaknesses, which might produce greater happiness than strength of nerve; but the greater the susceptibility of enjoyment in this world, the greater the chance of suffering. Were there no danger of imposition or injury of any kind, then it is evident that these weaknesses would be productive of great enjoyment. A woman of tender affections is, perhaps, of all creatures that breathe, susceptible of the greatest degree of pleasure or pain. In favourable circumstances, when all her affections are indulged, I have no doubt, from the delicacy of her organization, that her enjoyments greatly exceed those of man; but, on the contrary, when all her affections are thwarted and tortured by adverse circumstances, her pangs are much more acute and lasting. Here are the effects of the two states of society exhibited in woman only: her weaknesses are the source of her greatest enjoyment as well as of her greatest pain. It is so with man also; he enjoys more pleasure from weakness than strength; he is never so happy as when he yields; there is a pleasure in yielding which none but the most obdurate of brutes are ignorant of; and I question much if there is a wretch in existence so dare and inflexible that he never once in his life yielded his point, and found an inward satisfaction in giving way. I believe there would be much more yielding in the world if it were not for the system of competition which is established, and which not only prevails in money matters, but extends also to the minutest veins and arteries of the social system. Men and women seem to glory in obstinacy; not because there is much pleasure derived from it, for pain most commonly succeeds even a triumph; but from a foolish pride, which is engendered by the competitive system—a pride which regards submission of every kind as a disgrace. All this will disappear in the new world; men and women will then discover a new virtue—the virtue of humility, and a new pleasure—the pleasure of being overcome. Now, men glory in victory; then they shall also glory in defeat. A man is now ashamed if another defeat him in argument, and, even when internally convinced of his error, he continues to maintain it to support his character; then he will rejoice to be corrected, and thank his brother for teaching him a new truth.

I have no doubt that the day will come when men will hate power as much as they now love it; when, in fact, they will be unable to understand how any pleasure can be experienced in the exercise of it. Indeed, even now it has often been questioned whether there is greater pleasure in commanding or in obeying; those who have attained to the summit of ambition have generally confessed themselves disappointed. Yet still they cling to it, and will by no means let go the grasp; nay, even some have died of chagrin at the loss of their favourite power. But this is no proof that the possession of power gives any satisfaction; the love of power is a passion like the love of strong drink; it is a species of infatuation, and we know that the drunkard continues to drench his stomach with the poison and rack his brain with the torture in the midst of the strongest conviction of the misery it creates, and of the superior happiness of temperance. But why does he not return to temperance? He cannot; he is like a stone which is rolling from the mountain; he is carried headlong to perdition by a spirit of infatuation. 'Tis so with the love of power of every description; it is a species

of infatuation or drunkenness; this world is full of it; it is the offspring of the system of competition, and perhaps arises from the idea that, if possessed of power, we have our choice of pleasure. But, in another system of things, we shall have our choice of pleasure without any superiority of power; for this reason, the power will be useless; and as power always implies a sort of restriction upon those over whom it is exercised, it will soon become disgusting to the renewed mind of man, and vanish into thin air, becoming equally diffused over all mankind, each man willingly sharing his power with his brother, and endeavouring to bring him to an equality with himself.

Having said, at the commencement of this discourse, that power must always prevail, and that the more power we possessed the better; and, in the latter part, maintained that there is more enjoyment from the weaknesses of nature than the power, I may remove the apparent contradiction by saying that the more we increase our power of pleasing each other, the more we increase our susceptibility of being pleased. Thus, the more powerful the charms of the mistress become, the more feeble is the resistance of the lover; weakness and power go arm in arm like two lovers; and the greater the distinction, the happier in each other's arms. But it is not the lover only that feels the weakness; the mistress also is overcome; both are possessed of the power and both of the weakness; but recollect that it is the weakness that gives them pleasure; the power confers pleasure on the object beloved, but the weakness confers the pleasure on self. Weakness, then, and not power, only is the source of pleasure; all passion is weakness; all affection is weakness; but thought is power and labour, and the chief pleasure enjoyed from laborious thought is when it is over.

It is evident that man has not yet learned to appreciate weakness; he does not know the value of it; he has got an idea that all weakness is evil; he must unlearn that lesson, and when he unlearns it, he will divide the kingdom between weakness and power, and that will produce equality; when he discovers that as much pleasure is to be procured by yielding as by overcoming; he will alter his style of action, and be no more a tyrant.

All the equality that we want to produce would be produced by following the rules of common politeness. The great rule of good manners is yielding; but the politeness of our men of wealth is only hypocrisy; they pretend to yield, whilst they strive to overcome; our system is only true politeness instead of false politeness; and true politeness teaches us to bring ourselves down to a level with others, or raise others to a level with ourselves, and rather to yield the preference to others than seek it to ourselves. This is equality, and were it introduced as palpably into the public system of politics as into private behaviour, it would produce a most incalculable benefit to mankind.

COMMUNICATION FROM ROBERT DALE OWEN.

New Harmony, May 26, 1834.

I send you, my dear Father, one of the first fruits of our exertions in this place, in the shape of the regulations adopted by our society, and which now govern its proceedings. Our weekly meetings are most respectably attended, never by less than 80, and sometimes

by about 100; always more than half females. I do not think the western country can furnish an assemblage of citizens more respectably dressed or more decorously behaved. We have our meetings for recreation, called our *Assemblies*, on the second Thursday of each month; the last was attended by 150 persons—a good many from Mount Vernon and the adjacent country. All agreed in saying that there was not another town west of the Alleghenies that could furnish a similar meeting; and those who remembered "Old Community times," as they were called, said they had not witnessed so much good feeling since those days." This was the first public assembly held in Harmony since Taylor's days, all others having been exclusive and held at the taverns. I had been urged again and again by some of the more democratic of our citizens to get up opposition assemblies to these tavern balls, and open them to all who chose to come. But this I refused; and on receiving invitations from the managers to these tavern balls, some of us almost always went. I was resolved, when a change was made, it should be an effectual one. This society, which was joined by every respectable citizen, afforded a means of doing so. Its dances were, as a matter of course, attended on a footing of equality by all, and thus the old exclusive system was broken up at once, without opposition.

Our last debate was an interesting one: "Would an alteration in our laws, such as should give to married women an individual right to hold property, benefit or injure society?" Mary and Jane both spoke, and spoke well, for about a quarter of an hour each. This produced a great sensation.

Amos Gilbert is not yet arrived, but we expect him daily. We shall add an *infant school* to his district school, and we have a young lady here capable and willing to superintend it.

While these things are going on towards the moral reform of the place, the physical improvement of the town and property is not neglected. Some of our frame-houses have been oil-painted outside, some washed with a permanent whitewash; the fences have received the same cheerful coating; and some of the brick-houses have been oil-painted and pencilled as in the eastern cities. So that those who have been absent from the place for a few months hardly recognize it; and strangers who used to treat it as an untidy-looking place, now all admire its neat appearance. My plan has been, as a great many lots and houses are owned by individuals, to go round to each, and say, "If you will make such and such improvements on your lot, I will do the same on the next." They almost all agree to this, and the people get into the spirit of improvement; and the ball once set a-going, rolls almost of itself. The country-people begin to imitate us by whitewashing their cabins.

We had, for the first time this spring, a general subscription to keep the town clean, clear out drains, &c. It amounted to 250 dollars; and 250 dollars more were subscribed to raise a good high and dry road from the town to the landing at the ferry. We have now outside hand-rail fences, and raised gravelled side-walks in the principal streets; a luxury never thought of until this spring. In short, if we go on you will not be ashamed of Harmony's appearance by the time you visit us. When will that be?

Jane, Mary, William, and Dale are well

and Richard, still in Cincinnati, writes us that his health is nearly re-established. I know not when he will return hither.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW HARMONY INSTITUTE. FOUNDED APRIL, 1834.

OBJECT AND MEANS.—The object of the Institute is mutual improvement.

The means are lectures, debates, public readings, and occasional meetings for recreation.

MEMBERS.—All who subscribe this Constitution at the time of its adoption, or within three days thereafter, and who pay, within one week from said adoption, twenty-five cents entrance-money, shall be considered original members.

All new members thereafter joining the society shall be proposed one evening and balloted for the next. A vote of two-thirds of the members present admits a member.

One-fourth of the members who may be residing, at the time, at New Harmony, shall be a quorum for the transaction of business.

If five members of the society sign and deliver to the secretary a requisition for a vote on the exclusion of any member, it shall be the duty of the secretary, at the next regular meeting, to state that he has received such a requisition, and to give notice that, on that day week, the vote will be taken accordingly. A vote of three-fourths of the members present shall be necessary to exclude a member.

OFFICERS.—The officers are a president, treasurer, and secretary, together with two vice officers to supply the place of each, in case of illness or absence.

The officers and vice-officers are elected semi-annually by ballot of the members, one week's previous notice being given, and the officers of the previous six months continuing to serve until new ones are elected.

An officer may at any time be removed from office by the same forms provided for the exclusion of a member.

It shall be the duty of the president to take the chair at all meetings, act as moderator during the debates, and preserve order.

It shall be the duty of the treasurer to receive, disburse, and account for all moneys belonging to the society.

It shall be the duty of the secretary to keep a record of the names of the members, the constitution, the by-laws and proceedings of the society, to file all its papers, to give public notices of meetings, elections, &c., to carry on the correspondence of the society, to receive proposals for membership or for lecturing, to hire and see to the preparation of the meeting-room, and to transact other incidental business.

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.—The president, treasurer, and secretary shall be a standing committee of management, to whom are entrusted the current affairs of the society. On extraordinary occasions they are to request instructions from the society. With the addition of the vice-officers, they form a committee of nine, to whom the secretary submits proposals of volunteer lectures and questions for debate for acceptance or rejection, five being a quorum.

VOTES.—A majority of votes decides on ordinary occasions; a vote of two-thirds of the members present, and a notice of one week, is necessary to make an addition to the constitution; a vote of three-fourths of the members present, and a notice of two weeks, is necessary to make an alteration in the same.

All members above the age of fourteen are entitled to a vote, and all members above the age of eighteen are eligible to office.

VACANCIES.—Vacancies in office may be filled at any regular meeting, provided one week's previous notice of the intention to proceed to election be given.

The above constitution was signed and entrance money paid by ninety-six members within one week from its adoption.

BY-LAWS.

MEETINGS.—Each member has the privilege of introducing one non-resident visitor to a lecture or other meeting.

Tickets of admission for a single lecture or debate may be purchased for 12½ cents each, by residents in New Harmony who are not members.

The regular weekly meeting of the society is held on Sunday morning at ten o'clock, in the upper room of No. 1 school-house.

The occasional evening meetings for recreation shall terminate not later than eleven o'clock; to these non-members are admitted by tickets, single 25 cents, double 37½ cents.

LECTURES.—The subject of the lecture for the ensuing week is stated from the chair at the close of each meeting.

DEBATES.—One week's notice, at least, shall be given of each subject of debate.

Each speaker is allowed twenty minutes.

New speakers take precedence of those who have already spoken on the same subject.

It is the duty of the moderator to decide upon the precedence of speakers, and to call to order.

A speaker is out of order, 1st, when he introduces personalities or invidious reflections on sects or bodies of men; 2ndly, when he manifestly departs from the subject of debate.

SUBSCRIPTION.—Members' monthly subscriptions are as follow: single ticket, 25 cents; double ticket, admitting two members of one family, 37½ cents; family ticket, admitting a father, mother, and their children over 14 and under 21 years of age, if members, and over 10 and under 14, whether members or not, 50 cents. Provided, that a family ticket shall admit all the unmarried females of the family having such ticket, whether they be minors or not; and that orphans, apprentices, and other children, adopted or regularly employed by and residing with a family, shall be considered as members of it, and be entitled to admission as such. Provided also, that widows, members of the Institute, with families dependant on their own labour for support, receive a free ticket.

Members' tickets are not transferrable.

The subscription is payable at the last meeting of each month. A failure to pay it within one month from the above period forfeits membership, provided that the treasurer, previously to striking any member's name off the list, have called on him in person or by deputy to request payment of arrears.

ELECTIONS.—Two tellers are appointed by the president semi-annually, whose duty it is to receive and count votes at elections.

Elections take precedence of other business.

DOOR-KEEPER.—A door-keeper is appointed by the treasurer. The door-keeper receives a family ticket for his services.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are sorry we cannot give a report of Mr. Owen's Lecture, as it has not been forwarded to us, but hope to be able to save our readers a similar disappointment in future. Mr. Tipper has been received.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 19.

WE have once more been censured, and that severely, for reprehending the Executive. We have been told that we are ignorant of human nature, and ignorant of the doctrines of the New System, &c.; and we have also been told by some of our rational friends that it is inconsistent with the leading principle of our new views of society, namely, "that man is the creature of circumstances," to pass severe censures upon the public or private conduct of any individual. We believe there is no individual living more disposed to palliate the offences of our fellow-men than we ourselves are, or more willing to hear a justification of the accused, or more firmly convinced that man is the creature of the circumstances in which he is placed, or of the organization and education with which he has been gifted. But, at the same time, we are also firmly decided in our preference of virtue to vice, truth to falsehood, and honesty to dishonesty, anxious to promote the growth of the one, and the destruction of the other.

Then, how are we to proceed to destroy the latter? Many of our friends will say, change the circumstances, and men will be better instantly. So say we: change the circumstances, and men will be better instantly. But what are circumstances? There are external circumstances, such as wealth; personal circumstances, as health and organization; and adventitious circumstances, such as education, good morals, &c.: which of all these circumstances are you to change? It is instantly replied, the first—and this will effect a change on all the rest. Well, agreed. Then how are you to change the first? We answer, by means of the last. You cannot change the external circumstances of the working classes by ignorance or bad morals; certainly not. Then how are you to procure good morals? We know very well how we *could* procure them, were the external circumstances altered to our mind. But that is not the point: how are we to procure them *now*? By encouraging the good, and reprobating the bad. If we do not express our abhorrence, our detestation of all immorality, falsehood, and knavery, pray, what foundation can we have forth the hope of an amelioration of the moral character of mankind? We cannot place bad men in the circumstances of wealth, to make them honest or respectable; therefore, we must place them in the circumstances of censure; and censure is a very powerful circumstance with every spirited and honourable mind. Therefore, it is not we who depart from the doctrine of circumstances in reprobating the dishonesty of a convicted delinquent, but our censors, who ought to know, if they were ac-

quainted with human nature, that if man be the creature of circumstances, he is the creature of rebuke, which is a moral rod of chastisement for moral offences until they can be prevented by the amelioration of the external circumstances.

If we are to make no distinction between truth and error, honesty and dishonesty, how shall we ever moralize mankind? Yet, in reprobating the conduct of the knave, we disavow all personality as much as the most charitable and indulgent: we condemn the principle only; but how can we attack the principle, unless we attack the individual in whom it resides? The principle is an abstract idea, a non-entity, which must be embodied before it can be exhibited; and being embodied, it becomes personified; and being personified, it is attacked; but no sooner is the evil principle dislodged, than the individual who harboured it is restored to favour. A hostile party attacks the fortress of an enemy, only because the enemy is in it; but no sooner is the enemy dislodged than the fort is protected and repaired: so it is with us: we attack dishonesty (the principle) only, and in assailing it we must attack the individual in whom it resides; but we have no personal animosity, notwithstanding, and shall be happy to hear and to publish a justification.

We have received the following letter from Mr. Owen on the subject:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

MR. EDITOR,—It is with much regret that I read your leading article of last week in the *Crisis*, for you have done great injury to that paper by allowing sentiments to appear in it altogether in opposition to the principles on which it was established; indeed, since the committee, during my absence on important public business in the country, took upon itself to withdraw the direction of it from those individuals who understood more of its principles than the committee appear to have done, it has become a paper without any fixed principle whatever, and, by perplexing the minds of its readers, calculated to do more injury in one way than good in another.

The principles of the *Crisis* are those so clearly given to the public in the Synopsis of the Rational System, and published more than once at full length in different volumes of this publication. The principles are in direct opposition to all the system of fraud, deception, and violence, which have hitherto kept the human race ignorant, poor, disunited, uncharitable, and miserable; but principles of genuine kindness and charity for all individuals, because they have been necessarily made the victims of these ignorant and vicious systems, and therefore, under all circumstances, objects of pity and commiseration only, and never of anger and uncharitable invective. The individuals of the Executive who may have erred, have done so from ignorance, which ignorance the government of the country in which they were born and educated ought, if any parties ought, to be responsible for. Instead of the ignorant and vile language, and insinuations, which your leading article applies to individuals, it would have been far better if the powers of the mind

of the writer had been honestly engaged in tracing the causes of the conduct of these persons, and in pointing out the strong necessity which now exists for those causes of evil being removed, that the injurious effects which they must produce should cease.

Will the writer of this thoughtless and vicious article tell me if he had carefully investigated all the facts connected with these transactions, and heard what the individuals had to say in their own defence, as, according to the common laws of the land, no one should be condemned without being fairly tried and heard? It is this injustice of the working classes to each other that retards most powerfully their progress in a right course; when any error or wrong is committed, they make no allowances for the strong temptations which are every where placed around the actors, but as soon as mere suspicion arises, they are condemned without time being allowed to explain or justify their transactions.

The *Crisis*, of all papers, ought not to interfere with the prejudices or party quarrels of individuals, and still less to make itself a party in any of these ignorant individual proceedings, which must do injury to the cause of the industrious and well-disposed over the whole kingdom, without doing any good whatever. The *Crisis* is the only paper among the working classes that has been established to introduce kind, charitable, and correct moral views among them, and to disarm them of that violence and injustice in their conduct to each other which is always the result of the want of knowledge of human nature, and of extensive experience among the different classes of mankind. I hope, however, that the public will never again see an article in the *Crisis* written as this has been, without due reflection, and without any of the spirit of pure and genuine charity.

Your friend,

London, July 14.

ROBERT OWEN.

What Mr. Owen's private opinions are, it is impossible for us to say, for he has often told us that he has never yet found a man who understood them: but, if he means to assert that the *Crisis* is not conducted upon the principles of universal charity, or that charity will not permit the severe reprehension of immorality and deception in individual characters, we are decidedly opposed to him. He says he would have pointed out the cause of the delinquency of the Executive, and laid the blame upon their ignorance and the ignorance of the government; but what is the difference between ignorance and immorality, if ignorance, as he himself teaches, is the cause of immorality? There is as much abuse in branding the character of a man with ignorance as with error, if the two are merely cause and effect. To avoid, however, the inconsistency of abusing our moral character whilst he is reproaching us for reproaching another, he calls our article a *thoughtless and vicious* article; here are both ignorance and folly thrown at us with one fell sweep; but it is the article only that is thoughtless and vicious, not the writer. Would it alter the sense of the expression, or Mr. Owen's meaning, were we to sub-

stitute writer instead of article? Certainly not; for the article is the effect, and if the effect be vicious, the writer must be vicious also, or have been vicious when he wrote it. Why, then, does Mr. Owen say that we ought not to pass our censure upon the effect, but look to the cause only? He himself is throwing the blame upon an effect which has neither sensation nor reflection, merely from a fastidious delicacy about accusing the cause, which is the mind of the writer, which is the effect of the misgovernment of the country, which is the effect of ignorance, which is the effect of immorality, &c., &c., to infinity.

We are even accused of acting in opposition to the common laws of justice, in condemning a man unheard. This we deny. It is invariably the case that the circumstances of the crime are minutely detailed before the trial takes place. Does a murder or robbery occur in any part of the country, the whole minutiae are immediately made public. The trial comes on in due time, and the original report is either confirmed or corrected. Were this not the case, there could be no trial at all; no man could ever accuse another before he was tried, and if so, pray who could ever be brought to a trial? But we published only what we knew, and we published it with regret. We acted, however, from an honest principle, and we feel convinced that we have not overstepped the bounds of prudence and pure charity. We certainly did not know that Hall had taken public money with him, (excepting the check,) nor did we affirm it; but we knew that he slunk away in secret, without taking a friendly adieu even of his colleagues and private acquaintances. We know, also, that he went off with a check for four pounds, for which he got payment; that that check was the property of the Unions, and was carried by him to the Straits of Dover, where it was delivered up to Watkins. Is not this a proof of fraudulent intention? and is not the writ itself, which the Executive took out against him, another proof, if proof is required, to justify us in our accusation? But the crooked policy of many well-intentioned individuals leads them to hush up the matter, and throw a veil of ignorance over the whole proceedings. Surely, there is no wisdom nor truth without mystery or fear of man in such conduct; nor is it so well calculated to inspire confidence in the working classes, as the honest truth-telling principle upon which we have always acted, though with considerable constraint. The *Official Gazette* announced the fact in the following courtly style: "We are sorry to have to announce that Mr. James Hall, late of Worcester, has seceded from the Executive, with an intention forthwith to be

the United Kingdom." Suppose one of the clerks of the Bank were making a sudden departure from the *United Kingdom*, and leaving all his books in confusion, taking money that did not belong to him; would it be announced in this formal, charitable style by the public papers or the common law of the land? Would they merely say that he had *seceded* from the Bank, after they had lodged information at all the police offices, and employed the ministers of justice to apprehend him! And as for the private immoralities of the man, we think it but right that they should be exposed as soon as they are discovered. The exposure will be a check upon those who succeed, who will thus be taught the necessity of consulting the moral influence of the people by a prudent and sober behaviour in themselves. We have a serious struggle before us—a struggle which requires every species of virtue to encounter; and they who undertake the work of the public ought to combine as much as possible the moral and intellectual power from which we seek for deliverance.

The only thing that we regret in our last article is our personal allusion to Browne. We have no accusation against him, and therefore consider him entitled to the full credit of perfect honesty.

We have conducted the *Crisis* for several months without a farthing of remuneration, and conducted it willingly; but we have no desire to continue any longer to bore our way through such vexatious obstacles,—obstacles which become always the more intolerable, the more disposed we are to expose the follies and the vices which ruin the people. We are certain that we have acted with propriety as well as charity and honesty, and that a short time will convince the public that what we have done in this affair will be productive of general good to the working classes. With regard to Mr. Owen's accusation of want of fixed principle, we disdain to reply to it,—it is an accusation without proof. He ought to have considered his own doctrine of charity before he penned it.

We feel disposed to prolong this article, as there are many other points in Mr. Owen's letter which we wish to reply to; but we have not room.

Notwithstanding all we have said, we publish the following announcement, in the hope that all the provincial Unions throughout the country will respond to it, and renew with more vigour than ever their exertions in the social cause.

"In accordance with a resolution passed on the 10th instant, at a meeting of the Metropolitan Central Committee, relative to a Convention of Delegates, with the spirit and necessity of which we perfectly coincided, we last week summoned a delegate from every district in the kingdom, to meet us on

the first Monday in August, bringing with them all official papers or accounts, &c. We hereby repeat the same summons.

"The Executive Council, June 26th.

"E. C. DOUGLAS."

We beg leave to refer to a letter, which appeared in No. 13 of the *Crisis*, from Louis Masquerier, Carthage, Hancock County, America, in which there is one sentence particularly which we did not intend at first should escape uncensored, but by some inadvertency we have twice overlooked it. The writer proposes a new orthography for all languages, which he conceives to be a very important step towards a universal language for the whole civilized world. Such an object would certainly be a very great acquisition to the literary world, but what liberal mind would ever expect or hope to reap such an advantage from it as Louis Masquerier anticipates in the following sentence:—"By having children taught in books of proper sentiments, and written in this new orthography, they could not read any of those written in the old, and thus would be guarded against Christian dogmas." This is not only infinitely absurd as a project, but it involves in it a spirit of tyranny and illiberality which may be paralleled, but never was exceeded, either in ancient or modern times: all the difference between Louis Masquerier and a political court of Christian censorship is, that the ecclesiastical politician imprisons the author for his sentiments, and Masquerier imprisons the book. It is just another kind of proscription, accomplishing by mere trickery what he cannot accomplish by fair reasoning nor political supremacy. Even supposing the thing were possible, it is unjust in principle; but the impossibility of the scheme is too glaring to be for a moment doubted by any rational mind; for, supposing the orthography of the English language to be changed to-morrow; supposing the language itself were changed, and the children taught the language of the Caffers or Bushmen of Southern Africa; the consequence would be, that all the standard works of the country would be immediately translated into the new language, or new orthography, unless Mr. Masquerier could persuade the new liberal inquisition to prohibit the translation by some tremendous penalty. Little, surely, did the projector of this wild scheme know of human nature, and the restless activity of the enquiring mind of man, which, so far from being overcome in its researches into the mysteries of antiquity by such paltry difficulties as a mere difference of spelling, pronunciation, or even language itself, has actually lifted off the veil from the dark enigmas of Egyptian and Oriental hieroglyphics, and restored the long-lost learning of olden times. We hope that there are few of our friends who entertain such delusive projects as this, or waste the energies of their minds in bringing them into being.

ON THE PROGRESS OF THE OPERATIVES IN LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS.

SIR,—There are few, if any, of the various changes which are continually taking place in the different grades of society more gratifying and interesting to the philanthropist, in whose breast glows the pure and natural sympathy which unites man with his species, than the gradual advances which the wealth-producing part of the population are making in the ac-

quirement of a taste for these refinements of knowledge and art, which enamel the surface of society, and contribute so much to the happiness and comforts of life. The progress which the operatives have already made in these matters has put them in possession of an influence and a patronage which the master spirits of the day, both in literature and art, consider themselves fortunate to possess and proud to acknowledge.

It was comparatively but a few years ago that the booksellers considered their existence almost entirely to depend upon the upper classes. The consequence was that books were got up in such an expensive and costly style as to put it out of the power of the indigent artisan and the humble mechanic to participate in the delicious pleasures and exquisite enjoyments that arise from literary and intellectual gratifications. The case is now materially altered; both booksellers and authors are beginning to discover that the industrious producers are not born merely to labour, to suffer, and to die; but that they possess minds, faculties, and feelings capable of appreciating the highest qualities of mental science. The event is that you can scarcely pass through a street of any thoroughfare in this or any other large town without observing shops and stalls, well stored with books written by the best authors, and selling at a price so very cheap that you might almost consider them placed within the reach of the most needy and poverty-stricken portion of the people.

But the march which the operatives are making in the cultivation of the fine arts is even more surprising than those already mentioned. Does it not look very favourable, Mr. Editor, when we see such men as Turner, Roberts, and a host of other great artists, who formerly spread all the glories of their palette for the particular gratification of the wealthy few, now finding it more to their advantage to work for engraving, preferring a wide and extended circulation of their productions to a limited and meddling patronage, the partial influence of which has done infinite mischief to art, by preferring almost invariably men of inferior talents, whilst those who possessed some tincture of that noble feeling which is generally found in unison with legitimate ability, who could not fawn, and cringe, and acquiesce to the dictates of a man, merely because he happened to be rich. Such men as these have too often expired in the shades of apathy and neglect, and instead of rising in their profession with the majestic and graceful circles of the young eagle, they have made but a few feeble flutterings, and then toppled to the earth to rise no more.

Poor Banks, the sculptor, understood pretty well the nature of wealthy patronage when he was ordered by a great man to execute a marble group of the beautiful Niobe surrounded by her children,—a subject which required all that a refined imagination could lend to imitative art to make it even tolerable. The young artist was thunderstruck at the request, and felt himself utterly incapable of doing justice to so dignified a subject; but what was Banks's astonishment when he was informed that he must introduce the likenesses of his wife and children in the principal figures, whose faces bore no resemblance to the great ideal either in form or expression! Instead of displaying the necessary characteristics of tender sentiment and tranquil beauty, they merely had good, round, ruddy English faces, which might have

been highly advantageous to a painter of rural nature, but were any thing but useful in developing the loftier charms of intellectuality. So much for patronage, as it is at present understood,—an evil which the increasing knowledge of the people will soon destroy, for there is not an article of domestic utility but has been vastly improved in its *form* and manufacture within the last few years; and the very worst part of the producing population, namely, the drunkards, seem to have a taste for art, since the proprietors of the gin palaces find the strongest attraction to consist in architectural and decorative displays. In fact, the time is fast approaching when the artist will look to a more ennobling source than he has hitherto done, which is the millions; there will then be what never has existed before, a sympathy between the artist and the people,—and the little flame of genius which has hitherto flickered in the little fane of exclusive aristocracy, will blaze with meridian splendour before the supreme majesty of national sentiment and feeling.

From the spirit of the previous remarks, it appears that the people will soon understand that an acquaintance with the principles of the FINE ARTS is not only desirable, in the light of acquirement, but must everlastingly prove highly beneficial to the useful arts of the country. I do not think that the wants and desires of the people, in this particular, have been sufficiently ministered to by that portion of the press which has had great influence, namely, the unstamped; there has been a great sameness running through these newspapers; and, although it must be admitted that the food they have supplied has been of a highly nutritious quality, yet it has often been unpalatable for want of the spices of variety. One good they have effected, which is quite invaluable; they have given working men an opportunity of expressing their own opinions, and of giving publicity to their desires, in their own language and manner—a grand opportunity which they never enjoyed before the unstamped newspapers were established, and the *PROVERB* has quite signalized itself in publishing such a vast quantity of working men's letters, which I know have been read with interest and pleasure by the operatives generally. From the strong reaction which seems to be taking place in favour of the Trades' Unions, through the firm stand which the influential operatives have made in their behalf, these associations must soon resume more than their former influence. Would it not be well, Sir, if libraries were to be established in the different lodges, by donations of books for circulation only? This would make the members shareholders in a very interesting kind of property, and attach many of the young men to the Union who are not sufficiently acquainted with its beautiful principles to interest themselves as they should do in its favour. For it is by this or a similar combination of the operatives that the diseases of society can be healed, and those dreadful disparities of life, which have been alike fatal to the happiness of all—which have had the wretched effect of making the rich hard-hearted, and the poor cringing—which makes genius scourge to the million, and a foe to itself—which corrodes the energies, and chills the heart, must all vanish like the morning mist before the glowing sun.

I remain, Sir, yours, &c.

ONE OF THE UNWASHED.

July 7, 1834.

Literature.

The Architectural Director, Part I. By JOHN BILLINGTON, Architect. London: John Bennett, 4, Three-tun-passage, Ivy-lane, Paternoster-row.

This is a second edition of one of the most useful practical works on Architecture ever published, which, for the convenience of readers, will be brought out in twelve monthly parts. Builders, draughtsmen, students, and workmen, in the various branches of building, will find it a most valuable repository of general information. The various subjects are illustrated with accurate and well-executed engravings of plans, together with tables, &c.

Theory of the Constitution. By J. B. BERNARD, Esq., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. London: Ridgway and Sons.

This is the most extraordinary political work we have ever met with, and, being a heavy octavo of 518 pages, requires much patient consideration to get at its contents. In the hasty glance we have been enabled to take of it, we find the author, with considerable ability, and a deep acquaintance with the history of mankind in the most celebrated nations of antiquity, explaining the theory of the British constitution, and pointing out in practice a departure from its principles from an early period down to the present time. In the course of the work there are certainly opinions expressed calculated to surprise most men, and even to startle the boldest, for we are assured that we are on the eve of a most horrible revolution, except some mysterious providential circumstances should intervene, which, however, the author prophesies will be the case, and expresses his belief (although he before tells us that every measure which has been carried by popular opinion has hurried on impending ruin) that the "regeneration of mankind is actually approaching, and that it is to the English *working people alone* to whom the world must now look, as destined instruments, in the hands of Providence, for altering, first, their own condition, and eventually that of the whole human race." There are many other strange inconsistencies to be met with. Mr. Bernard, who is known as a man of learning and varied acquirements, being a native of this county, will no doubt obtain a *hearing* for his sentiments, however singular they may be, and thus cause the work before us to be read generally throughout the West of England. A large proportion of the volume will be found of great interest to landowners and others intimately connected with the soil, for the author enters at much length upon the decline of the landed interest of this country, which he attributes to the money-lenders and stock-jobbers, and contends will ultimately end in national ruin, if things are suffered to proceed as at present. He maintains, with considerable force and ability, the necessity of supporting agriculture, and of rendering the farming interest predominant in this country, as well for the sake of the mercantile and trading classes, as for the benefit of the rural population. The author goes on to point out that the tendency of the present, and much of the past policy of Government, is to encourage manufactures to the depression of agriculture. But the principal aim he has in view appears to be to show that, by the recent alteration in the representative system, the before declining influence of the landed aristocracy has been all but totally annihilated, by which the House of Commons,

instead of remaining the third estate, or subordinate branch of the constitution, has been raised to the first estate, and so the great principle of the constitution has been subverted, which will ultimately lead to the destruction of all classes, except the lower house be deprived of a portion of its power, and restored to its ancient position in the constitution, when it acted a minor part in the affairs of government, and not a supreme part, as he insists it does now. We are not prepared to fall in with these opinions altogether; but although we know that those who take the liberal, or what is called popular, side in politics, will differ from us, we hesitate not to state that we think the democratic part of the constitution cannot be suffered to increase one atom further without breaking down the balance of the three estates, and involving the nation in anarchy; and we are bound to state that, in this particular, as also on the character of Cromwell, and the Commonwealth, Standard of Value, the Corn Laws, Free Trade, and other topics of interest, Mr. Bernard has supported his views with a strength of argument and manly independence which entitle his work to deep consideration. We wish we could say as much for other subjects of a more speculative nature introduced in the volume, which, from the strange and preposterous opinions advanced, induces us to believe that he is labouring under much political excitement, and looking through the dreadful misery and suffering of revolution, which he has brought to his mind in its most revolting colours, to some Utopian state of society, which will never exist but in the day-dreams of his own brain—he seems suddenly changed from the man of extraordinary judgment and knowledge to the dreaming enthusiast. He tells us that the origin of moral evil has not yet been discovered, but he believes it is about to be discovered, and that this will prove the regeneration of mankind: here we confess we do not understand the author's meaning. When the notable *discovery is made*, the old fabric of our government—king, lords, commons, church—all is to be taken down, and re-constructed! But startle not, gentle reader, this miracle will be effected, not after the manner of former revolutions, with violence, bloodshed, and plunder—no: Mr. Bernard has found out a more rational, a happier mode of rebuilding the fabric—the basement of the constitutional pillar is to be first safely and conveniently put together, so that the working classes may be properly accommodated and well fed; the church and the aristocracy are to be supported thereon with renewed dignity and power; the Corinthian capital of the nobles and princes is to be raised with increased splendour, and on its apex the crown is to rest secure, and shine in the full effulgence of regal power and glory; all this is to be brought about, not with noise and the confusion of tongues, but, as was the building of the temple of Solomon, in peace and tranquillity, without the sound of hammer. This is indeed a beautiful picture, if it should be completed, and the author advances many novel and pleasing flights of fancy respecting it, which will well repay the reader for its perusal. We have gone much beyond our usual limits in noticing this extraordinary production, which is certainly a very singular mixture of sense and absurdity, fact and romance, sound practical argument and strange speculation; but the contest that is to take place before the rebuilding of the constitution, to which we have alluded, is so

novel and terrific, that we cannot refrain from acquainting our readers with it. Mr. Bernard says:—

"The power, that must now be created, for carrying all these things into execution, will require to be greater than any yet created by man, for man has to encounter a power in opposition to him, far superior to any he has ever had to encounter before. It is that of the Devil himself, who, in these latter days, having pitched upon England for his residence, and made his head quarters London, must now be attacked in his principal hold."

Now we are utterly at a loss to account for this—we always thought that the Devil had been the mortal enemy of man from the time of Eve, and never dreamt that the arch-enemy had reserved himself till the present time thus to make his grand attack upon the children of Adam. We regret that Mr. Bernard should have suffered his reason to be so overcome as to pen this nonsense, and so turn into ridicule a subject of most serious import, which is likely to lessen that attention which might otherwise have been paid, and that deservedly, to other parts of his work. There are many points in the volume we have not touched on, but we shall now dismiss it, at least for the present, by merely stating that Whigs, Tories, and Radicals, will find much in it affecting them; and notwithstanding the sad drawbacks in its pages, we recommend each party to read the book, and that with patience and attention, for Mr. Bernard promises another volume, when the origin of moral evil will be laid open, the true remedy made known, and, to use his own language, when he believes it will be "perfectly practicable for the vessel of the state to be steered quietly out from her present perilous situation, beyond the reach of danger, and worked back ultimately into deep water."—*Exeter Gazette*.

EMPLOYMENT FOR THE PEOPLE.

"The agricultural labour of Great Britain and Ireland," according to Mr. Colquhoun, "is presumed to give employment to, and to afford support to, 5,500,000 of the population, and the annual produce of this labour is estimated at 216,817,624*l*." Now, if those who are adverse to the protection of agriculture admit that similar causes will be followed by similar effects, they must equally admit that, if 400,000 paupers were employed in the cultivation of a proportionate quantity of poor land, they would produce a proportionate revenue, making due allowance for the difference in the quality of the land on which such labour is bestowed. That the result will hold good on any other scale of numbers or profit is too obvious to be insisted upon. Let us then contemplate for a moment the prospect which these 400,000 individuals offer to our view, happily employed in the cultivation of the ground; of all employments the most natural, the most nearly allied to innocence and virtue, and the most apt to raise the mind from its relation to the material world, and lift it to the contemplation of objects more sublime;—let us behold them living upon the fruits of their own industry, benefiting the nation at large, increasing the revenue, supporting by a portion of their profits that great body of paupers from which they have been separated, and consequently relieving those landowners who are most oppressed by the operation of poor rates; and after feasting on the luxuries of so delightful a scene, let us contrast it with that which

actually exists at the present moment by leaving these men unemployed, and these lands uncultivated; and we cannot avoid averting our eyes from the dreary and forlorn prospect. Here we behold a miserable, haggard tribe of wretched paupers, viewing with tearful eyes and ravenous appetites the machinery superseding the necessity of their own exertions, and extinguishing the happiness of which these exertions would naturally be productive: and in the agricultural districts we see them weeping over their deserted fields, while those who ought to protect them deny the existence of their distress, and maintain that the sources of our public wealth are entire and unimpaired, &c.

Under the impressions arising from such an affecting prospect as this, we may well ask, with Bishop Berkeley, whether there can be a greater reproach on the leading men and the patriots of a country, than that the people should want employment? Is not this employment to be sought in our own, rather than in foreign agriculture? and is it not, in a great degree, the erroneous doctrines which have been advanced on the subjects of taxation, free trade, &c., and to the influence exercised over the councils of the nation by the advocates of these doctrines, that a great share of the present distress is to be ascribed?

It has been stated by one of the most popular writers on agricultural subjects, "that the first, greatest, and most essential principle of taxation, is equality; the wit of man could never devise a system so complete in this respect as duties on consumption." That equality is the most essential principle of taxation must be admitted; but in what this equality consists has not hitherto been clearly ascertained: at least Mr. Young evidently mistakes it, when he says that the farmer is exempted from all taxes except the land tax, and those general ones on the consumption which equally affect every class: a doctrine, of which Mr. Ricardo's is a mere echo. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, should be equally taxed—that is, according to the capability of each; but in taxing manufactures would it not be very unjust to lay three-fourths of the burden on one particular article, and tell the complaining manufacturer, "the consumer pays the tax, not you?" In taxing commerce, would it not be unjust to compel a trader to the Baltic to take out a licence, and not require it of a trader to the Mediterranean? unless, indeed, the profits of the Baltic trade were proportionably greater. Why, then, should a tax equally anomalous be suffered to oppress agriculture? Why should a greater burden of taxation be imposed on poor than on rich arable land? Admitting agriculture in general to be burdened only with its fair proportion of taxation, it is still surely unjust that one description of land should be more heavily taxed than another. This, however, must be the case, till a property tax is again imposed. This tax—I mean a tax on real property, not that inquisitorial tax on income, to which the name was surreptitiously given—must soon be resorted to, unless events as extraordinary as those that produced the existing anomalies should once more occur. When duties were imposed upon consumption, the framers of these duties should have calculated their effects on the producer of the raw material, and considered whether they would operate equally on all producers. Such a calculation would have shown the impolicy of the malt tax in parti-

cular, which, if not repealed, must one day or other ruin the farmer of light lands, the principal produce of which is barley. Inferior land pays more to the state than rich land, not only in direct, but also in indirect taxation; and consequently, though all parties are affected by every return of general distress, the occupier of poor land is not merely affected, but actually oppressed, and frequently crushed by it. Parish paupers, who are more numerous on poor than on rich land, are not able to pay any portion of taxation by labour or otherwise: their share of taxation must, therefore, be defrayed by others. Who then are the persons on whom such an inevitable burden falls? The proprietors and cultivators of inferior arable land; for the rich lands, especially the grazing districts, not requiring so much manual labour, are comparatively unaffected by the immense increase of pauperism. This observation particularly applies to districts remote from manufactures and commerce, and which may be called purely agricultural.

Among the circumstances arising out of the late war, and the high taxation of which it was the cause, may be placed the emigration of a great number of farmers to America with their capital and servants; and while it thus transplanted one portion of society across the Atlantic, it transplanted another, still less fortunate, to the inferior tillage lands, the greater part of whom have been since brought to ruin.

That grazing land is not so beneficial to the revenue as arable land will instantly appear, if we only compare the taxes paid by an arable farmer with those paid by a grazier. Flesh meat being produced with less taxation, labour, and risk, its producers cannot be such bountiful contributors to the state as those whose grain costs in its production immense sums in taxes only. The relative value of grazing and arable land to the owner and to the state is contrary to all the acknowledged principles of equity and public justice. If the meadow, grazing, and rich arable lands, were to pay in proportion to their value, the taxes upon inferior corn land would be so moderate, that thousands of acres, now deserted, would be restored to cultivation; and many thousands of acres lying waste, as well as thousands of unemployed poor, would no longer be allowed to remain monuments of disgrace to our political economy.—*Vaux on Relative Taxation*.

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street.

Mr. Smith, Sunday morning, at half past eleven.
Mr. Owen, Sunday evening, at seven o'clock.

An Extra Grand Social Festival will be held on Monday Evening, July 21, in commemoration of the Birth-day of the respected Founder. Tickets as usual. The proceeds will be applied to defray the expenses connected with the Musical Department, and to enlarge and perfect the Orchestra.

The 59th Social Festival of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, July 22. Tickets 1s. 6d., or 1s. and a one-hour note each, tea and coffee included.

A Discussion on Tuesday evening, July 22. Subject: "The merits of the Trades Union Bank, as proposed by the Executive." Chair taken at eight o'clock.

A fresh supply of Union Boots and Shoes has been received from Wellingborough, and are now on sale at the Institution.

Printed and published by B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields.

THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 16, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 20.

Mr. Smith lectured on "Food, Air, &c."

Amongst the many different causes which combine together to form the physical and mental character of man, food holds a most conspicuous and important place. Whatever affects the body, affects the mind at the same time; but the effects upon the mind, being not so perceptible to the superficial eye, have for a long time remained unobserved. But if food has a powerful effect in forming the mind, mind has also a reaction upon food. Good food, and plenty of it, will fatten a man, if his temper be good, and his mind be tranquil; but the very best of food will be lost upon a fretful temper, or a laborious and afflicted mind. As the mind is the creature of the body, so is the body the creature of the mind. We cannot say that the one is master of the other, but we know that they have a mutual influence on each other, that a happy mind will give nourishment to the body, and a well-fed body will give nourishment to the mind. Now we know that there are some sorts of food which are more stimulating than others, and that these have an immediate effect on the mental faculties. What a vivifying effect even the draught of a glass of october produces upon the mind of the hardy peasant! and when he has got a quart or two in his stomach, and the fumes thereof ascend upwards, his ideas, which were formerly moved with clogs or pattens upon their feet, now dart like electric shocks through his brain, and astonish even himself. It is the spirit of grain, an inspiration of nature, which communicates with his mind, and strengthens its faculties, until it has spent itself. This effect is still more perceptible from distilled spirits, and still more from the juice of the grape, which, as the Bible says, cheers the heart both of God and man; and yet more from intoxicating gas, or nitrous oxide. These effects are produced upon the mind by means of the heat which is created by these different substances. They all produce the same thing in the stomach, and that is a species of oxygen, or intoxicating gas, which gas contains heat, which heat creates mental excitement; cold, by neutralizing this excitement, would produce the contrary effect.

Now, different kinds of solid food are distin-

guished by the same properties as liquids. Animal food is of a much more stimulating nature than vegetable food, and hence it bears the same analogy to vegetable food as ardent spirits to fermented liquors. There is also more nourishment to be extracted from animal than vegetable food, just as there is more nourishment to be extracted from ardent spirits than from the same quantity of beer; hence it follows that a less quantity of animal food is required to bestow the same quantity of nourishment. But the human stomach requires something more than mere nourishment; it requires quantity; it requires a certain proportion to fill up its large vacuity, and if this vacuity be filled up with such a strong stimulant as animal food, it produces exhaustion and repletion, and unfits man for healthy and vigorous exercise.—All animals that feed upon animal food are capable of very strong excitement; they are courageous, cruel, and ferocious in their disposition; and when they have gorged their stomachs, they generally, like the beef-eaters and wine-bibbers amongst ourselves, take a nap after dinner, to suffer the work of digestion to proceed undisturbed. On the contrary, those animals which feed upon vegetable diet are of a much more innocent and docile nature; they are very peaceful in their dispositions, and when they have got their meals over, they sit down, not to sleep, like the gluttonous flesh-eaters, but to ruminate,—to chew the cud. There is a most remarkable difference between the two in this respect, which to the most superficial eye is very observable, and vastly in favour of those who live upon vegetable diet. The ruminating animals seldom or never sleep during the day; even when they lie down to rest, their heads are erect, and their jaws are in motion, and there is something intellectual about their whole appearance and attitudes which strongly contrasts with the drowsiness of the dog, or the lion, or any other beast of prey, which is always either engaged in sleeping or violent exercise. Hence even the analogy of nature teaches us that vegetable diet is better adapted than animal food for contemplation and mental exercise.

This is rather a curious sort of argument, but it is an argument which is powerfully supported by facts. I have formerly observed, that heat was the stimulant, but cold the grand

producer; that therefore a cool climate was better calculated for the improvement and exercise of the judgment than a hot climate. Animal and vegetable food are merely the same subject in a different light. Animal food is the heat, and vegetable food is the cold; and we find the same effects produced by each. Animal food creates strong excitement; vegetable food, more coolness and perseverance. Gamesters are well aware of this fact from experience, and, therefore, when they mean to engage keenly in their favourite employment, they constantly avoid a full meal of animal food, and feed principally on milk and vegetables. Some have been known to take a good dose of strong medicine before commencing the run of hazard. Sir Isaac Newton was so sensible of the superior effects of vegetable diet upon the mind, that when he was composing his treatise upon optics, he rigidly abstained from the use of all animal food. This was also recommended and practised by the philosophers of antiquity; and many large sects have in all ages arisen, who have from similar motives confined themselves to vegetables only.

It has been supposed by many, that vegetable diet is not so strengthening as animal food; but this is a supposition by no means warranted from experience. There are several nations in the world who live almost exclusively on vegetables. The Hindoos and Chinese confine themselves to this species of diet, and the Africans live principally on maize, or Indian corn; yet these, especially the latter, are a strong and healthy people. It is well known, also, that our Irish neighbours, who live chiefly upon potatoes, are so active and vigorous of limb, that an Irishman's day's labour is more valuable than that of an Englishman. The strength of the bull, of the horse, and of the ram, is all extracted from the vegetable world; and man is capable of extracting the same for himself.

But there is a submissiveness and a patience generally said to be produced by vegetable food, which may in some measure account for the passive and long-suffering character of the Irish peasant. That people have borne the most intolerable hardships; they are an instance of long-suffering and endurance, which has not a parallel in the history of man. They live in a beautiful and luxuriant country,

which brings forth more than sufficient to support all its inhabitants in the greatest luxury; they live in the midst of rich estates, possessed by men who live at a distance, and export the produce which the poor have brought forth by the sweat of their brow; they live in hovels, which would be accounted in England too mean for styes, and feed upon the same food, and sleep upon the same straw as the pigs themselves. Yet, for all that, strong-bodied and powerful men, they respect the property of their wealthy landlords, and patiently suffer them to export the crops of their country, while famine is stalking abroad in every hovel. In 1829, when subscriptions were raised in England to relieve a famine in Ireland, the Irish landlords were exporting provisions to England in rich abundance, the poor starving Irish quietly looking on; would they have acted wrong had they risen up and taken possession? No; they would only have done what the British Government itself did when it wrenched the government of India from the great Mogul. The Irish are a patient people, and so are the Indians, and they both feed upon vegetable diet; and probably it may be owing in part to this circumstance that they have been reduced to their present state of degradation. But they are a kind and a generous people; they are an affectionate and a friendly people, and these are qualities which are much more useful in promoting the happiness of man than ferocious and warlike courage.

In our old world, courage, that is, martial courage, has generally been reckoned a virtue of a very high order; but be it a virtue or be it a vice, it has been a mighty tyrant from time immemorial. A meek and gentle disposition is more to be commended for its good effects, if not more splendid in its outward appearance. Martial courage has been the bane of human society; it has been the prime mover by which armies were conducted, and tyrants waded through blood to lordly dominion over their own species; and the mildest and the most innocent of men were always sure to be trodden under foot because they made the least resistance. In such a state of society as this is, such a spirit may be useful for self-defence, but it is only useful while this system lasts, and no longer; there is no use for martial talents in a state of serene tranquillity, such as that of the Social System, and martial propensities would be dangerous to private happiness. More, therefore, would be gained than lost by the use of vegetable diet, if it have a tendency to promote the growth of the social and kindly feelings, and put an end to all rash and choleric irritability of temper and ferocity of disposition.

And be it observed that it is a very curious law of nature that that very spirit of adventure and chivalry which is usually known by the name of courage, is nothing else than the spirit of indolence in a state of artificial excitement. Martial or warlike nations are not industrious nations. Soldiers were never over-fond of patient and long-continued labour; indeed, it is generally the idle and the useless mechanic who enlists, and it is his aversion to labour that prompts him to follow the camp. Soldiers always despised merchandise and commerce, till they found them gaining ground upon military prowess, and leading the van in the honours of civil society. But mercantile nations have always been reckoned timid; hence, if we object to the use of vegetable food on account of the timidity of character which it

engenders, we may also object to merchandise and the cultivation of the arts and sciences, for all these have a similar effect upon the human mind in subduing its ferocity, and creating a timidity or gentleness of character which is more conducive to the happiness of social intercourse.

What men in general call timidity or cowardice, is, in my own opinion, as much of a virtue as a vice. A man is called a coward, and branded with the name, if he refuses to accept the challenge of a madman or a fool, who wishes to have a shot at him; and many a poor fellow forces himself, with trembling knees, to stand the fire, merely to save his character. Another is called a courageous fellow who clears a five-barred gate, or a hedge and ditch, and outstrips his companions in the hunt; these are probably mere fools; whilst there are thousands of industrious mechanics and literary men who have scarcely courage to mount a horse, or who would catch the mane or grasp the animal round the throat in a fright as soon as it began to trot. These may be called cowards by a jockey; but they are patient, industrious men, and if they would make worse soldiers, they make better producers, and will save as many lives as the other will kill. There is more virtue in cowardice than it gets credit for, and the cowardice of a soldier is frequently the courage and perseverance of a producer. Good soldiers are bad producers, and good producers are bad soldiers; taking this view of the subject, martial cowardice is a virtue; it is merely a peaceful disposition, and it is to be regretted that there is not more of it in society.

Yet, notwithstanding, I do not at present advise any man to abandon the use of animal food; but it is not out of any enmity to the clergy that I do not. The more animal food that is consumed in the country, the worse for the parsons; it causes a diminution in the tithes; and if the whole population of Britain were to commence eating vegetable food only, it would be the greatest boon which could be conferred upon the church, as it would force into tillage a vast quantity of land which is now lying in grass from fear of the tithe. Tithes seem to have been invented for parsons and cattle; for the tithe system induces the farmer to rear cattle upon land which would otherwise have been appropriated to a much more useful purpose, that of growing vegetable food. Hence the cattle enjoy all the benefit of these laws; they feed upon the best of the land; but as soon as the tithe system is abolished, they must either be driven away to a poorer soil, or butcher's meat will rise so high that few will purchase it.

Perhaps I might offend the delicate nerves of many of my fair sisters, and even of some of my bearded brothers, were I to ask the question, "Why do they confine themselves merely to the eating of ruminating animals?" This is a question which the infidels especially should be prepared to answer, seeing they have cast off all religious prejudices. I myself am convinced that it is merely a religious prejudice, and that the infidels, whatever they may think to the contrary, have not yet got rid of religion; they are still under the power of *superstition*, as may be easily demonstrated by experiment. It is well known that Moses has been very circumstantial in respect to the species of animals fit to be used as food by man. "*All animals that chew the cud, and divide the hoof,*" &c. &c. The Christians, however, have thought proper to make a breach of the law of Moses as well as

of the laws of the Holy Ghost and the council of the apostles. They have made a truce with God, and agreed to keep one half of the Mosaic law, if he allow them to break the other; accordingly, they eat swine, and hares, and rabbits, and eels, and oysters, and lobsters, and blood; all of which used to be an abomination in the Lord's nostrils, but are now exceedingly relished by modern Christians, who gulp them down, and wink their eye at the Lord and his commandments. But they religiously abstain from carnivorous animals; and the infidels, bred up in the same school, as religiously follow their example. Now, I know that it has been attempted by many to demonstrate that this law of Moses is agreeable to the feelings of human nature; but, if so, then it is proving too much, for the Christians do not abide by it. Failing in this, however, they attempt to prove that it is agreeable to the feelings of human nature to live on those animals only which feed on vegetable diet, since they only are clean. But all this is a mere presumption, founded upon a religious prejudice: all animals are clean, and all eaten by mankind. But, not to adduce any of the savage or barbarous nations as patterns for our example, I may mention that the Romans were particularly fond of rats; they reared them for the table as we now rear poultry, but they always fed them on vegetable food to make their flesh tender. Hippocrates, also, in his treatise on human diet, mentions dogs and foxes as articles of food for man; it is probable they were reared in the same manner on vegetable food; and we know that, in the South-sea islands, dogs are used as food by the natives, and fed upon vegetables for that purpose. Dr. Shaw, in his travels in the East, mentions that lions' flesh was eaten at Algiers, and that it tasted like veal. The Jews, who were a most disobedient people, were, in spite of the Lord's prohibition, very much addicted to the eating of mice. Isaiah, the prophet, reproaches them for going behind the trees in the garden and eating the mouse in secret. All these facts clearly show that our exclusion of certain animals in favour of others, as articles of food, is merely a religious prejudice, which has no necessary origin either in our own stomachs or in the animals themselves. Dogs, horses, cats, rats, mice, and many other species of animals amongst us, might perhaps by proper rearing, and the removal of certain deep-rooted prejudices, which even the liberals are not divested of, be rendered quite as good and as wholesome food as that of herbivorous animals. There is nothing more necessary than merely to feed them on vegetable diet.

Blood, which is a favourite dish amongst all our gourmands, is prohibited as an article of food both by the Jewish and Christian religions. But our pious Christians contrive to slip over this part of the law, being particularly fond of game and black-pudding. Never was a law given more particularly and unequivocally than that respecting blood, and never was one more contemptuously broken. Every mouthful of game that a Christian takes (and God knows the Bishops take many!) is a sin against the Holy Ghost, who has forbidden the use of it. But Christians have very ductile consciences, which will spin out to any length, and accommodate themselves to any circumstances. Priests have always been fond of blood; they have sucked more blood than all the leeches that ever lived; and hence they have exerted all their ingenuity in endeavouring to demonstrate that when the Holy Ghost commanded

the Christian world not to eat blood, he did not mean it; he meant some other thing, it matters not what, provided it was not blood, and they may eat it. Thus they have got rid of the commandments, and smack their lips contentedly after game and venison, and strangled fowls. (See *Acts*, xv. 28,—a law never repealed.)

SUNDAY EVENING, JULY 30.

Mr. Owen reminded his hearers that he had, on the previous Sunday evening, read a letter from the extreme west; on a Sunday or two before, another from the same part of America; and he would now read a third, received during the week from Mr. William Pantton of Montpellier, New South Wales, dated the 2d January. These were only a few of numerous letters continually sent to him from all parts of the globe, showing that the old world is every where tired of the existing system. It is evident to all individuals accustomed to reflect, that some change must soon happen, which change they confidently anticipated would take place through the introduction of the principles advocated in that place. The following are extracts from the letter alluded to:—

"I think I now see an early adoption of your long-recommended and invaluable projects for the benefit of mankind. In the outset of this correspondence, I may here premise that I have been long acquainted with your valuable writings before the world; the first, I believe 'The New Views of Society,' I had at its early publication; and ever since I have been thoroughly convinced of the truth of its contents, and every succeeding year has only added to my anxiety to behold its accomplishment. * * * Although emigrating to this quarter of the globe, where I have been upwards of ten years, you may suppose that I either did not properly understand or appreciate your views, yet still, observing the whole world, I may say, against you, and knowing the inveterate prejudices of mankind, I was fearful that both my mind and body would be worn out before the world would embrace your views sufficiently to give the matter a trial; and as I saw and felt the rapid destruction of property going on at home, I was naturally desirous to secure (if such could be done, though I am since doubtful of that here or any where else) an asylum of comfort and repose for my family. However, I must candidly confess to you, that I was then but imperfect in your views and ideas. Since that time, however, further experience and manifold events have opened my eyes more fully to what the whole civilised world will, in the end, be subjected to; and, as I before mentioned, I rejoice to perceive that there is now (from dire necessity) an early prospect of your views being set on foot. In a late number of the *Quarterly Review*, in an article upon the Poor Laws, I observe, that the bugbear, Utopian, has been at last got over, and that the trial of Fellenberg's system is seriously recommended for the relief of the country. Now, although Fellenberg is named, I am convinced that it is yours that is meant, and will be adopted. Since the matter has been broached, in the best quarter too, after all their foolish plans of reform having failed; that is to say, in giving the people mere liberty, without more properly feeding and instructing them first; I look forward with intense anxiety to what is now to follow. * * * At one time I was certainly in great expectation of your plans being speedily adopted; but I afterwards saw, with

considerable concern, that Brougham—now Lord Chancellor—had apparently lost sight of his, as I supposed, once favourable interest in the cause of humanity; which you yourself, I believe, had hopes of after his journey to Switzerland, and the interest he took in Fellenberg's, and even in your own establishment at New Lanark, as I recollect you told me he had expressed himself to you on a visit. However, matters have now come to that pass with church and state, that evasion will no longer be tolerated, and I now direct my whole attention to a commencement of one of your projected villages of mutual co-operation, as I consider the time to have fully arrived, as you prophesied it would come, that the party who was then most adverse to your system, would at a future day be most clamorous for its adoption. The Exchange Bazaar I do not fully comprehend; but I suppose they were commenced as a mode of relief to the working classes in the interim. I perceive, from the tone of many of the English periodicals, that all parties seem now to be coming to one point, namely, to the true cause of the distresses of the country; and I also suppose France not to be behind in that respect; and, consequently, when once that is agreed upon, the adoption of your measures must irresistibly follow. Even here, where you may suppose plenty of land to be had for almost nothing, although I need hardly inform you of the fact, we are getting embarrassed by competition in mercantile and agricultural affairs; and I can see clearly, although our fate will be more distant, yet it will not be less certain than that of Europe's; therefore I have not entirely abandoned my long-cherished desire to return to my native land, and live and die in one of the villages of mutual co-operation; for I am convinced that no one can know any thing like comfort and happiness as society now stands. There is such a restless desire for liberty and equality every where, and increasing every day, that it baffles all attempts to enjoy quiet of body or mind: indeed, perplexity seems abroad all over."

Mr. Owen had much pleasure in saying that another labourer was in the field, namely, Mr. Bernard, of King's College, Cambridge,—a place of all others the least likely to produce a plan for the complete reform of the evils of society. This gentleman had published a very expensive work on the "Theory of the Constitution." Mr. O. had had considerable communication with him since the publication of his work,—for he did not know him before; and he goes so far as to say that it is of no use to reform society by degrees,—but that we must pull down the whole fabric, and rebuild it entirely anew. He also considers that the regeneration of society will arise from the working classes. Since Mr. Owen had been acquainted with him, he had got rid of several of his greatest prejudices.

After speaking of the work of Mr. Bernard as that of the most learned practical man he had hitherto met with, the lecturer referred to the critique of the work in last week's *Crisis*, taken from the *Exeter Gazette*—a high church paper, and recommended its perusal to his hearers. The work was also alluded to as follows by *Blackwood*, likewise an organ of the Tory and high-church party:—

"The English," says Napoleon, 'are a nation of SHOPKEEPERS.' In this single expression is to be found the true secret of the pecuniary difficulties in which all classes have been involved for the last fifteen years, and of

the total failure of the Reform Parliament to administer any, even the slightest, relief to the real necessities of the nation. It is the undue, the overwhelming ascendancy which the class of traders, money-lenders, and shopkeepers, have of late years been constantly acquiring over the cultivators and manufacturers, that is, over the working classes, which has produced all the false measures into which the Tories were seduced in the last ten years of their administration, and has at last precipitated the nation, bound hand and foot, into the bonds of the *shopocracy* and *moneyocracy*, riveted round their necks by Reform in Parliament.

"That this has been the chief cause of all the public distress; that it has been the remote but certain parent of the Free Trade system, the change in the Currency, and the abandonment of the Navigation Laws, the hideous infant factories, and, last of all, of the fatal Reform in Parliament, which has at once prostrated the whole *working* and *producing* classes at the feet of the *buying* and *consuming*,—we apprehend to be as clear as any proposition in Euclid. We are preparing and collecting materials for this great subject, which will be fully developed in our next number, and would have appeared in this, were it not that the instant approach of the great strike on the 1st March imperatively calls for the consideration of the 'Trades' Unions, which are in fact only consequence and corollary from the dreadful political errors into which the people, under the guidance of a political faction, whose interests were adverse to their own, have been led, and the ruinous ascendancy given to that faction by the Reform Bill."

To these remarks of *Blackwood*, the following is appended as a note:—"The above view coincides with what has been recently and powerfully advanced in a most able and original work, entitled 'Theory of the Constitution,' by J. B. Bernard, Esq., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. With many opinions of that gentleman we by no means concur; and, in particular, his speculations about the approaching discovery of moral evil and regeneration of society are totally unworthy of an author of so much information. But his book is truly a work of genius: his views of the historical changes of the constitution, though sometimes exaggerated, are always original, generally just and profound; and his clear insight into the intimate connexion between democracy and monied ascendancy, is not only historically true, but in the highest degree important at this time. Mr. Bernard and Sir D. Sandford will soon become good Conservatives. Men of original thought, as they are, will never receive the law from Holland and Lansdowne House, as the Whigs do on every subject of politics, literature, philosophy, and taste. We shall take an early opportunity of making Mr. Bernard's work known to our readers."

Whether or not it was, said Mr. Owen, that, when this promise was made, the reviewer had read only the first part of Mr. Bernard's work, and on perusing the remainder saw that its tendency was of too liberal a nature for him to advocate, he had not since so much as mentioned the title of the work.

Mr. Cobbett, of the very opposite party, thus speaks of the work:

"From the title of this book our readers would perhaps naturally enough conclude, that the author is a man violently attached to o

of the great political parties of the day: either a Whig, whose object is to extol the "Glorious Revolution of 1688," deify Somers, Burnet, and Godolphin, expatiate on the principles of liberty then established, and sing *To triumph* over the Reform Bill of 1830; or a Tory, who looks back with raptures to the time of Queen Anne, when the powers of Harley, St. John, and Swift were in the ascendant, and talks in heroics of the firm conjunction between church and state in the days of Dr. Sacheverell; and mournfully exclaims, with Sir Robert Peel, 'that the time is now past when it is an honourable ambition in any man to aspire to a seat in the royal councils;' we are glad to say that he is neither. We should have been still more happy to have enlisted such a recruit into the ranks of Radicalism; but we fear he is not yet sufficiently expert in the manual exercise of our party. It is, however, refreshing to find a man, educated in one of the hot-beds of political party (Cambridge) searching into history, with a view to come to correct conclusions, rather than to advance the *ex parte* statements of the leaders of the political faith in which he must have been educated. * * *

"The two chapters on the depreciation of the standard of value by Mr. Pitt, contain one of the most lucid views of a question which a succession of designing men have laboured to make complicated, that we have had the fortune to meet with. If we had been indebted to Mr. Bernard for this able exposition alone, which is contained in these chapters and the succeeding ones, explaining the nature and consequences of the appreciation of the standard of value, which took place in 1819, under the auspices of Mr. Peel, he had then done enough to entitle himself to the lasting thanks of his country. * * *

"Mr. Bernard, after having actually laid down the present state of the empire, shortly informs us of his remedies for the cure of the formidable disease, and with the greatest possible respect for the author's motives, which we believe to be most pure, we must say, his conclusion is quite as 'lame and impotent' as Iago's. The discovery of the origin of moral evil is the power by which the nation is to extricate itself from its embarrassments. Several reasons are given for asserting that the knowledge of the origin of moral evil is attainable by man; and that its discovery is now about to take place in England. These reasons are certainly flattering to us as a nation, but they may applied, with equal weight, to support the untenable theory of any state doctor. The strangest part of the crotchet is, that this discovery will be made by the English working people, who are said to be alone capable of accomplishing their own regeneration, as well as that of mankind at large. We believe that the working people of this country will effect a great change in our condition, but certainly not from any knowledge of moral evil, but from their determination to destroy the system of paper money."

The author of the "Theory of the Constitution," at the conclusion of the first volume, which is all that is hitherto published, states that, if it should meet with the reception he expected, he would publish a second volume, containing in detail what he considered the remedies for the present evils of society. The work is selling very well, and the author is preparing his second volume for publication. "He has called on me," said Mr. Owen, "several times, to ascertain if my views on several sub-

jects coincided with his. I have told him, among many other things, that the working population consists of two classes; one, idle, drunken, and dissolute, the creatures of all bad habits; the other, which was rapidly increasing, was intelligent, well-disposed, not violent, and not to be moved to action without they thoroughly understood the principles recommended to them. I also told him that the working classes could not read his work if it was so expensively got up as his first volume." Mr. Bernard had since sent him the following letter:

"To Robert Owen.

"MY DEAR SIR,—With reference to what you tell me of its being the wish of all the best informed members of the Trades' Unions to form a junction with the landowners and farmers, for purposes of mutual protection against that party in the state which is now endeavouring to establish principles of government diametrically opposed, as you and I think, to the fair claims of native industry, I beg to mention that, fully believing a junction between the landowners and farmers and the Trades' Unions to be practicable, and likewise most desirable, if it could be accomplished, I do not consider it either practicable or desirable, so long as these Unions designate themselves by a name which implies hostility to land, and employ a language which the landowners conceive to be subversive of the institution of property. The name 'Trades' Unions' conveys an impression that such Unions are formed to promote the interests of trade, that is, the interests of the monied, commercial, and shop-keeping classes, in opposition to the classes engaged in agriculture and production of all descriptions, including the collective body of working people, both agricultural and manufacturing. The first step, therefore, on the part of these Unions (which are, in fact, Unions of working people, whose interest is the same with that of the landowners and farmers) towards an amicable understanding with the latter classes, appears to me to be, that they should change their present name, which implies trading views, to one more expressive of the conservative ones, which they entertain at heart. What think you of the following:—"Conservative Union of Working People for establishing the Rights of Industry and Humanity, and preventing a Revolution of Violence?" This would mark at once their determination to support the land, in opposition to the schemes of the fundholders and shopkeepers, and would be in strict accordance with the plan which I am about to lay before the nation. The principles on which that plan is founded are contained in the first vol. of my work, lately published, on the 'Theory of the Constitution,' which you are already acquainted with; but that you may obtain a little further insight into the nature of the plan, I send you the introductory chapter to my second vol., which is not yet ready for publication, but which will be ready, I trust, by the time the people are prepared to receive it. Meanwhile, you are at liberty to circulate the Introductory Chapter, if you think it will be of service. It is of great importance that the Unions should become acquainted with the contents of my first vol., that they may see the principles on which alone I am disposed to co-operate with them, but the price (14s.) puts it out of the reach of working people. However, if the Unions should like my views, when you come to explain them, and think it worth their while to inspect them more narrowly, I beg to state that they are

welcome to publish my first volume in any cheap form, in numbers or otherwise, that is likely to promote its being read amongst the working people at large, and to apply the profits to the advantage of the Unions; with this stipulation merely, that no publication of it shall take place that will interfere with the sale of the book amongst those who can afford to buy it from my publishers, Messrs. Ridgway. I remain, my dear Sir, yours sincerely,

"JAS. B. BERNARD.

"Sidmouth, July 8, 1834."

Mr. Owen promised, on some future occasion, to read the Introductory Chapter mentioned in the letter, which would put his hearers more completely in possession of the author's views, which are radical in the extreme, meditating changes in King, Lords, and Commons, and great alterations in religion; it will show that we are acting on false principles, and that so long as we shall act on those principles, we shall continue to get worse and worse, increasing in misery and wretchedness, until the patience of the people shall be exhausted, and scenes of violence ensue.

Mr. Finch, of Liverpool, a gentleman well known for his exertions to ameliorate the condition of the working classes, and in promoting the establishment of temperance societies as one means to the great end, then came forward, and stated that, having been summoned to London to give evidence before Mr. Buckingham's Committee of the House of Commons to enquire into the causes and remedies of drunkenness, he was anxious, while here, to employ his time as usefully as possible, and with this view came forward on the present occasion. He had just returned from a six weeks' tour in Ireland, and in the principal towns through which he passed he had delivered lectures advocating a better state of society than the existing one. He did not, however, at present contemplate so great a change as the author of the work just alluded to by Mr. Owen. It is necessary to understand the causes of the evils of society before any efficient remedies can be applied for their removal. He considers there are four chief causes to which all these evils may be traced: first, ignorance; second, drunkenness; third, individual interest, or selfishness, with its attendants, monopoly and competition; and fourth, the want of the knowledge of the doctrine of circumstances, and that man's character is formed *for* and not *by* himself. Losing sight of these principles, measures have been proposed for the benefit of the poorer classes, without producing the anticipated effects. Amongst other plans proposed was the Reform Bill, which had not relieved the distresses of the country; neither had the residence of landlords on their estates this effect in the south of England or in Yorkshire. The repeal of tithes had been proposed; but in countries where there were no tithes, distress existed as much as in our own. The repeal of taxes, it was thought by some, would have the desired effect; but in America, where there were scarcely any taxes, and in France, where they were much fewer than with us, distress existed to a considerable extent. The repeal of the Union would not give to the people of Ireland a greater share of their productions or prevent competition. Emigration would injure a country, by taking away nearly all the best part of the population—the well-disposed, industrious, and sober; and leaving the idle, dissolute, and drunken, to prey on that part

which remained. Poor laws could not materially benefit Ireland; in England we are now paying upwards of eight millions a-year for the support of our poor, with every prospect of the amount increasing to ten or twelve millions in a very short time, if some remedy were not adopted, and still we are surrounded with growing poverty and wretchedness to a degree which was horrible to contemplate. Neither did our distress arise from over-population, as maintained by Malthus, Miss Martineau, and others of the political economists.

What, then, is the remedy? How shall we remove the evils spoken of? In the lecturer's opinion, these questions would be best answered by referring to facts. He then gave a most interesting and detailed account of the Ralahine Community, established in Ireland by Mr. Vandeleur on his estate, which he (Mr. Finch) visited about three years ago, and was so pleased with the operations going on, that he remained there some weeks in order to examine into all the minutiae of the plan. Mr. Vandeleur having been for some time impressed with the importance of Mr. Owen's views, determined to introduce them as far as possible on his estate. Circumstances induced him to adopt the community system sooner than he had intended. His steward having been murdered by the Terry Alts, he sent for Mr. Craig,—a gentleman now engaged by Lady Byron in forming schools on our principles. They at first met with considerable difficulties, chiefly in engaging hands. At length Mr. V. got together about forty individuals of the very poorest class, in order, if the plan should not succeed, they might not have the power to say they had been injured by it. He engaged to let Ralahine estate (about 600 acres) for 700*l.* rent, and 200*l.* a-year more for machinery and agricultural implements; the first year to be a money rent, and every year afterwards at a fixed corn rent, which should not be increased whatever improvements the tenants might make on the estate. They were to have a long lease, and to replace at the end of the term the tools and cattle which were on the farm at its commencement. As they were persons without a shilling capital, or property of any description, Mr. V. undertook to furnish them with food, until they had a return from the soil. He opened a store. To prevent the tenants over-drawing on the store, their time was regularly valued, and labour-notes issued. The provisions also had fixed values.

The washing and mending were each done in separate places. The children, as soon as weaned, were sent to the infant school; at about eight years of age they were admitted into the dining-room, and were employed in some light work, such as picking stones; and were continued to be boarded and educated without any expense to their parents. The men had meat, drink, washing, and lodging, at an expense of two shillings a-week, and their wages were four shillings; so that all their necessities, except clothes, were supplied to them at half their earnings; and to the women in the same proportion. Although these men had not the food and comforts he should recommend for working people, they had more of both than the peasantry of Ireland generally procure, and when he saw them, they appeared more healthy, cheerful, and contented than the same number of labourers he had any where met with. To abolish drunkenness, no whiskey was allowed on the estate, and as their labour-notes were only taken at

the store, they were prevented from procuring it at all. To support the sick, a fund was established, to which each person paid one halfpenny per week; and the sick received the same wages as when at work. By this means sympathy was excited for the sick, and as it was the interest of the society that the patient should return to work as soon as possible, the members used all their means to effect his speedy restoration to health.

The parents not being troubled with their children, and knowing they were well taken care of, were released from a load of anxiety, and, when their day's work was done, could sit and talk together, or walk out in peace and happiness. The regulations with respect to marriages were well calculated to answer the ends proposed. The females were raised in every respect to an equality with the males. If a woman had a disagreeable, quarrelsome husband, she could easily tell him, if he did not put a control on his temper, she would dine in the public hall, and go and sleep with the single women in the female dormitories; and the men could do the same with quarrelsome wives. The women, being freed from their children, went to work as well as the men, and were paid accordingly, and consequently were totally independent of the men.

Among many other plans, all admirably adapted to the objects intended to be attained, we shall merely mention the method of regulating the labour of the society. Every evening the committee wrote on slates, which were afterwards hung up in the dining-hall, the labour to be performed by each individual, fixing the place where each plough or other implement was to be used; and on the following morning, every person went into the hall, saw what work he was appointed to, and immediately set about it, without any grumbling or dissatisfaction, assured that, as the interest of all was the same, the committee had ordered the business of the day, that each person's abilities might be so employed as to produce the greatest amount of benefit to the society.

Mr. Finch, after stating that the members of the society had increased to eighty-one when he visited it, concluded his very interesting details, by giving notice of his intention of lecturing again in the course of the week, (which was afterwards fixed for Friday evening, the 25th instant, in the Institution,) and sat down amidst considerable applause.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. Peel complains of Mr. Owen accusing the Committee of ignorance in the management of things during his absence; but the fact is, that Mr. Owen's absence made no difference whatsoever either in the management of the Exchange or the Crisis. Mr. Peel must just be patient under the charge of ignorance; he only shares it in common with us all.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 26.

IF the Unions of the men are dissolving, the Unions of their masters seem to be strengthening; and the latter are resolved to suppress the rising spirit of combination amongst their servants, and bind the yoke more tightly upon them. The declaration is still in being, and its signature enforced, or to be enforced immediately. The mas-

ter builders have postponed the signature until the 16th of August, when all who shall not comply with their request are to be dismissed from employment. The builders, however, seem determined to persevere: as yet they have exhibited a degree of moral courage, prudence, and consistency, which may serve as a model for all their fellow-workmen.

Some time ago a resolution was taken by them not to drink the beer of Combe, Delafield, & Co., because that house had been instrumental in exciting the masters to the use of coercive measures for the suppression of the Trades' Associations, and many publicans have been obliged to change their brewers on this very account. Messrs. Cubitt, master builders, who, it is supposed, have some pecuniary interest in Delafield's business, summoned their workmen before them last week, to know the reason why they would not drink Delafield's beer, supplied from a public-house near their shop in Gray's Inn-lane, at the same time tendering the "Declaration" for them to sign. The men maintained their right to spend their money how and where they pleased, and refused to put their names to the slavish document. They were then told that they would be immediately dismissed from employment. The men still persisting in their resolution, were told that, if they would return to their former habit of drinking Combe and Co.'s beer, they might return to their employment, and the declaration should be withheld until the 16th of August. The men refused; and all, amounting to upwards of six hundred, immediately left the premises.

This is merely the beginning of a grand struggle with the builders and the masters; and we are happy to say that it is in every respect a struggle for liberty and principle, which is the only species of warfare that can ultimately prove beneficial. The builders are at present the most interesting body of the working classes. The fate of the Unions in a great measure depends upon their exertion and success; if they succeed, they succeed for ever; they establish a right which can never be taken from them. They are not merely striking for an additional shilling or eighteen-pence a-week or day, of which they might be deprived in a month, after several weeks' starvation to obtain it. They are making a stand for a moral and political right, and in doing so we hope they will, at the same time, so thoroughly organize themselves during the contest as to be able to proceed to future and more important measures, with the wisdom and decision of experience.

We know not whether this be deemed too personal for the *Crisis* or not; perhaps we ought not to have mentioned the names of Cubitt, Combe, Delafield, &c., but merely the principle. We tried this latter,

but it would not do; we could not understand it; it was too spiritual; and then the beer, what could we do with the principle of fermented liquors? for there is as much personality in alluding to or abusing bad beer as a bad character. So, perhaps we have committed another mistake, merely for the purpose of informing our readers in what predicament the builders are placed, and what is the struggle which they now anticipate; and, to speak the truth once more, we do think it a most tyrannical act on the part of the Cubitts to enforce such conditions upon their workmen, who are equally well entitled as their masters to associate and spend their money on what sort of liquor is most agreeable to their palates. It is an intrusion into the liberty of private life, which must be recorded.

The following are the contents of a large bill, which the builders have posted up in all parts of the city:

NOTICE.—Fellow Workmen in the Building Line, whether unionists or not! The masters have commenced a base and an unjustifiable attack upon us, and shall we not defend ourselves by just and moral means? We have united to protect our families from oppression, which is the duty of every man who has the slightest feelings of humanity in his breast. Our demands are grounded on the laws of justice; and if masters were not tyrants, they would have acceded to our demands. The masters have been assisted by *The Times* newspaper, to set forward to the public a gross misrepresentation of facts relative to a strike which has taken place at a certain Builder's in Gray's-inn-road, we adopt the following plan of making known to the public and our fellow men the real truth connected with this strike. The heads of this firm, who have so much derided the principles of union to protect, have really entered into a combination with others to injure their fellow creatures and starve their families, by wishing them to sign a bond or declaration that they do not, neither will they, belong to any union or society. The men could not consent to degrade themselves in the eyes of their fellow-men by signing such a base document. They were also requested to bind themselves to make use of no other than Combe and Delafield's beer; which was unfair and exclusive dealing, which no man will sanction; the men were therefore obliged to strike; but it is set forth in the *Times* that 228 men have signed their names to that document. There certainly are not more than sixty names to the document, and those are clerks, apprentices, carmen, oslers, watchmen, and errand boys, with the exception of three perjured men, who have urged every man in the employ to join the union, and have now betrayed them. Let every tradesman, publican, and shopkeeper stand forward and assist to prevent slavery from being introduced into what is called a free country. Fellow-workmen, be not deluded: Combe and Delafield have sent to us, and wish to defeat us by deceptive means; but we are not to be deceived. They wish us to finish the work this certain firm has commenced. We have more honour attached to us; let them draw themselves from the masters' combination, and we will again perform their work; but until then we shall

be as firm as men and Englishmen were ever found to be! Let them meet us, and they shall find us men of principle and discretion: we will unite our interest with theirs, if they will unite theirs with ours; we will proclaim peace, and all convulsions will cease.

DIALOGUE

Between a Unionist and a Stranger—continued.

S. At the termination of our last conversation you said you would explain the cause of the ignorance of the upper and middle classes relative to the present state of the working classes.

U. I recollect my promise, and will now fulfil it. These classes admit that there is a surplus of capital and of labour, and also a surplus of all articles, purchasable by money, for all who have the money to expend?

S. I believe they all admit these three points.

U. And also that they one and all desire to increase their riches?

S. No one can doubt the existence of this desire in all classes, and especially in the middle and upper classes.

U. And is not labour the source of all wealth, and the creator of capital, although, at first, by slow degrees?

S. Certainly.

U. And labour and capital, well directed, the means of producing riches expeditiously to a great amount?

S. Yes.

U. Why, then, as the middle and upper classes desire to increase the wealth of society, do they not unite the surplus labour and surplus capital to produce additional riches?

S. I really cannot answer that question, and it has very often not only puzzled me, but all those with whom I have conversed on the subject. Those who think they understand these matters best, say that if more food, clothes, houses, &c., were brought into existence by the full application of our capital and labour, that the increased quantities of these articles, however much they are required by the poor, would not produce more money, but less, and therefore there can be no use in producing or making any more of these things, necessary as they are to human existence or enjoyment, or however much the poor may desire to obtain and use them. The rich have as much as they can use; and the poor, for want of money, cannot purchase them, consequently, there is no market for them; and under these circumstances, the more there is produced of them the less will be the monied value of the whole quantity at market. This is all the information I can obtain from any party, rich or poor, upon this certainly very perplexing question.

U. You say there is no demand or market for these things, because there is no money in the possession of those who are really very much in want of all these things, and who would buy them immediately if they had money?

S. It is the want of money that makes capital and labour of so little value compared with the estimation in which they were held some years ago, when both were more scarce than they are at present.

U. Are the things mentioned, that is to say, food, houses, clothes, furniture, &c. &c., or money, what you call wealth or riches?

S. I am a good deal puzzled by this question also, and do not know well what answer to

give. Some people say that food, clothes, houses, &c. &c., constitute real wealth, and that money is the mere representative of these things, and I very much incline to this opinion; but, on the other hand, I always find the most cunning and the sharpest people prefer money, or what you would perhaps call the shadow, while they set very little value on what you would call the substance; and this conduct does appear to me very strange; but I am certain there must be some great fallacy in our proceedings, some cause, although it is hidden from the public, why money should be continually more and more valued, and eagerly sought for, while real wealth should sink almost daily in public estimation.

U. Well, does not all this appear not only very perplexing, but very irrational? Could we do without food, clothes, houses, and other necessities of life, although we had money to the full extent of our desires?

S. No, certainly not.

U. Could we do without gold or silver, if we had abundance of good food, clothes, houses, furniture, and all the other necessities and comforts of life?

S. No doubt we could; some of our ornaments would be wanting, but in a short period their loss would not be materially felt by any portion of mankind.

U. Now consider well what reply you make to my question. Will the nations of the world be more benefited by a system which shall insure an abundance of money in a few hands, and a very deficient supply of the necessities and comforts of life for the many; or by a system that shall insure an abundance of the necessities and comforts of life for all, and no surplus of money in the hands of the few or many?

S. I can have no difficulty in answering the question by saying that it would be far more for the happiness of the population of all countries that there should be an ample supply of the necessities and comforts of life for all, and no surplus money in the hands of the few or many, than that there should be a surplus of money and a deficiency of the necessities and comforts of life, and more especially if the surplus of money should be at the command of the few.

U. I am satisfied with the answer which you have given; common sense, indeed, could make no other; and this reply involves the necessity of the Trades' Unions to bestir themselves immediately to effect an entire change of the present system, which is calculated to collect every day more money into the hands of the few most useless and worthless of the population, and to deprive the many, who create the necessities and comforts of life, of their just and equitable proportion of them; and no party can or will effect this change except through the union and aid of the industrious classes.

S. But the working classes have not sufficient knowledge and experience to devise such a system, or, if devised for them, sufficient unity of purpose and steady patient perseverance to support any party who would be willing to assist them in effecting such a change in their condition; and therefore those who have the means and the knowledge to give them the most valuable assistance withhold their support, because they have no confidence in the discretion or perseverance of the working classes.

U. But suppose that the more intelligent

and the best-disposed among them had acquired sufficient knowledge, through their late disastrous experience, to discover the necessity of adopting other measures than those which the working classes have hitherto pursued, and should determine now, at their next great delegate meeting, to waste no more funds nor time in mere temporary expedients, but to decide upon a plan and to carry it through like men of business, would you have any better hope of their ultimate success?

S. Could this be effected with cordial unanimity among the delegates, I should have better hope of their cause than I have at present, or than any portion of the middle or upper classes entertain of their success by any of their past attempts to better their condition by union.

U. The attempt will be made, at this meeting, to form a general union of all the industrious classes for definite objects, necessary to their emancipation from the unfortunate and destitute condition into which they have gradually fallen.

S. What are the definite objects to which you now refer?

U. 1. The union of the members of each trade, employment, and occupation over the two islands, classed into tens, hundreds, and thousands. 2. The union of these trades, occupations, and employments, whether engaged in operations upon land, in manufactures, or otherwise, including the farmers and manufacturers, if they will unite their interests; or, if not, without them, by the adoption of arrangements that will render their superintending services less necessary. 3. By the establishment of a Bank of Industry for all the working classes, to be raised by a small weekly subscription from each member, who will have an interest in the bank in proportion to his or her subscription. 4. By arrangements to purchase the best qualities of all articles at the wholesale prices. 5. By employing the surplus hands who are now unemployed, in all occupations, to produce more real wealth, either in such occupations, or under well-devised practical arrangements upon land, in connection with some other useful employment; that is, some other occupation that would always supply young, middle-aged, and old, with work suitable to their age and skill, without over-exhausting their powers, bodily or mental. 6. By usefully educating the young, and by giving, in a manner the most easy, to the old valuable practical knowledge; and lastly, by introducing among all these improving producers of wealth charitable, and kind, and generous feelings towards each other; and for all the young, who are to be allowed to be trained in better circumstances than we, the adults of the industrious classes, have been at any former period.

S. Why do you think yourselves entitled to this great improvement in your condition over your ancestors?

U. We think ourselves fairly and fully entitled to this advance in our condition by reason of the numberless improvements which we have made for society at large by our inventions and discoveries in mechanics and chemistry, enabling one of us, under proper arrangements, to produce more wealth in the same time than, upon the average of all the business of life, forty or fifty of us could produce one hundred years ago, and, in justice, our condition ought to be improved in the same ratio as the other classes have been; while, from some grievous errors in

governing our affairs, the non-producers have derived all the benefit of this change, while we are now in a more destitute and helpless state than we have ever been, and we have become more than ever the slaves of the rich capitalist, who consumes much and produces nothing, without giving us any adequate return to compensate for our slavery and degradation.

S. But how are these objects to be accomplished in practice, seeing that all power is now in the hands of the non-producers, who will retain it as long as they have power to do so?

U. There will be much more difficulty in attaining these objects than many of the working classes are aware of, or than some of the others imagine, on account of the necessary want of experience among all the operatives, and of practical knowledge among those who are their guides and instructors.

S. This is too true, and I do not know how this difficulty is to be overcome; for those who have the practical knowledge requisite to be of any real service to the working classes in their present critical position, are too much valued by the non-producers, and too well paid by them, to relinquish their services for the operatives, who are not in a condition to reward them, or to appreciate the value of their services if they were given to them gratuitously.

U. Yes, it is so; but difficulties, if they do exist, must be overcome; patience and perseverance, aided by experience, however unsuccessful it may be at first, have overcome all the difficulties in the progress of improvement, from the most helpless savage state to the present advance in the knowledge of the use of the sciences, by which one man can perform the labour of many hundred, and in some cases of many thousand savages; even after they had attained the knowledge of reading and writing in a rude manner. That the working classes will overcome these and all other difficulties no one can reasonably doubt; it is a question of time only whether they shall now emancipate themselves, or be obliged to defer the period until they shall acquire more practical knowledge and experience.

S. But what measures do your most experienced advisers themselves recommend and expect to be adopted at this great delegate meeting?

U. I will enter upon this most highly interesting part of the subject in our next conversation; it is too important to begin without having time, which we have not at present, to explain and discuss it in such a manner as to enable you fully to understand it.

S. I feel much indebted for the trouble you have taken upon yourself, thus far to give me the information I so much wished for; but I shall be very impatient until we meet again, that I may know how you expect to overcome the many formidable difficulties in practice which present themselves to my mind.

CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES, AND REMEDIES OF INTEMPERANCE.

(From the *Parliamentary Review*.)

SIR,—I have observed, with much satisfaction, your exertions in the House of Commons on the subject of Drunkenness. Whatever the immediate result of the enquiry may be, it must have the effect of turning public attention to the subject, and the effect of that must be highly beneficial. The evils arising from that baneful vice are directly and indirectly productive of a greater amount of misery and wretchedness than probably all causes of crime

and suffering put together; and it is the imperative duty of every one connected with the legislature of the country to promote to the utmost any rational measure that may be proposed for rooting out that fertile cause of immorality and crime. The first attempts in this way will, most probably, be much ridiculed, and many will consider the subject unfit for parliamentary notice. If the grand object of government is to promote the happiness of the governed, I conceive that no one acquainted with this subject will deny that it is pre-eminently entitled to their attention, and that they are highly culpable in overlooking it in the manner they have.

I am not at all aware what course it is your intention to pursue, but I would just venture to suggest the propriety of attending to the duties on different articles of consumption; very much indeed may be done in this way to promote the temperance cause. Tea, coffee, and sugar should be cheapened as much as possible, and the utmost encouragement given to the consumption of such articles. On the other hand, fermented liquors (distilled spirits especially) should be taxed as much as they can any how bear. Government could thus do a great deal to check intemperance.

There is a consideration of an important character connected with this subject, which has been very much overlooked, but which would probably have more weight with the "collective wisdom" than others of a moral or religious character, which are more frequently brought forward. I allude to the enormous waste of good substantial food which takes place every year in making distilled spirits—the quantity of British-made spirits which pays duty is about 20,000,000 gallons imperial measure (I have not the returns by me). Now, it requires one bushel of grain to make two gallons of spirits; consequently the quantity of grain destroyed, allowing for illicit distillation, will probably exceed 12,000,000 bushels a-year! deducting the grain, &c. left, and which is used in fattening cattle, the amount of which I cannot yet ascertain.

If the rick-burners or any other set of desperadoes destroyed half this amount, the public would consider hanging too good for them; but the practice of distillation does an incalculably greater evil than the rick-burners (setting aside the destruction of private property); it not merely destroys the corn, but converts it into a liquid that destroys mankind wholesale. If the rick-burners destroyed twenty million bushels every year, the distillers would undeniably cause the most mischief of the two. I am aware it is objected to this view of the subject, that the corn would not be grown but for the distillation. Such is not the case, the greater part of the spirits being used by those who would otherwise consume the corn, and who, with their wives and families, are in many cases seriously suffering for want of the very food which is thus wasted; besides, is it justifiable thus to destroy the bounty of Providence, and convert it into a poisonous liquid?

With best wishes for your success in this matter, I subscribe myself

IGNOTUS AMICUS.

P.S. Much is written in the London papers about those sinks of iniquity, the beer-shops; the writers know no more of the matter than the emperor of Morocco does; a few months' residence in the country would soon open their eyes and alter their opinions on this matter. I have myself seen about half a dozen young

lads, from sixteen to eighteen years of age, turned out in the morning, with as many loose girls, with whom they had been for the night. Abominations are carried on in those beer-shops which could not be practised were many persons collected together; the nuisance would, on a large scale, be wholly intolerable, and increased competition prompts them to permit, and even to offer, any inducement which the most desperate and depraved characters can desire. The competition is not so much in the way of good beer as in pandering to their dissolute propensities.

* In the *Temperance Advocate* for February last, the quantity of spirits for 1831 is stated to be 21,845,408 gallons; for 1832, 20,778,558 gallons.—*Parliamentary Returns*.

WE are sorry to be under the necessity of once more alluding to the unfortunate collision of principle which has taken place between ourselves and other instructors of the people; but as the solution of the question is a matter of some importance in a moral and practical point of view, we must once more revert to the disagreeable subject of James Hall and the Executive. The *Executive Gazette* has discharged a considerable quantity of dirty water upon us, notwithstanding its professions of charity, impartiality, &c., and that too only for exposing the abuses of others; as if it were a moral crime to expose the fraudulency or impolicy of official personages. It portrays us by the picturesque and rural appellation of swine, delighting to grovel in filth, even when we were honestly employed in clearing away the filth, and plugging our nostrils to preserve them from the odour. Yet, in the same breath the Editors confess that there is actually a vast quantity of filth to rake out, for they inform their readers that, were they actuated by such feelings as we, "a short trip to the Hercules' Pillars (Hall's residence) would furnish them with details as ample as disgusting," but they would rather let the corruption remain than expose it to the public eye. Like their brother conservatives of church and state, they think it highly impolitic that the people should know much about the secret affairs or characters of their own cabinet. There are more high Tory principles amongst the people and their professed friends than is generally supposed; and were those who hold such principles invested with much power, or entrusted with responsible offices, they would shrink as much from the critical investigation of the public as the high-born dignitaries who follow in the train of majesty.

We never called Hall by such opprobrious names as they themselves have used; they call him a "traitor," and they speak of his "villainy;" yet they attempt to make us as bad as Hall himself, not for acting in concert with him, or approving of his deeds, but for depicting him in his true colours, and guarding the people against the employment of such immoral and inefficient characters. We are heartily sorry to find that this Official Gazette, as it styles itself, is acting so much in opposition to the spirit with which, in its original prospectus, it professed to be inspired. "Swine, filth, ordure, sinks, malignity of purpose, cloven foot, bad feeling, ignorant personalities, disgusting article, cowardice, weakness, &c.," these are specimens of the language which has been employed against us, and pray, for what, reader? for revealing a disagreeable fact, that

it was highly expedient the people should know! The charity which covers such a multitude of sins, is the charity of an indulgent mother, who spoils her children by justifying all their conduct, and finally destroys her maternal authority and peace of mind. Such sort of charity is rank injustice in the end; it waters the weeds of the garden, and chokes the fruits and the flowers.

We shall now give a specimen of the reasoning of our friends, the Executive, which is not a little amusing. They insinuate, on the part of Morrison and us, a want of moral courage and honesty in making these disclosures, "when the mischief has been accomplished, which honest sincerity might have prevented" by a previous disclosure; and yet, in a note below, they say that Mr. Morrison had made such disclosures long ago, but "the Committee appointed to examine them have, even to the present time, deemed them too contemptible to report upon them." So that, after all, it is the Committee who want the moral honesty; for they, having been in possession of the information, have withheld it from the people; and as for the *Crisis*, even in the "disgusting article" which so highly offended the nostrils of the Executive, there was a quotation from a *Crisis* leader of three months' standing, which demonstrated that, even then, we attempted to stimulate the Executive to more decisive and business-like measures, but were silenced by the opposition of the "tranquillists," and the charitable. It requires little effort for us to justify ourselves; but it seems to be impossible for the other party to make out a libel upon us, for all they have written hitherto is nothing but a satire upon themselves, as if they had said, when they took pen in hand, "the *Crisis* is right, but we shall see how we can gull our readers, by attempting to prove it in error." They also pass what they think a compliment on Mr. Owen, by saying he is not the editor of the *Crisis*, which is quite as much as saying that Mr. Owen would not degrade himself nor offend the feelings of others by clearing out a sink of corruption, but would rather let it remain as it is; a very high compliment! If our readers will merely look back a few numbers, to a letter addressed to Lord Althorp, they will find that it was there proposed, not only to brand the name of an individual with uncleanness and infamy, but even the inmates of a whole house, by posting up the word "unclean" upon it.—What more have we done?

We conclude by saying that if the Executive had kept their books in a business-like manner, and regularly published an account of the receipts and disbursements, they might have retained the confidence of the people; but their secrecy and want of method were their ruin. This is their fault; we do not blame the colleagues of Hall for his private roguery.

FEMALE EDUCATION IMPROVED.—A Day School for the Moral, Intellectual, and Physical Education of Young Ladies, No. 38, Castle-street East, Oxford-market. Reading, Writing, Ciphering, the Elements of Arithmetic, Geometry, History, Geography, Natural History, Philosophy, Singing, Drawing, the French and Italian Languages, plain Needle-work, taught for One Shilling a Week.

Lectures and Discussions on the most important topics of Moral Sciences at the above place, every Monday and Thursday, at eight o'clock in the Evening.

Shortly will be published by B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields,

THE WORDS OF A BELIEVER, by the ABBÉ DE LA MENNAIS, translated into English by a Lady. This extraordinary production has caused considerable excitement over the whole Continent. It has been condemned, and its Author anathematized by the Pope, although the Abbé was formerly the right-hand man of his Holiness; it has also been proscribed in Germany as tending to inflame the religious world, and make them discontented with present things. It is a book which is calculated to give satisfaction to all parties, teaching the doctrines of a new and more equitable state of society, and a perfect toleration of opinion; whilst, at the same time, it abides by the original and fundamental principles and precepts of the Christian religion.

The following are extracts from the *Times* and *Morning Post*:

"The famous Abbé de la Mennais, though but just pardoned by the holy see, has relapsed! And what a relapse! The *Paroles d'un Croquant* have doubtless already crossed the channel, and you will have perused this singular work. It is a new book of the prophets, a kind of *Alcoran*, divided into chapters and verses. It is a book written in the Apocalyptic style, and would seem to have arrived from old Jerusalem, and to have been inspired on the banks of Jordan. Is the same malediction the Abbé de la Mennais confounds supreme pontiffs, kings, preachers, and warriors, all powers, and privileges, and all social order. There is only, he contends, one legitimate sovereign, and that sovereign is 'Christ.' Christ alone is great, and la Mennais is his prophet! Under the reign of Christ the earth will be covered with flowers, and the little children will constantly bring nosegays to their mothers. This is a favourite image of this prophet, since he frequently adopts it.

"There is no doubt such a work as this has its ridiculous side; but we must not on that account treat it altogether without weight. It is admirably written, and on weak and ignorant minds, and youthful imaginations, it can hardly fail to exercise a baneful influence. It will assuredly produce fanatics, and the Abbé de la Mennais will then have his sectarians. This book puts weapons into the hands of the factions of every denomination. It is a firebrand launched into the midst of the moral world. I regard its publication as an event. Its editions multiply, and certainly it will be considered in the light of a gospel. The Abbé de la Mennais flatters the lower classes with as much address as perfidy; and his words are calculated to excite that cry which sleeps, but which never ceases to exist in the breasts of those who suffer, when they come in contact with those who enjoy. This work of which it grieves me to have to speak, will be spread over the whole of Europe. There is no doubt but its appearance will provoke the indignation of the church of Rome, and that its readers will be aimed at the head of this sacrilegious preacher. But it seems he has made up his mind to this, and that persecution would be congenial to his taste, for persecution elevates and glorifies innovators."—*Times*, June 11.

"The Abbé de la Mennais has roused the thunder of the Vatican by his *Paroles d'un Croquant*. The pope has addressed an evangelical letter to all the prelates of the Catholic world, in which the Abbé is compared with John Huss and Wickliffe, and his holiness says 'We damn for ever this book of small size but huge depravity.'—*Morning Post*.

A fresh supply of Union Boots and Shoes has been received from Wellingborough, and are now on sale at the Institution.

Printed and published by B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields.

THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 17, Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY EVENING, JULY 27.

Mr. Owen alluded to two new labourers in the field; the first of whom, Mr. Finch, had lectured in the Institution that morning, when he entered more into the details of the Ralahine community than he had on the preceding Sunday evening, (which appeared in last week's *Crisis*;) and brought forward a plan, founded on his observations while on his visit to that estate, which he believed was calculated to remove poverty and crime from these islands. His plan was but a small part of Mr. Owen's, and, as far as it went, would no doubt effect considerable good.

The other individual alluded to was Mr. Bernard, of whom he had spoken several times. He had published his "Theory of the Constitution" with a view of opening the subject of a great change in society to the upper classes: it was too expensive for the middle and lower classes. By a totally different process of reasoning, he had arrived at the same conclusions on many most important subjects as Mr. Owen himself had. In one of the last chapters of his first volume, written before he had come into communication with any but the agricultural labourers, he says:

"The human mind every where seems to be convulsed and heaving, as if big with some portentous matter which it is about to bring forth, in connection with its future destiny. The wild doctrines of the Millennarians, who believe that Christ is about to make his personal re-appearance on earth, with the saints, to take charge of the government of the world for their benefit, and that of other fanatics; the doctrines no less wild of the French St. Simonians, American Workies, and English Operatives, who, fully sensible of the injurious manner in which capital or accumulated money is now made to bear upon the interests of the working man in every country, desire to prevent the future accumulation of money by any body, and to overthrow the institution of property altogether, are all evidences to this point. Strange and revolting as these, and many other doctrines now afloat, must be confessed to be, they furnish grounds for hope, rather than despair; and tend to favour the presumption, which the author has here attempted, to deduce from a variety of circumstances, that the regeneration of mankind is actually approaching; and that it is to the English working people alone to whom the world must now look, as destined

instruments in the hands of Providence, for altering, first, their own condition; and, eventually, that of the whole human race."

The volume concludes as follows:

"There is no time to be lost in beginning operations. The English nation resembles, at present, a vessel, which, having no commander, and being borne along a narrow passage, between rocks, by a furious current, breakers being plainly visible a-head, whilst her crew are all ignorantly and madly bent upon leaving her to follow her own course, instead of attempting to put her about, or trying to discover some side channel through which they may escape from the perils surrounding them, is sure to strike before long and go to pieces. Nothing can possibly save such an unhappy vessel from the destruction that awaits her, but some one man, wiser and bolder than the rest, stepping forward at all hazards to take the command of her out of the hands of her besotted and imbecile crew, and putting her about in defiance of them all.

"The present volume is intended as a sort of anchor, thrown out by its author, in hopes of arresting in her course the vessel of state, now running rapidly towards destruction, whilst there is yet just time to save her, and no more. If it miss its object, by failing to produce any effect upon the public mind, and do not stop at once the progress of the House of Commons, he will, of course, consider himself mistaken in his views concerning the condition of his country: they will then be proved imaginary, and he will consider that, in putting forth opinions so opposite as he has done to those generally prevailing in English society, he has been labouring uniformly under a delusion. He will understand it to be not true, what he has so confidently and boldly asserted to be the fact, that landowners are eating up the substance of farmers, that money-owners are eating up the substance of both, as well as of every body else besides, and that agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, are all in a state of progressive ruin; but that the contrary is true, what is asserted with no less confidence by the money-owner, and by the Radical and Utilitarian philosopher, that these important interests are all actually thriving to a degree never exceeded before, that the nation is so far from being in a state of jeopardy or danger, that its prosperity was never better secured, or placed upon a sounder basis than now, and that the only thing wanting to render it complete is just to give the money-owner another concluding slice of the property of the landowner; and, in such case, it is not his intention to publish a second volume; which would be useless, like the first.

The vessel of state must go wherever her present crew, and the winds and waves, are inclined to send her. But, to continue the metaphor; should it turn out that this, the author's first volume, succeeds in obtaining a sufficient portion of the public attention to answer his object, and that the anchor, accordingly, which he now throws out, takes firm hold; he will then understand himself to be in the right, and his enemies in the wrong, the truth between them having been determined by the event; and, in that case, he means soon to publish his second volume, wherein the unknown channel will be described and accurately laid down, through which he believes it to be perfectly practicable for the vessel of state to be steered quietly out from her present perilous situation, beyond the reach of danger, and worked back ultimately into deep water."

Mr. Owen referred to the letter from Mr. Bernard to himself in the last week's *Crisis*, offering to the Trades' Unions the privilege of publishing his work in a cheap form, for the benefit of the producing classes; and inclosing the introductory chapter to his second volume, in order that Mr. Owen might cause it to be circulated as extensively as possible, previous to the general delegate meeting of the Unions early in August, that its members might be prepared for the plan he had to propose to relieve society, through their instrumentality, of the great evils which at present exist in every part of it, and which, if not speedily met by some decisive measures, must inevitably involve all the civilized world in anarchy and bloody revolution. Mr. Owen, as the best means of making known the author's sentiments, proceeded to read the introductory chapter alluded to, premising, however, that many of his hearers would be startled at some of the details contained in it; but, in order to arrive at any practical good, all measures must be looked boldly in the face, and coolly examined, without prejudice of any kind interfering to destroy their beneficial effects.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER to Vol. II. (not yet published) of "THEORY OF THE CONSTITUTION," by JAS. B. BERNARD, Esq., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

As the preceding volume was an endeavour to trace back to some original and common source the nation's multifold and complicated disorders, under an idea of discovering a remedy for them, by detecting their cause; so now, that cause having been explained, the present is an attempt to point out a remedy, with the proper

method of applying it, to obtain a cure.

We have already seen that the public disorders, accumulated for ages, have reached at length such a climax of entanglement, producing so much suffering and dissatisfaction in the nation towards its rulers, that remedies, to be effectual, must comprehend a total change in all the political and moral relations of the English people, extending even to the very frame-work of their social organization, which requires to be taken entirely to pieces, and put together again in some new form; since nothing short of this will now suffice to avert a convulsive and bloody revolution, which, if it does occur, is likely to be more permanently destructive of human happiness than any known in the annals of mankind.

Such, then, being the premises on which the author's various plans for reformation are founded, distinctly laid down by him in his former volume, he will now proceed to a systematic examination of the different remedies he has to suggest, which he believes to be alone adapted to such an advanced stage of disease, and alone sufficient to arrest its progress before it terminates fatally. He will unfold at the same time a regular plan for administering these remedies to the nation at large: without a plan, indeed, for administering them to the nation, were the latter to be ever so desirous of making the experiment, it would be useless to propose them. A plan is indispensable, as is also an architect for putting that plan into execution, if thought to be good. Experience informs us that people seldom succeed in any thing they undertake without a plan; to erect even the most ordinary dwelling-house with effect requires it. How, then, is it to be expected that a nation should succeed in an undertaking so gigantic, so tortuous, and so dangerous, as that of pulling down its whole social structure, political, moral, and religious, and rebuilding it on new foundations, without a plan? An operation so severe and cutting, as that which must be performed upon the English nation to save it from destruction, supposing its real situation to be what the author has represented, could not possibly be performed without a plan. Of all human achievements, this, both in its conception and its execution, would be the mightiest; as of all human achievements, too, it would be the most difficult to be conducted in peace. Not a single step could be safely ventured upon by the nation, without the nation's being first provided with a regular plan, nor without its being provided also with a competent architect for carrying that plan into execution.

First, however, as to the necessity of appointing a single person as architect for the occasion. Reflecting people will easily see that to do this is as indispensable for the nation as to be provided with a plan.

It has been often observed, as indeed it is a fact well known to mechanics, that no piece of mechanism, though framed after the most approved model, with every attention paid to experience, can be ever warranted to perform well, until after it has been tried. It is sure to contain a number of little defects, that must be supplied immediately to make it work well, and which never can be detected except upon trial. Can it then for a moment be imagined, that a piece of intellectual mechanism, so complicated as one for re-organizing a nation's whole social system must necessarily be; one, too, in the construction of which so little advantage can have been derived from experi-

ence, that it must be considered chiefly indebted to theory for its contrivance, (for nothing similar has been witnessed before,) will work at once, without some single hand, thoroughly conversant with all the principles and bearings of the new machine, remaining constantly with it to direct its machinery, and adapt its several parts to practice? Of what use would such a machine be, though ever so cordially approved of by the nation at large, or ever so strongly supported by votes of the parliament, without a proper regulator to set it in motion? To leave it to be regulated by parliament, by 658 regulators, who know nothing of its principles, and all perhaps entertain a different opinion respecting it, would be the sure way to prevent its getting into motion at all. Admitting, therefore, that a plan like that of the author should obtain the fullest concurrence and approbation from the English people; and admitting also that parliament were to be as desirous of adopting it as the nation, still it would not be practicable to carry it into successful execution without there being a single person appointed to manage exclusively the whole affair. To attempt it by the instrumentality of parliament, would lead to almost instant confusion and revolution.

But admissions as to the possibility of obtaining the consent of either the nation at large, or of its parliament, to any plans for putting the productive classes of society into possession of the power now held by the non-productive, and for limiting the power and privileges now exercised by the House of Commons, in the way the author proposes, are not to be conceded for a moment. To imagine that plans levelled openly against the authority of the monied and commercial classes, and even against that of the House of Commons itself, will not be resisted to the utmost, both by one and the other, is ridiculous. Resisted they are sure to be by both, and by every art that the ingenuity of man can suggest; for the monied and commercial classes have got possession in effect of all political power in the state, and will never part with it again if they can help it; whilst the House of Commons, we may rest assured, supported as it is by those classes, will never submit to any limitations of its authority from the more productive classes, until compelled to do so by force. To suppose the contrary of the latter, would be to suppose that in its collective proceedings it will be directed by principles the reverse of those which are uniformly found to influence its individual members, and the reverse moreover of those which have hitherto been found to influence mankind at large. When monarchical usurpation, misrule, and oppression were the chief evils to be corrected, as in the days of Charles, the House of Commons was a very proper instrument to be employed by the nation in correcting the mischief. Now, however, since that House appears to be alone chargeable as the author of every grievance of which the nation complains, to rely upon it for redress is about as wise as it would have been to have relied formerly on Charles for the furnishing of his own accord a cure for his own misconduct. It may therefore be safely contended that no plans for depriving the non-productive classes of society of political power, and adding to that of the productive ones, or for limiting the authority of the House of Commons, can possibly succeed, without divesting the House of Commons of its authority altogether for a season, and vesting the whole political power of the state in some

single person, who may be enabled to enforce his plans in defiance of all parties.

It has been already observed that the powers required to meet so great an occasion will need to be more extensive than any ever before entrusted to a man: the antagonist power will otherwise be too strong for him. It is difficult to state this position too broadly; for the success of the attempt will entirely depend upon the concentration, efficiency, and directness of power by which it is backed. It is to be remembered that the misgovernment of centuries has to be unravelled before the nation's affairs can be set properly to rights. Many of the transactions of the last twenty or twenty-five years must be opened, in order to get at some of the principal authors of abuses, who ought to be punished. An adjustment has to be made of the claims of debtor and creditor throughout the kingdom; a measure of tremendous import, impossible to be performed except by force. A multitude, too, of other arrangements, affecting men's pockets, and calculated to raise the passions from their inmost depths, have likewise to be made, all equally necessary, and equally impossible to be brought about without force. Besides this, whole systems have to be taken down, which are fenced in and protected at present by thousands of prejudices, as well as sinister interests, in support of which thousands and tens of thousands of bold, clever, and designing men would be ready to assume hostilities, the moment a person appeared to assail them. So that whoever considers fairly the vast number of impediments standing in the way of a man who should undertake to settle the nation's concerns, must see at once that he would require powers of an extraordinary kind, as well those to be derived from the most unshackled and commanding authority, as the most imposing name, to enable him to succeed and carry his object in peace. There would be so many influential individuals opposed to any such changes, and seeking to prevent them by agitation of the public mind; so many timid people alarmed for the result, whose fears, if not reined in by a tight hand, might drive them to any extravagancies; so much excitement in the nation itself, tossed backwards and forwards by conflicting opinions, and naturally full of anxiety at so momentous a period; that, unless it were tied down and secured, during the operation, by the strictest appliance of force in a variety of quarters, there is no saying to what lengths its struggles might not extend, or where they would terminate. A proclamation of martial law over the entire kingdom would perhaps be indispensable; as also the re-appointment of Cromwell's majors-general in the different counties. A nation that feels itself compelled to undergo so severe an operation as that we are here supposing, may be compared to an individual who consents to being cut for the stone, whose limbs it is necessary to bind and confine, to prevent him from kicking, which, if permitted, would endanger his life. If the nation were to remain free and unimpeded in its motions, disturbances would certainly be the result, and these would as certainly be succeeded by revolution and death.

No prudent man, therefore, would knowingly venture to incur the many risks he would have to run in putting such plans into execution, however confident he might feel as to their wisdom, nor however warmly invited he might be by the nation to make the attempt, without first demanding unlimited powers over

property, and even over life, to enable him to perform the operation. Indeed, unless he possessed powers of this description, he would not be in a situation to maintain public tranquillity, or to protect his own life; consequently, to guard himself against all hasty and violent opposition, he would require to be placed above all laws, in a situation to strike down his foes with impunity the moment they dared to lift up an arm. In dealing with revolutionary excesses, there is no time to wait for the forms of law. Indeed, there are no laws suited to such occasions; laws are not made for revolutionary, but for peaceable and quiet periods only; and for this reason it happens that men, who, being in power during revolutions, are guided in their proceedings by the forms of law, become too often the victims of their own moderation and forbearance. In the present instance, revolutionary convulsions, with great danger to the individual, are events almost sure to occur, if the individual appointed to conduct the operation be not clothed with powers of the widest magnitude conceivable to enforce submission and obedience to his commands.

But neither would any prudent man dare to stake his reputation and life in such a cause, without first letting the people know what he meant exactly to do, and what not to do, putting them into full possession of the whole of his plans, to keep them from wavering. Because any symptoms of hesitation or wavering on their side, at a time when their warmest, most unflinching, and determined support would be wanted to give success to the undertaking, might prove highly dangerous, and lead even to a defeat of the entire scheme.

With respect to the plan itself, a few preliminary observations before we go into any regular explanation, will not be thrown away.

The reader must not suppose that the author is so sanguine as to expect to be able in this to place all parties, for that would be impossible. Any attempt to reconcile those classes, who gain by reducing prices and wages, to plans for raising them would be manifestly absurd. To the monied and commercial classes, therefore, he has nothing to offer in the shape of a plan; these have their parliament to provide for them; and all accordingly that the author aims at, is to please those classes, who, conjointly with himself, thrive best upon high prices and high wages, and who, if united, would form a majority of the nation, strong enough to coerce the minority, and to carry every thing before them. His sole object is to produce such a plan as may prove acceptable to landowners, farmers, and working people, without troubling himself about pleasing the rest of the community, since these three classes, alone, if they could be but once brought together in amity, and combined for one common purpose, are fully sufficient to overawe the monied, commercial, and shopkeeping classes and to put into execution any plans that suited themselves. The old fable of the Lion and the Bulls is so exactly in point here, that it is worth recounting. There were once three bulls, who lived together in a field, and who, being excellent friends, grew all very sleek and fat in each other's company. These having been seen by a lion, the latter wants to devour them, but can discover no method of getting at his prey, since the three bulls stick close together in mutual defence, and in that situation are more than a match for their foe. The lion thus foiled, seeks counsel from the fox, who offers to go and talk with the bulls and see

what he can make of them. The fox next morning pays a visit in due form to the bull's, and taking one of them aside, pretends to pity his misfortunes, and asks why it is that he alone looks so poor and miserable, whilst his companions appear so fat and jolly?—insinuating to this bull, that the two other bulls must have fraudently contrived to appropriate an undue share of the pastures to themselves, leaving the refuse only to him. He next calls another bull aside, and talks to him in the same manner; and so he goes on to the third. Such language soon produces the effect which the fox intended. The three bulls begin to eye one another with suspicious looks, and, as their suspicions increase, move further and further apart, till, at last, inflamed by resentment, they all draw off into distant corners of the field. The lion, meanwhile, is watching his opportunity, and seeing now that the bulls no longer receive support from one another, first seizes one, then a second, and finishes by eating up the third also. Now, one would suppose that the ingenious inventor of this ancient fable had had, when writing it, a view prospectively of the three several classes of landowners, farmers, and working people, as found in England at the present day, and that he meant to designate them in the character of these three bulls, whilst he meant, at the same time, to designate the fundholding, monied, and commercial classes by the lion, and the political economist by the fox: this latter having been for years endeavouring to sow dissensions between the three classes of landowners, farmers, and working people, who, for their own joint protection, ought to be the best friends; and this, for no other purpose, but that of delivering them over to their common enemy.

The above little fable explains at once the author's intention; which is, to compose, if possible, the differences now unhappily subsisting between the three bulls, and to reunite them in one combined league of friendship and amity, before they are actually devoured by the lion; not doubting but that, if he can only succeed in uniting them once more, they will then be able to defy with ease both the lion and the fox together.

Any plan to be brought forward now for placing the social system in England on a new footing, and for restoring prosperity to the nation at the same time, will naturally divide itself into two parts; first, into that which relates to a re-organization of the kingly office, of the two Houses of Lords and Commons, and of the prevailing moral and religious systems, for the purpose of stamping a new character upon the government, and, through it, upon society at large; and secondly, into that which concerns, the nation's present domestic policy, which must be changed, and almost reversed, in order that prosperity may be re-established, and that there may be no convulsion. The former part of the affair, which is infinitely the most difficult to manage, as it is also by far the most important, will take much the longest time to accomplish and bring to perfection. This cannot be hurried, but must proceed slowly, cautiously, and consecutively, for the business to succeed, and the end to be obtained. The latter part of the affair cannot wait, but must be performed at once, to prevent a convulsive and bloody revolution from immediately breaking forth. Still, however, though the latter must unquestionably take precedence in point of execution, it must be considered of a minor, and less permanent

or general bearing, and is therefore entitled only to a second place in this work, the plans contained in which we shall here begin to develop, prefacing them with a design for remodelling the frame-work and curtailing the privileges of that branch of the English constitution, which is now the strongest and most popular; that, wherein the adverse power has had longest possession, and taken firmest hold, and from whence it will be with most difficulty dislodged, namely, the House of Commons.

When Mr. Owen had concluded reading the above chapter, he said that, when Mr. Bernard's second volume should be published, which would not for some months yet, we should have three plans for a change in society before us: that of Mr. Finch's, Mr. Bernard's, and his own. He thought he should be able by the end of this year, if the Unions throughout the country should send men of intelligence to the approaching delegate meeting, to lay the whole of his measures before the public. Hitherto, only a very small part of them had been before the world; and it now became necessary, as various plans for a change from the errors of society were now being proposed, to bring them all fully and fairly before the public at once, in order that they might be examined and compared, and that which the intelligence of the country should consider best calculated for the desired end might be commenced without loss of time. When these plans were before the world, and any one should be adopted by a majority of the people, he, for his own part, and he thought he could say as much for Mr. Finch, would exert all his powers to give it a fair trial; and he had no doubt Mr. Bernard would fully agree with him as so this line of conduct. Mr. Finch's plan was but a small part of his own principles applied to practice; and should the latter be preferred by the majority of the intelligence of the country, Mr. F. would, no doubt, support the greater good which the more extended plans were designed to effect.

Mr. O. said he had not hitherto published the whole of his plans, because the world had not been prepared for them. As it was, in the small part he had promulgated, he had always been some steps in advance of society; and when he found it come nearly up to him, he took another step still further in advance; thus preparing the world by degrees, during thirty years of a very active life, for the great change which he knew would destroy at once all the evils of society, and, if properly carried out, would prevent their recurrence; and this could be effected without violence of any kind, or injury to any individual of any class or party in the country; but would produce peace and happiness rapidly over the world.

TO ROBERT OWEN.

SIR,—The *Crisis* having repeatedly asserted that the people of Great Britain and Ireland were starving in the midst of a superabundance of the necessities and conveniences of life, I addressed a letter to the editor, asking him for proof of the soundness of his doctrine. Though kind enough to acknowledge the receipt of my letter, yet he made not the slightest attempt to prove that his doctrine was sound. I, therefore, addressed a second letter to him, repeating the request contained in my first. My second letter he favoured with a place in his paper, (for which I beg to make him my best thanks,) and observed, "We expect Mr. Owen to

answer it next week." In the next week's number, however, no such answer appeared; but in the number of the 12th instant there is a letter bearing your signature, which, as it notices my letter, may possibly be the answer expected by the editor. If it is, permit me to say, it is far from being such an answer as I expected from the pen of so celebrated a person. Instead of establishing, as I naturally expected it would have done, the soundness of the doctrine I had called in question, it does not even make an attempt to do so. My letters, I fear, you must have misunderstood. The main object I had in view in writing them was to obtain *proof* that the lands of Great Britain and Ireland produce *more* of the necessities and conveniences of life, and especially those important articles bread and animal food, than twenty-five millions of people stood in need of. If you have it in your power to furnish me with such proof, I shall feel greatly obliged by your doing so; and when you have done so, I will point out to you a few mis-statements, and correct a few errors and fallacies in your letter of the 12th instant; and especially that great and monstrous fallacy, *that the farmer would be ruined was he to increase the produce of his lands*. No, Sir; such increased produce, how much soever it might send down prices (and it, no doubt, would send them down was there no increase of money), would *benefit* the farmer, and not ruin him; would also benefit the landlord, benefit the labourer, and, in short, benefit the whole of the community; as may be demonstrated in a way so clear as to admit of neither doubt nor controversy. I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

AN OPERATIVE.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 2.

WE have received another letter from an 'Operative,' complaining of the insufficiency of Mr. Owen's answer respecting surplus production. We shall now, therefore, according to promise, make a few remarks of our own, which we hope will bring both parties to an understanding. We observed long ago, that a distinction must be observed between actual production and the power of production. There is not at present a surplus of production in the country of the necessities of life, otherwise we should not be under the necessity of making application to other countries for occasional relief; and even with all the supplies that we have from abroad, there is still a deficiency, inasmuch as there are thousands of families who are actually dying a lingering death from want of sufficient nourishment. But the query is, Have we not in our power to increase to a very large amount, say double or triple, or even quadruple, the produce of our native soil? We think, without fear of being accounted extravagant in our calculations, we may assert that the highest of these ratios of increase is within the grasp of the science and mechanical skill of the present generation.

Mr. Owen, in his reply to an 'Operative,' alluded to the high degree of culti-

vation in which the garden lands at Fulham are kept at present, which are certainly by means of spade husbandry, and other methods of cultivation, rendered tenfold more valuable than ordinary land; and this fact may be regarded as an earnest of the realization of the hopes of those who anticipate an ample supply of food for all by the adoption of similar plans of husbandry upon an extensive scale over the whole surface of the country. Nor are we without facts to demonstrate the possibility of this amelioration of the soil. Sir John Sinclair is of opinion that there are not more than two millions of our twenty millions of waste lands in Great Britain which are irreclaimable; and Mr. Alexander Nimmo, in his Parliamentary evidence, May 8, 1827, says that there are five millions of waste lands in Ireland, and that almost the whole of these are reclaimable, at an expense of 7*l.* per acre, so as to produce a rent of twenty shillings an acre. In the county of Sligo, land has been reclaimed and rendered worth thirty shillings at an expense of seven pounds per acre. Jerrard Strickland, Esq., says that in Ireland there is no regular system of cultivation in practice; that the land is chiefly in the hands of small tenants, or of extensive graziers; and as a specimen of the immense loss which the country suffers by such neglect, Captain Scobell mentioned, at a public meeting in Bath, on the 17th February last, that by dispossessing ten or twelve cows from thirty acres of land, which was divided into lots amongst the poor, they made ample provision for several hundreds of human beings. 'An Operative' wants a population well fed on bread and beef, and consequently he would not approve of this act of violence to the dozen horned cattle; but we must first provide the necessities of life, before we provide what some people call the luxuries, but which others regard as only tending to corrupt the body and engender disease. Sir Richard Phillips says he has not tasted animal food since he was twelve years of age, and now he is sixty-six, strong and active in mind and body; and even vegetable productions are recommended by physicians as nutritious and strengthening for people of weak constitutions. Gluten is quite as capable of giving strength and consistency to the body as albumen, or animal fat; and the greater proportion of stomachs reject the fat of animal food, where three-fourths of the nourishment resides such people would be quite as well edified and built up in their bodily parts by plenty of good starch, or vegetable glue.

At an auxiliary labourer's society, at Southampton, Captain Pole, R.N., related an anecdote of a piece of land having been allotted not worth more than 15*l.*, which, in consequence of its high state of cultivation, is now worth 300*l.* Here

is an increase of 2000 per cent., or twenty-fold. The Rev. James Beard, Cranfield Rectory, near Woburn, has induced a party to let to the poor some poor land, which he says was not worth 3*l.* before they had it, and they have made it produce more than 300*l.* annually. Here is an increase of ten thousand per cent., or a hundred fold.

Such are a few facts as well as opinions of men who have devoted their minds to the study of this important subject; and the consequence of their experiments has demonstrated the possibility of improving the surface of the country, and augmenting the produce to an almost indefinite extent. But the present miserable system of taxation, tything, and money-jobbing, has destroyed the agriculture of the country, and seems likely, unless some new plan of government be adopted, to reduce the landowners and the labourers to destitution. Our agriculture is now actually on the decline: thousands of acres are frequently and successively falling out of cultivation on account of the increasing difficulties of the farmer in acting upon the old system; whilst it is a known fact that farms that have been abandoned by the old farmer at a low rent, have been let out in lots at an advanced rent to a number of grateful and industrious labourers, who have found them a very fruitful means of subsistence to themselves, as well as the source of additional rent to the landlord.

Now that, by the aid of chemical analysis, we can ascertain the component parts of good soil, and what is defective in bad soil—we may also, by the aid of machinery and the surplus labour of the country, effect almost any composition of land we please. We may drain and trench, to remove moisture. We may remove the upper surface of bog and peat by machinery, as has been successfully attempted in the fens of Cambridgeshire. We may decompose the rocks for mica and silica, oxide of iron, or any other ingredient that is necessary. We may transport clay to one soil, and from another, according as it happens to be deficient or redundant; and thus, by means of those omnipotent powers of science and machinery which are at our disposal, convert the wilderness and the solitary place into the garden of God.

'An Operative,' however, seems to have no idea of human progression or improvement in the arts of life. All the progress he contemplates is the progress of space and time—a progress from one country to another—from England to New South Wales, and from New South Wales to the plains of Tartary, for aught we know, abandoning the soil as soon as it required the ingenuity of art and the philosophy of science to render it sufficiently productive for the inhabitants. So far from having exhausted Nature, we have scarcely put her capacity of improvement

to the test. There are only a few gardens in England which have really been subjected to the test of experiment. The whole bulk of the country is almost wholly abandoned to rude and savage nature; it is torn up occasionally with a plough, and raked now and then with a harrow, and sprinkled at times with a little quick lime; and little as it has been improved by this imperfect discipline, it has yet doubled, at an average, the crop which was wont, about a century ago, to be derived from it. Now again, we have discovered that it may be doubled again, and doubled twice over, if we merely bestow that care upon it which it was the original doom of man to bestow, and which is also found to be the source of his greatest happiness. If man cannot live without labour, neither can he be happy without labour. Labour is not to terminate where science begins. Labour is the handmaid of science. She becomes more and more refined and productive as science advances; and, as there is no limit to the progress of science, neither can we imagine any limits to the productions of industry. In this hope may all mankind rejoice, nor fear the approach of want, as long as the laws of the country shall merely permit us to reduce our skill and experience to practice.

More of this hereafter.

ON THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF GREAT BRITAIN. (For the *Crisis*.)

THE Social System is the final effect of the combined totality of causes, which in any organized association of human beings can have existence. From its nature is demonstrable the political principle by which a state is governed, the quality of the laws, the character of its institutions, legislative, judicial, sacerdotal,—above all, the degree of its approach to freedom. The social system, then, must form the most interesting subject with which thought can busy itself; it must open fields for theory and speculation boundless only as the imagination which enters upon them. It is the study of man—of man under the most interesting relations, the development of his faculties more or less perfected, and the direction of those faculties to an end great or debasing! The age, the new and exciting character of the times, the public turmoil into which the events of every day more and yet more are plunging us, also give to it an additional interest; and the question, What is the social system of Great Britain? must inevitably recur to the mind of every individual with a force impossible to resist replying to it.

A social system shows its character at once by its few or more tokens of regularity and equality. Diverse grades, supercilious supremacy on the one side, abject degradation on the other, can alone be concomitant with fraud and tyranny. Supremacy implies debasement. The former cannot exist without the latter, and the latter never found place where all was free. Can the social system of Great Britain, then, be pronounced free? We are all acquainted with its irregularities; we have not one of us to be informed of its partialities and exclusions; we know that some classes are lifted into power

while others are enslaved; we know that some are rich, and pampered, and omnipotent, while there are others prostrate to the dust. That in such a state, mankind are drawn out of their true element, and placed in circumstances contrary to the designs of nature, is evident from the distraction which prevails in all the concerns of life. Look around us! where shall we discover happiness? where shall we see men linked together in ties of mutual succour and fellowship? where shall we see the operation of a single great principle of justice? Is not all selfishness, and treason, and open discord? We call ourselves civilized, and like the Greeks of old, call others barbarians if their manners have not the varnish, their complexions not the fairness, of our own. But what ignorant infatuation is this, when, like moral cannibals, we feast and banquet on the mental writhings and mangled minds of our fellow species? Do not let us flatter ourselves with the belief. It is a wild delusion, and instituted merely to prolong our term of barbarism. We are not civilized; the sun of civilization has yet a higher meridian to attain ere to us its rays shall penetrate. We are immersed in barbarism; we have only light enough to show us how horribly we are sunk. Civilization can be another term only for happiness, and amenity carried to its farthest limits of refinement. It supposes the most perfect condition of freedom, the widest expansion of men's faculties, and their direction to the noblest ends.

What has civilization to do with want, and wretchedness, and enmities? How is it allied to debasement of the whole form and spirit of man? Why should its name be linked with penury and misfortune, such as it exists among the operatives of our own land? Away with the fallacy! We must have liberty around us first, and then civilization may shed its lustre over us. But to daunt our liberty and civilization as it is, is to amuse ourselves with a fiction, and immolate to it the sanctity of truth. To examine the character of our social system is only to assure ourselves of its utter inefficiency and unfitness; its inefficiency to all the great purposes for which our natures were designed, and its unfitness to the condition of our faculties, were they actually developed. What know we of the powers of society in its present state of feebleness and inertness,—when we see half the human race in chains, and the other portion lost amidst lust and luxury? True, improvements may have taken place in science; chemistry and mechanics may have wrought wonders; Greece may boast its Apollos, Italy its angels; poetry may have bodied forth the forms and combined the elements of the beautiful. But what advantage is this? how have we profited by it? are we not the same, gross in taste, degraded in sentiment, our souls shackled as our limbs? Where is the true principle which should convert those noble means into instruments of general felicity? Where is the philosophy which should make them subservient in a scheme of universal moral harmony? The fact is, we have discovered it not; or, if discovered, have had no power to apply it. Then, are we civilized? is our social system the right system? Can we pause to answer?

The design of all nature, the end of all creation, was the happiness of man! Who can doubt it, and survey the marvels which surround us? Yet into what a hell have we converted an elysium! The blue sphere, the earth, ocean, the majesty of mind! impossible;

we cannot mistake the design whence they emanated; it must have been beneficent,—of such infinite variousness, yet of such unity and concord! How little does that concord stand affected with our present social condition! On every side we see that men are arrayed against each other. The most violent passions of envy, rivalry, animosity, are in vehement play. The happiness of another we regard as an abstraction from our own share. We cannot endure that a human being should enjoy pleasure to the brim; and we cannot endure it, because unconsciously we feel that it can never be our lot, that we are besieged (in the existing order of things) by circumstances like fiends constantly warring against our every advance to a state of felicity.

Society is on a wrong basis; a basis of mutual strife and conflict, instead of mutual accord and sympathy. Men individually pursue objects of gratification. There is no general aim, nor forms of common good. How much happiness is lost in such a condition, not only to the aggregate, but to the individual, would be indeed impossible to calculate. We know, in physical processes, that combined strength produces a result indefinitely beyond that of its individual appliance; and if thus in the physical, what might it not prove in the moral world! Society is on a wrong basis, and the foundation on which it rests is political injustice. The evil in its cause must be overthrown, and then the new effect will be seen in a corrected social system. Men can advance no where in social happiness, till they have established their political rights. Political rights can signify nothing in the first instance but participation in the work of national legislation, in the formation of the laws by which the individuals themselves are governed. In Great Britain, the majority of the nation are without political rights. Not having political, in possibility, what other rights can they have? They, to whom the power of framing laws has been given, have turned that power solely to their own advantage; they have constructed a social system full of inequalities, artificial grades, and unnatural distinctions. Thence, there is the rich man and the poor, the producer of all wealth and the idler, living upon it. Thence, justice, at the source, being outraged, a system of retributive justice has sprung up. It is decreed, that tyranny should produce resentment; and from this cause is our social life rendered what it is. Injustice, artifice, cruelty, first commenced the work; what could follow but retribution to those in revenge, treachery, and all species of malignity? And of these is society composed. Men's hearts are full of hate, and envy, and selfishness; but how will they be corrected till the institutions which originated them are superseded by others of a direct opposite tendency?

DIALOGUE

Between a Unionist and a Stranger—continued.

S. I hope you will now explain the measures which are deemed the most advisable to be adopted by the delegate meeting, and insure the permanent happiness of the Unionists, and of the working classes generally.

U. I willingly enter upon this important task, and without loss of time proceed to fulfil my engagement with you.

S. As you have mentioned loss of time, permit me to say that time must be of great value to the delegates, who come from the country, and it is therefore most desirable that the pa

ties in London should prepare the arrangement of business in such a manner for the meeting, that the least delay should occur, after the arrival of the delegates, before the substantial and most important measures for practice be submitted to them.

U. I believe the Executive and Central Committee are fully aware of the necessity of saving the time of the delegates, as much as it can be done, without losing sight of the highly interesting objects for which they are to meet; and all parties, no doubt, are now conscious that no meeting has ever yet been held of such vital importance as this is likely to prove to all classes.

S. All this is well: now proceed, if you please, to the plan of business which is deemed the best to effect the object of the Union.

U. The first measure will be to verify the credentials of the delegates from the Unions now associated in the Consolidated Union. The second, for these parties to decide what delegates shall be admitted to the meeting from other bodies, as Unions not yet united with the Consolidated Union.

S. As this term of Consolidated Union is become unpopular among some portion of the Unions, and it being so much for the interest of the productive classes that there should be, if possible, no cause of disunion among them that can be removed, why not open your arms as wide as possible to receive all those who are really well-disposed to the productive classes, and adopt a more general term?

U. Names are of little consequence when they stand in the way of any permanent good, and I do not think there would be much difficulty, if good reasons were advanced, to induce the parties interested to abandon the title of Consolidated. But what name would you recommend instead of it?

S. Any one that would assist to form a real union among all the parties. Mr. Bernard has recommended it to be called "Conservative Union of Working People for establishing the Rights of Industry and Humanity, and preventing a Revolution of Violence:" this is very well; but another, shorter, occurs to me: "Association for Establishing and Maintaining, without Violence, the Rights of Industry and Humanity."

U. Either might do; but the name had better be left to the united wisdom of the delegate meeting, which may, perhaps, suggest one equally expressive, and shorter.

S. Well; now to the next measure of business for the meeting?

U. To hear, discuss, and decide upon the report from the Executive, and pass such resolutions as it may suggest.

S. The next?

U. To discuss the various plans which may be offered to give employment to the unemployed members of the Union, that not one day's labour should be lost to the Union that can be prevented, until all its members shall be well provided for. And this question will necessarily involve that of educating the children and adults, and many others of great permanent interest.

S. Suppose these fairly and fully discussed, and agreed upon, what follows?

U. The revision of the introductory ceremony, and of the laws and regulations, or the forming of a constitution that will be effectual for all the objects of the Union.

S. I am glad to learn that there will be a revision of the initiating ceremony. While the

Unions were in their infancy, and their importance not known, fanciful forms and ceremonies might pass; but now the Unions ought to have but one form of initiation, and that, I imagine, ought to be a plain, simple, useful, straight-forward proceeding, such as the most honest and intelligent might accept with pleasure, and present to others with equal satisfaction.

U. I have no doubt the delegates will decide as they ought upon this less important subject than many others which must come before them.

S. From all which you have stated, I conclude that you do not think the working classes can be emancipated from their present abject slavery to capitalists, except by becoming capitalists themselves, and uniting the interests of the present employers and employed into that of independent producers?

U. I am well convinced there is no mode by which to destroy the endless arising from the senseless competition of master with master, of men with men, and also of masters and men as now opposed to each other.

S. All who understand the present state of society must, I think, come to this conclusion; but what plan or whose plan will the Unions adopt?

U. That is by far the most important question for the consideration of the delegate meeting; and most likely there will be at first a great diversity of opinions upon this subject.

S. Have you heard of any efficient plans which are likely to be proposed upon this occasion?

U. I have heard of three parties only who have seriously occupied themselves steadily for years to produce effectual arrangements to build up society on sound principles, when this old system, which all parties are engaged in pulling down, shall render a re-constructure of society absolutely necessary.

S. Who are these three parties, and what are their plans?

U. The first, and most simple, is a plan of Mr. John Finch's, of Liverpool; he proposes to effect the change gradually, upon the experiment carried on successfully, for three years, at Ralahine, county Cork, Ireland, but which was suddenly terminated by the proprietor of the land being obliged to leave the country in debt; and in consequence, his creditors sold the property, and prevented the parties from continuing the experiment. But there was quite sufficient effected in the three years to prove that by such means over England and Ireland, ignorance, poverty, or the fear of it, drunkenness and crime, might be gradually removed, without interfering much with old habits, notions, and prejudices, and commencing with the lowest members of society, in fact, with those who are now the most destitute.

S. This would surely be a great advance upon the present state of our national affairs; but upon what principles were these experiments urged?

U. Upon part of the principles promulgated by Robert Owen, leaving out some of his more extended views; but Mr. Finch thinks that which he proposes would be sufficient to effect the change required, and that all parties among the religious world, by a little explanation, would be willing to adopt these practical measures, although they would strenuously oppose some of Mr. Owen's more extended views for the general amelioration and emancipation of society.

S. What is Mr. Finch, and what are his pretensions to offer to take so prominent a lead in the present crisis?

U. He is one of the most useful practical men in society; he has devoted many years of his life to improve the condition of the labourers employed about the docks in Liverpool, and in attending to the practical results of co-operative measures, upon a limited scale, in various parts of the kingdom. He is a thoroughly honest man, and sincerely devoted to the cause of the working classes, and they can depend upon his continued exertions in their cause. There can be no doubt that he may be of great service to the working classes, and to the Unionists especially. He understands their wants, wishes, and prejudices, to a very great extent.

S. Well, who is the next in the field?

U. A Mr. Bernard, from one of the Universities, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and an independent landowner, who has devoted several years to unravel the complicated machinery of our government, and the craft of our monied and non-productive classes to get and keep it under their control, and thus to make the real producers of all wealth and knowledge their abject slaves. He also looks to the regeneration of this country through the union of the working classes with the landowners and farmers, or, as he calls it, the union of the productive, in opposition to the non-productive classes.

S. What has Mr. Bernard done to give the public confidence in his plans?

U. He has published a most important work, called "The Theory of the British Constitution," in which he explains the cause of our political anomalies, and hints pretty broadly on their remedies. He is undoubtedly a political reformer of no ordinary character. He has promised a second volume, in which he will fully explain his views, political, commercial, and religious; in all of which he proposes extensive alterations; but he also depends mainly upon the assistance of the working classes to effect these objects. He also appears most earnest and honest in his intentions, but he proposes some measures that will startle and alarm many parties. His writings, however, cannot fail to do much good, and to open the public mind to many subjects hitherto unthought of by the multitude, but which ought now to be well considered.

S. It is, indeed, something new for a learned man of the universities to bring forward any thing possessing public practical utility, and especially in favour of the productive classes. His plans ought, therefore, to receive much attention from the Unions, for, no doubt, his information must be very valuable, and he hazards all by thus coming publicly forward in support of the productive classes. What is the other, the third plan, which you mentioned?

U. It is the plan of Robert Owen, which has been so much talked and written about, but which appears to be very little understood, in consequence of so many party writers having misrepresented it.

S. What, according to your reading of this plan, is the object which Robert Owen has in view?

U. If I understand his writings, it is to create another and a very improved state of society.

S. But is not this visionary, and altogether impracticable?

U. Superficial and unthinking people say so, as they do of every thing new to them which

they have not thought about, or do not understand; but Robert Owen is an experienced, practical man, conversant with all classes, from the highest to the lowest, and familiar with all the practical affairs of life upon a large scale; and he has never hesitated before all parties in public to give his reasons for believing that his views of society are alone true, and that their adoption can alone effectually and permanently relieve society from its daily accumulating difficulties; and from this statement he neither turns to the right hand nor to the left, appearing confident, whatever prejudices, from ignorance, may now be opposed to it, that necessity, irresistible necessity, as he says, will compel society in its defence against the no-longer-bearable evils of the continually-growing monied and funding system, and which, he says, is the great demoraliser of mankind.

S. But either Mr. Finch's or Mr. Bernard's proposals are much more likely to be popular, the one with the working classes, and the other with politicians; Robert Owen's is too extensive and radical for any party at present.

U. It is very likely: the other two may be tried first; but I heard Mr. Owen say very lately, that although there was good in both, and that they ought to be tried, yet that they would be but preliminary measures for those which he is preparing to submit to the world.

S. Then Robert Owen's plans of amelioration for society are yet but imperfectly known; when are they to be given in full to the public?

U. He says, as soon as a small part of the public shall acquire sufficient virtue, knowledge, and strength of mind, to hear all the truth relative to the present system, and understanding to comprehend and appreciate a scientific arrangement of society, consistent in all its parts, and each part purposely devised to insure the highest degree of permanent happiness to each individual of the human race.

S. Does he mean to submit this plan in its full extent to the delegate meeting?

U. I understand not; he says the working classes as a body are not yet prepared for more than the A, B, C of society, and they require to be taught by many intermediate teachers, such as Mr. Bernard, Mr. Finch, Mr. Fielden, Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Oastler, Mr. Bull, Mr. Thomas Attwood, &c. &c., in different branches of social knowledge, before they will be prepared to listen to or to comprehend a plan that includes whatever is connected with man's well-being and happiness, in all his states and relations in life, from his birth to his death.

S. I heartily wish this period was arrived, for no state of society can be more demoralized, or produce more misery to the mass, and especially to the producers of wealth, than the present.

THE GOOD OLD WAY OF CONVERTING SINNERS.

THE following document, relating to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, shows how coolly a priest can plan and execute the extirpation of heretics. It is a letter from Father La Chaise, confessor to Louis XIV., to Father Peters, confessor to James II. of England, in 1688. It is from the seventh volume, 4to. of the collection of manuscript papers selected from the library of Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford:—

Father La Chaise's Project for the Extirpation of Heretics, in a Letter from him to Father Peters.

"Worthy Friend,—I received yours on the 20th of June last, and am glad to hear of your

good success, and that our party gains ground so fast in England; but, concerning the question you have put to me, that is, "What is the best course to be taken to root out all heretics?" to this I answer, there are divers ways to do that, but we must consider which is the best to make use of in England. I am sure you are not ignorant how many thousand heretics we have in France, by the power of our dragoons, converted in the space of one year: and by the doctrine of these booted apostles, turned more in one month than Christ and his apostles could in ten years. This is a most excellent method, and far excels those of the great preachers and teachers that have lived since Christ's time. But I have spoken with divers fathers of our society, who do think that your king is not strong enough to accomplish his design by such kind of force; so that we cannot expect to have our work done in that manner, for the heretics are too strong in the three kingdoms; and therefore we must seek to convert them by fair means, before we fall upon them with fire, sword, halts, gaols, and other such like punishments; and therefore I can give you no better advice than to begin with soft, easy means. Wheedle them by promises of profit and places of honour, till you have made them dip themselves in treasonable actions against the laws established, and then they are bound to serve for fear. When they have done thus, turn them out, and serve others so, by putting them in their places; and by this way gain as many as you can. And for the heretics that are in places of profit and honour, turn them out, or suspend them on pretence of misbehaviour; by which their places are forfeited, and they subject to what judgment you please to give upon them. Then you must form a camp that must consist of none but Catholics; this will make the heretics heartless, and conclude all means of relief and recovery is gone. And, lastly, take the short and the best way, which is, to surprise the heretics on a sudden; and, to encourage the zealous Catholics, let them sacrifice them all, and wash their hands in their blood, which will be an acceptable offering to God. And this was the method I took in France, which hath well, you see, succeeded; but it cost me many threats and promises before I could bring it thus far; our king being a long time very unwilling. But, at last, I got him on the hip; for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, for which I would by no means give him absolution till he had given me an instrument, under his own hand and seal, to sacrifice all the heretics in one day.

"Now, as soon as I had my desired commission, I appointed the day when this should be done; and, in the mean time, made ready some thousands of letters, to be sent into all parts of France in one post-night. I was never better pleased than at that time; but the king was affected with some compassion for the Huguenots, because they had been a means to bring him to his crown and throne; and the longer he was under it, the more sorrowful he was, often complaining, and desiring me to give him his commission again; but that I would by no persuasion do; advising him to repent of that heinous sin, and also telling him that the trouble and horror of his spirit did not proceed from any thing of evil in those things that were to be done, but from that wickedness that he had done; and that he must resolve to undergo the severe burden of a troubled mind from one of them or the other;

and if he would remain satisfied as it was, his sin being forgiven, there would, in a few days, be a perfect atonement made for it, and he perfectly reconciled to God again. But all this would not pacify him; for the longer, the more restless; and I therefore ordered him to retire to his closet, and spend his time constantly in prayer, without permitting any one to interrupt him; and this was in the morning early, when, the evening following, I was to send away all my letters. I did, indeed, make the more haste, for fear he should disclose it to any body, yet I had given him a strict charge to keep it to himself; and the very things that I most feared, to my great sorrow, came to pass: for just in the nick of time, the devil, who hath at all times his instruments at work, sent the Prince of Condé to the court, who asked for the king; he was told that he was in his closet, and would speak with no man. He impudently answered, 'that he must and would speak with him,' and so went directly to his closet; he being a great peer, no man durst hinder him. And being come to the king, he soon perceived, by his countenance, that he was under some great trouble of mind; for he looked as if he had been going into the other world immediately. 'Sir,' said he, 'what is the matter with you?' The king at the first refused to tell him; but he, pressing harder upon him, at last the king, with a sorrowful complaint, burst out and said—'I have given Father La Chaise a commission, under my hand, to murder all the Huguenots in one day; and this evening will the letters be despatched to all parts, by the post, for the performing it; so that there is but small time left for my Huguenot subjects to live, who have never done me any harm.' Whereupon this cursed rogue answered, 'Let him give you your commission again.' The king said, 'How shall I get it out of his hand? For if I send to him for it, he will refuse to send it.' This devil answered, 'If your majesty will give me order, I will quickly make him return it.' The king was soon persuaded, being willing to give ease to his troubled spirit, and said, 'Well, go then, and break his neck, if he will not give it you.' Whereupon, this son of the devil went to the post-house, and asked if I had not a great number of letters there? And they said, 'Yes, more than I had sent in a whole year before.' 'Then,' said the Prince, 'by order from the king, you must deliver them all to me;' which they durst not deny, for they knew well enough who he was. And no sooner was he got into the post-house, and had asked these questions, but I came also in after him, to give order to the postmaster to give notice to all those under him, in the several parts of the kingdom, that they should take care to deliver my letters with all speed imaginable. But I was no sooner entered the house but he gave his servants orders to secure the door, and said confidently to me, 'You must, by order from the king, give me the commission which you have forced from him.' I told him I had it not about me, but would go and fetch it, thinking to get from him, and so go out of town, and send the contents of those letters another time; but he said, 'You must give it; and if you have it not about you, send somebody to fetch it, or else never expect to go alive out of my hands; for I have an order from the king either to bring it or break your neck, and am resolved either to carry that back to him in my hand, or else your heart's blood on the point of my sword.' I would

have made my escape, but he set his sword to my breast, and said, 'You must give it me, or die; therefore deliver it, or else this goes through your body.'

"So, when I saw nothing else would do, I put my hand in my pocket and gave it him; which he carried immediately to the king, and gave him that and all my letters, which they burned. And, being all done, the king said, now, his heart was at ease. Now, how he should be eased by the devil, or so well satisfied with a false joy, I cannot tell; but this I know, that it was a very wicked and ungodly action, as well in his majesty as the prince of Condé, and did not a little increase the burden and danger of his majesty's sins. I soon gave an account of this affair to several fathers of our society, who promised to do their best to prevent the aforesaid prince's doing such another act, which was accordingly done; for, within six days after the damned action, he was poisoned, and well he deserved it. The king also did suffer too, but in another fashion, for disclosing the design unto the prince, and hearkening unto his counsel. And many a time since, when I have had him at confession, I have shook hell about his ears, and made him sigh, fear, and tremble, before I would give him absolution; nay, more than that, I have made him beg for it on his knees, before I would consent to absolve him. By this I saw that he had still an inclination to me, and was willing to be under my government: so I set the baseness of the action before him, by telling him the whole story, and how wicked it was, and that it could not be forgiven till he had done some good action to balance that, and expiate the crime. Whereupon, he at last asked me what he must do? I told him that he must root out all heretics from his kingdom. So, when he saw there was no rest for him without doing it, he did again give them all into the power of me and our clergy, under this condition, that we would not murder them, as he had before given orders, but that we should by fair means, or force, convert them to the Catholic religion. Now, when we had got the commission, we presently put it in practice; and what the issue hath been, you very well know. But now in England the work cannot be done after this manner, as you perceive by what I have said to you; so that I cannot give you better counsel, than to take the course in hand wherein we were so unhappily prevented; and I doubt not but it may have better success with you than with us.

"I would write to you of many other things, but I fear I have already detained you too long, wherefore I will write no more at present, but that I am, your friend and servant,

"Paris, July 8, 1688. "LA CHAISE."

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street.

Mr. Smith, Sunday morning, at half-past eleven.
Mr. Owen, Sunday evening, at seven o'clock.

The 60th Social Festival of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, August 9. Tickets 1s. 6d., or 1s. and a one-hour note each tea and coffee included.

A Discussion on Tuesday evening, August 5. Subject: "The merits of the Trades' Union Bank, as proposed by the Executive." Chair taken at eight o'clock.

A fresh supply of Union Boots and Shoes has been received from Wellingborough, and are now on sale at the Institution.

Shortly will be published by B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields,

THE WORDS OF A BELIEVER, by the **ABBÉ DE LA MENNAIS**, translated into English by a Lady. This extraordinary production has caused considerable excitement over the whole Continent. It has been condemned, and its Author anathematized by the Pope, although the Abbé was formerly the right-hand man of his Holiness; it has also been proscribed in Germany as tending to inflame the religious world, and make them discontented with present things. It is a book which is calculated to give satisfaction to all parties, teaching the doctrines of a new and more equitable state of society, and a perfect toleration of opinion; whilst, at the same time, it abides by the original and fundamental principles and precepts of the Christian religion.

The following are extracts from the *Times* and *Morning Post*:

"The famous Abbé de la Mennais, though but just pardoned by the holy see, has relapsed! And what a relapse! The *Paroles d'un Croyant* have doubtless already crossed the channel, and you will have perused this singular work. It is a new book of the prophets, a kind of Alcoran, divided into chapters and verses. It is a book written in the Apocalypse style, and would seem to have arrived from old Jerusalem, and to have been inspired on the banks of Jordan. In the same malediction the Abbé de la Mennais confounds supreme pontiffs, kings, preachers, and warriors, all powers, and privileges, and all social order. There is only, he contends, one legitimate sovereign, and that sovereign is "Christ." Christ alone is great, and la Mennais is his prophet! Under the reign of Christ the earth will be covered with flowers, and the little children will constantly bring nosegays to their mothers. This is a favourite image of this prophet, since he frequently adopts it.

"There is no doubt such a work as this has its ridiculous side; but we must not on that account treat it altogether without weight. It is admirably written, and on weak and ignorant minds, and youthful imaginations, it can hardly fail to exercise a baneful influence. It will assuredly produce fanatics, and the Abbé de la Mennais will then have his sectarians. This book puts weapons into the hands of the factions of every denomination. It is a fireship launched into the midst of the moral world. I regard its publication as an event. Its editions multiply, and certainly it will be considered in the light of a gospel. The Abbé de la Mennais flatters the lower classes with as much address as perfidy; and his words are calculated to excite that envy which sleeps, but which never ceases to exist in the breasts of those who suffer, when they come in contact with those who enjoy. This work, of which it grieves me to have to speak, will be spread over the whole of Europe. There is no doubt but its appearance will provoke the indignation of the church of Rome, and that its thunders will be aimed at the head of this sacrilegious preacher. But it seems he has made up his mind to this, and that persecution would be congenial to his taste, for persecution elevates and glorifies innovators."—*Times*, June 11.

"The Abbé de la Mennais has roused the thunder of the Vatican by his *Paroles d'un Croyant*. The pope has addressed an evangelical letter to all the prelates of the Catholic world, in which the Abbé is compared with John Huss and Wickliff, and his holiness says "We damn for ever this book of small size but huge depravity."—*Morning Post*.

Lately published,
VOLNEY'S RUINS OF EMPIRES, and LAW of NATURE; in a neat pocket Volume, gilt lettered, with 2 plates, price 2s. 6d., or in 14 numbers at 2d. each.
B. D. Cousins, Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn-fields.

Association of the Industrious Classes,
14, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

List of goods, &c., wanted to be supplied to the Store on or before Monday, Aug. 9; for which value will be given, to order, in clothes, shoes, and cabinet or carpenter's work, at the lowest price and of the best quality:—Provisions of all kinds; one common wool mattress; one set each of boot and shoe trees; one set of men's block lasts; two armed Windsor chairs, strong.

GRAND LODGE OF OPERATIVE CORDWAINERS.—Resolved, "That we, the Operative Cordwainers of London, do pledge ourselves not to drink any Beer of the Firm of Combe, Dalafield, and Co., until they withdraw their opposition from the 'Trades' Unions,' and that we will use our influence with all other trades to do the same."

Resolved, "That the thanks of this meeting be given to W. Beam, Esq., of Wellingborough, for his benevolent and praiseworthy exertions in behalf of the late 'Turned-outs' of that town."

July 28, 1834.

W. HOARE, G. Sec.

IMPORTANT TO THE PUBLIC.

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THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 18, VOL. IV.]

SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, AUGUST 3.

Mr. Owen delivered the following lecture:—

Were it not for the many errors early forced into the human mind, we should not, at this advanced period of physical knowledge, see one of the productive class destitute of a sufficiency of wholesome food, clothed in rags, uneducated in the most useful knowledge, earnestly soliciting, in vain, to be employed to create more wealth, and, strange to say, to create more wealth for those who are already wallowing in luxuries, which are destroying their minds and steeling their hearts against every natural feeling.

By your own proceedings you will promote or retard the adoption of measures calculated to effect a change in this irrational condition of society, and you will have to decide whether it shall go on from day to day inflicting more and more physical and mental evil upon our order in this and other countries, until, by the accumulation of distress, which human nature will not continue to endure, a revolution of violence, injurious to all, shall be again forced upon the civilised world; or whether this state of matters shall be now arrested in its course, and a mighty moral revolution shall commence which shall let prosperity loose upon the world, and secure the natural rights of man to all the human race.

Such, and no less, is the magnitude of the subjects to which your attention will be now directed, and I trust the importance of the interests to be discussed will induce our order to become free from all party and sectarian feelings, opposed to the general well-being of every party and every sect.

That great distress exists among the majority of the population engaged in agriculture, manufactures, trade, and commerce, and that the extraordinary energies of the British people are misapplied to an enormous extent, all parties, I presume, will now admit. It is therefore my intention to make evident—

1. That the present distress of our order is not owing to any of the causes to which it has been attributed by any of the members of the legislature, as explained by them in the present or in any former parliament.

2. That the remedies which they propose

are wholly inadequate to give the relief sought for and required.

3. That the commercial or pecuniary distress has arisen from one cause alone, and from one, which, if allowed to proceed unchecked, will inflict more evil than society will bear.

4. That this cause is artificial, or one which may be effectually removed, either by the union of the government and the people, or by the union of the industrious only.

5. That by the union of the government and the people, the pecuniary distress in Great Britain and Ireland may be terminated before the end of another year, and considerable relief may be given in six months.

It is also my intention, upon the present occasion, more fully to explain the outlines of the science of society, a science hitherto unknown to the public. Through a knowledge of this science, the practicability of creating unlimited wealth with light human labour will become obvious to all accustomed to reflect upon general principles. I will also endeavour to demonstrate the cause of and remedy for the moral evils, which, equally with pecuniary distress, destroy the happiness of all people. As the subjects are all important, and necessary to be known to enable the public to understand the real cause of the pecuniary distress, and of the moral evils, and the practical measures requisite to remedy both, and as the time is so limited which a lecture of this kind affords to develop matters so essential to the future prosperity of these dominions, it is necessary for me to be as brief as the subjects will admit. I hope, however, to make the statements and explanations sufficiently plain to enable the audience wisely to adopt, or reject, the measures which will be ultimately submitted for their consideration.

Having stated these preliminaries, I proceed to the main object of the lecture:—

And, 1st. That the present distress is not owing to any of the causes to which it has been attributed by any of the members of parliament, as they have been explained by themselves. The first in order of these causes is said to be over-population. The idea of there being an excess of population among the productive classes in Great Britain and Ireland, has arisen from notions published, and, his premises being granted, so ably reasoned upon,

by my friend Mr. Malthus, who, if his great powers of mind had not been paralyzed at an early period of his life by this erroneous idea, would have been most useful in disabusing the public mind of many of its ancient prejudices.

The science of society, the outlines of which I shall presently have to develop, will render it obvious to every capacity competent to reason that there can be no over-population so long as there is an over-production, or the means of creating an over-production, of the necessities and comforts of life; and it will be also made evident that society has now the means of bringing into existence ten or twenty times more in amount of the necessities and comforts of life than the present population of the world requires; and also, that every addition to the population, until the world shall be as well cultivated as the best garden, may be made, with pleasure to all, to increase the general surplus of society.

Until there shall be a prodigious increase in population, each child that shall be born may be made, with peculiar advantage to society and delight to itself, to produce, if it were necessary, ten or twenty times more of his proportion of the best of every thing for human nature than he would desire to consume.

The wants of human nature necessary to its happiness, are the same now as they have been at all former periods, and in all probability will ever continue the same; the power of satisfying those wants has increased since the earliest periods of civilization more than a hundred to one, and in the last century alone more than fifty to one; and the power to increase production is daily on the advance in a continually increasing ratio: consequently over-population cannot be the cause of the present distress among the productive classes: nor can it be necessary to resort to late marriages to remove the evil; for an authorized union between the sexes being deferred to a late period of life, would produce only disease, discontent, crime, and misery. Marriages late in life are unnatural, and in every point of view are directly opposed to the well-being and happiness of individuals and of society.

Nor will emigration, in a rightly constituted state of society, be necessary in Great Britain or Ireland for many years to come; and in the present state of society emigration will be

inadequate to force down population with sufficient rapidity to meet the views of the higher orders and modern political economists; for another power of production, that scarcely consumes at all, is increasing more rapidly than population could increase without any check of vice or misery, and population consumes its own productions, and thereby creates a demand for them. Emigration, however, may be encouraged to a limited amount, upon other and better grounds than an imaginary excess of population. Under proper regulations, it may be made the means of conveying the civilization of Europe to distant parts of the world, and thereby extend the most useful knowledge known into many lands, in which the inhabitants are still in a state of great ignorance; but upon no other principle is emigration now required.

The next cause to which the present distress is attributed is over-production; yet a very little reflection will make it evident that there can be no over-production of real wealth as long as any part of the productive classes is in want of the necessaries and comforts of life, and are willing when required to create more by their labour, and the means exist by which more than they consume may be created. At present there are more among the productive classes unemployed, or uselessly employed, but who are willing to be employed, than are sufficient, by their labour, rightly directed, to create a full supply of the best of all that is necessary for their support and happiness.

It is absurd to suppose that there can be at the same time over-production and over-population. This is one of the innumerable mistakes proceeding from the theories of the modern political economists, who are opposed to nature and to facts in almost all their notions relative to the science of society. There will be an over-production, as soon as every human being shall be supplied from birth to death with a sufficiency of the best of every thing for human nature, and when there shall be an abundant surplus also to guard the population against a succession of unfavourable seasons; all beyond, and nothing short of this amount, will be over-production. The remedy of political economists for over-production is to "let things alone, for the evil will cure itself." This remedy shall be subsequently examined.

Another cause of the present distress is said to be over-taxation. No one can doubt that over-taxation is an evil, inasmuch as it abstracts wealth from the party possessing it, and gives it to another, who perhaps wants or deserves it less. Taxation, however, cannot be the cause of the general distress arising from the want of a just remuneration for labour, skill, and capital. The remedy proposed for this cause of distress, is a reduction of the national expenditure. Now this reduction of expenditure would immediately take support from those whose incomes are derived from taxation; and thus great distress would be created among those who have not yet been trained to create wealth for themselves, while the reduction of taxation would only remit the greater part of the amount diminished to the wealthy, who are already abundantly privileged by the existing arrangements; for it is the rich who, in the first instance, pay the taxes in the shape of of prime cost on the articles they consume; the industrious producers, on the contrary, would receive little or no relief from the change in prices, because of the incessant competition, to which under existing arrangements they are

compelled to resort, forcing them continually to sell their productions at or below prime cost, and, as previously stated, the taxes are part of that cost. Under the present wretched arrangements of society, were the government expenses to be entirely withdrawn, and the debt expunged, the industrious classes would in a short period, through the effect of individual competition, again experience distress as great as the present, and it would continually increase as it has done heretofore. The industrious classes would be again subjected, for want of a market, to all the evils of an over-supply of their respective productions, from a power which they do not see, but which they continually feel.

Taxation, therefore, is not the cause of the present distress among the productive classes; nor will any reduction of the national expenditure remedy the evil, except for a very short time.

Free trade is another cause to which the distress in the manufactures, commerce, and the retail trade has been attributed. Upon this subject there has been much said by the friends and opponents of free trade, to very little purpose. Both parties have but a limited view of the object about which they differ. They are both wrong in part and right in part, but their discussions are useless for any practical purpose, in the perplexed and confused state of the commerce of the civilised world.

The opponents of free trade say, "Let us protect our own industry; let every labourer and workman be employed in this country, before we receive any thing from foreign countries which comes into competition with our own productions." And while the industrious classes must live by their labour, and there is not full employment for them, their arguments are founded in wisdom.

The supporters of free trade say, on the contrary, "Let the intercourse of nations be without restraint or limitation, because all articles would thereby be obtained with the least amount of labour, or at the least cost of human exertion." In a rational state of society, this principle would be correct for practice; but in the present irrational condition of the governments and people in all countries, this principle would, if rigidly applied, extend individual competition to such a degree that the wealth of society would accumulate among a few favoured individuals, in two or three favoured countries, to the manifest injury of the great mass of the people in every country, but more especially in those possessing the fewest natural advantages, in the same manner that wealth now accumulates in this country in the hands of a few accidentally favoured individuals, to the great injury of the mass of the people.

Free trade, in the present perplexed state of commercial transactions, national and individual, would give advantages to some parties and withdraw them from others; but as these affairs are now managed, free or restricted trade is a subject which does not merit the attention of any whose capacity reaches beyond the petty proceedings of buying at low, or selling at high prices. Free or restricted trade, in the light in which the different parties now view the subject, cannot be the cause of the existing complaint of want of employment at a just remuneration for labour and capital.

It is now becoming popular, even in both houses of parliament, to attribute the national distress to the corrupt state of the House of

Commons, and to the disinclination of the House of Peers to listen to the complaints of the people and relieve their wants. Surely, these sentiments could never become popular in both houses, unless there was some great confusion of intellect among the members, as well as among the people who elect the House of Commons.

Suppose parliamentary reform granted to the full extent sought for by the most liberal of the radical party—annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and election by ballot,—what comes next? Who are to be the new members? or would there be any material change in the members who now fill the seats in that house? Is it not likely—nay, is it not certain—that the same character of influence which returned the present, would return the future members? Superfluous wealth, as the control of individuals, will continue to be applied, as heretofore in all countries, to injure the mass of the people, by purchasing from them, in the time of need or of weakness, their invaluable rights.

That there would be some new members in consequence of such a change in the laws of parliament is very probable, but it is not likely that they would exceed forty or fifty. But whatever might be the number of new members elected under such an alteration of the laws, there would be; I apprehend, very little change for the better, either in the real knowledge or in the feelings of the house. Are there not, at this moment, several members in the House of Commons who have been returned directly by the people? Are there not now a considerable number of members in both houses who would be willing to enact laws to give relief to the industrious classes, if they knew how to direct such proceedings with success?

Is it probable that men of more knowledge, good feelings, or of more integrity, would be returned to parliament, than those who now sit there? I fearlessly answer, No! There is no probability that the members of the present House of Commons would be replaced by men who would or could, under existing prejudices and errors, do more to relieve the miseries of society, than those who had been hitherto sent there.

Before parliament or the administration of this country can effect any material permanent improvement in the condition of the producers and distributors of wealth, the people must possess more knowledge of their interests, and there must be a great change in public opinion on subjects deeply affecting the interests of all parties.

Were all the popular leaders of the people to be returned members, and to take their seats in the house to-morrow, they would be soon occupied, as the Broughams, Burdetts, Rindfords, Humes, Hobhouses, Russells, O'Connells, &c. &c., are at present, exerting all their great powers in directing the public mind to contend about tawdry pence and farthings, to the entire neglect of the means by which hundreds of millions of new property might be created, and applied to support, educate, and improve the condition of the ignorant starving population of Great Britain and Ireland, who are now without a sufficiency of food, instruction, or employment, or most uselessly employed to pamper those who are already deeply injured by an excess of luxuries.

These new members, like the old, would bring into the House of Commons some new

party feelings and undigested schemes of reform, with which they would occupy the time of the house, and still more confound and perplex the public mind, and add to the evils of society, by continuing a useless petty legislation, which has already brought our order into an almost hopeless state of poverty, misery, and degradation.

It is not, therefore, in the present state of the public mind, a want of parliamentary reform that is a cause of the national distress; nor until there shall be a complete revolution in the public mind relative to the whole science of society, will any description of parliamentary reform remedy or palliate the existing evils.

SUNDAY EVENING, AUGUST 3.

Mr. Owen, after recapitulating the leading features of his morning lecture, in order to enable such of his hearers who were not then present to understand his reasoning, continued the subject as follows:—

"But," say another large portion of the members of both houses of parliament, "the distress has been created by the sudden attempt to return to cash payments, and relief would be obtained by a renewal of the paper currency." It is true, the period of distress has been hastened by the futile attempts which, in the altered condition of commercial affairs, have been made to return to a metallic currency. That immediate extensive distress would follow this attempt, was foreseen and foretold by several intelligent men of the most successful practice in the kingdom.

These and other errors of mistaken policy have hastened the period of severe and general distress among the industrious classes, and have thereby prepared the public more readily to listen to plans of relief.

Political economists and statesmen have puzzled themselves extremely about standards of value, and circulating medium, and, as it yet appears, to very little purpose. In the year 1797, circumstances occurred to force Mr. Pitt to acknowledge that gold and silver were inadequate to circulate the wealth which was then created in Great Britain; and a mixed paper circulation of the Bank of England was, by law, introduced to supersede it, without any principles being known or thought of on which that paper ought to have been issued. But as the power of creating wealth had been so much increased, compared with the means which existed a few years preceding, and as these means continued daily to increase, no material inconvenience was experienced, except that at no period since 1797 has the circulating medium been commensurate with the increased productive power of the country.

While the country was advancing in wealth, under the always too limited circulation for its powers of production, the political economists advised the legislature to return to the old metallic currency. This advice was followed, and the energies of the British population were in consequence contracted to an amount within a gold circulation. From the frequent discussions which occurred on this subject, in both houses of parliament, and generally throughout the country, it became evident that the immense increase to the power of creating new property had not been taken into consideration, and that no useful practical knowledge, founded on sound principles of science, existed relative to the quality of wealth, the best means of creating it, to a standard by which to measure

it; or to a currency by which it could be most beneficially circulated; and in consequence of these defects in political economy, the great interests of these kingdoms have been in a state of continued oscillation and confusion, and many of them have suffered almost continual depression.

Through a knowledge of the science of society, the popular errors entertained upon these subjects will be discovered and the remedy ascertained. A return, however, to paper circulation, without the public knowing by what principles to fix its amount as real wealth, and the means of creating it shall still more increase, and of giving security to it by fixing its value beyond the reach of change, would now only add to the injustice, by which a large part of the population has already so grievously suffered.

That a change in the currency must be made, all men of sound practical knowledge are certain; but this change should not be effected until the science of the creation and circulation of wealth shall be known, for the next change ought to be final. I trust, however, that the time for making this change is not far distant; and, to hasten its arrival, I will endeavour to explain what are the qualities which a standard of value and a currency ought to possess.

A true standard of value ought to represent the amount of real value of every article which it has to measure; but no such standard exists. Labour, therefore, is the true and natural standard of value; and the currency that will be alone necessary in a rightly constituted society, will be national bank-notes of time, say of days and hours, instead of imaginary pounds, shillings, and pence, or dollars and cents.

A sound currency should possess the capacity of being increased precisely as wealth increases, of being diminished precisely as wealth is diminished, and of being unchangeable in its value. Now, gold and silver do not possess one of these essential properties of a standard of value, or of a circulating medium. Gold and silver are hourly changing in value, and they cannot be increased or diminished, as wealth is created or consumed. In consequence of these defects in the standard of value and currency, Great Britain has lost, and is losing, property to an extent that it would be imprudent now to state even enormously within the truth.

The next best standard of value to that which would represent the amount of real value in every article which it has to measure, is that which will accurately measure the real cost of the articles which it has to represent; and a standard possessing this quality would, in a short time, approximate so near to the true standard of value, that it would be perfect for practice, for the amount of labour in every article is its cost, and in a well-ordered state of society the cost would invariably be its value in exchange; and, in consequence, articles of intrinsic value only would be produced until society should be fully supplied with them; when afterwards, for amusement, articles without intrinsic value might perhaps be produced and manufactured.

As soon as the science of society shall be known, a standard of value and a circulating medium, possessing the requisites which have been stated, may be easily introduced to supersede the present standard currency, both of which, it has been shown, are now unfit for the purposes required by society. The new cir-

culating medium will be portable, and measures may be adopted to render forgery extremely difficult, and, at no distant period, to remove all motives to induce any one to make the attempt.

As a continuance of a metallic currency is now impracticable, along with the powers now possessed by this country to create new wealth, which are perpetually increasing; and, as it would be unjust, and, in many respects, injurious to attempt to return to a paper currency unfixed in its value, it is useless to expect any permanent relief from tampering with these defective circulating mediums; measures of a different character are now become necessary, and their adoption, from that necessity, has become unavoidable.

The force of new circumstances, unknown and unthought of by our ancestors, will now compel society to change its principles of action—moral, political, and commercial.

Having shown that the distress which pervades the working classes, throughout Europe and America, does not arise, except partially and accidentally, from any of the preceding causes to which it has been attributed, I have now to explain whence it originates, and to propose the remedy. I may state, in a few words, that the cause of distress is the general disunion of society, arising from ignorance; and that the remedy will be a general union of society, proceeding from intelligence. But I will endeavour to expound more fully, both the cause of the distress, and the practical measures of remedy, in such a manner that all who are accustomed to reflect upon these subjects may fully comprehend the statements and explanations which I am about to make.

Human nature has been formed to possess wants physical, intellectual and moral, which must be satisfied before the individual can enjoy happiness. These wants are permanent in our nature, but the means of satisfying them have been continually upon the increase, until in our day they have become so abundant that by arrangements formed in accordance with the laws of nature, and the science of society derived from them, the wants of every individual may be over-supplied with much less labour and capital than are now employed to uphold the existing miserable condition of the industrious classes. For all the pecuniary distress, which has been experienced in Great Britain and Ireland, since the year 1810, has arisen from a vast accumulation of new productive powers, chiefly mechanical and chemical, which have been added to the manual labour of the country, upon which our forefathers mainly depended for all the wealth which they consumed. These new machines enable a few labourers to produce enormously; but as they consume very little food, clothes, houses, or furniture, compared with the amount which would be necessary for the labourers and workmen who would be required to produce as much as these new machines enable the few to make, the markets, everywhere, are very abundantly supplied, as well with all useful, as with thousands of useless articles.

The people, who are now in want of food, who are covered with rags, who live in very inferior houses, and who have scarcely any furniture, would buy these things if they could, and make a great market, or demand as it is called, for them. But in consequence of the new machines being greatly increased and daily increasing, they make labour very cheap, and those who have now nothing but their labour

to sell can get but very little of these abundant things for their labour, and, in consequence, the markets for the sale of these articles, so cheaply and so abundantly made by machinery and a few workmen and children, become, after a few months of what is called good times, a brisk trade, or a period of prosperity, quite overstocked, and the persons who sent them to market cannot get as much for them as they cost. Then there is what is called a stagnation in trade, and the poor labourers and workpeople, who have nothing to live upon but the value of their labour, are told, "we have too much of every thing, and too many people; we do not want you, for your labour is of no value. You must do the best you can, until good times come again, for," say a few of the rich who are very wealthy, "bad times will always cure themselves; let things alone until the surplus now in the market shall be taken off, and then we shall again have a brisk trade." Now, the coming of this brisk trade depends unfortunately upon the briskness with which starvation and crime carry off, at each of these periods, so many thousands of our fellow-creatures; and thus is distress produced, amidst plenty, sufficient, if rightly directed, to satisfy the wants of all; and thus is misery entailed upon the population, and thus has the present distress been produced.

But the most melancholy consideration is, that while the present wretched and most ignorant and vicious system of society shall be permitted to afflict the inhabitants of the world, these bad times must, of necessity, become more and more frequent, and be of longer and longer duration. Well may a few individuals, connected with a small number of leading houses in every department of business, say that the distress is again passing over, when these individuals are becoming enormously wealthy, solely by the extent of the failure and misery of millions of their fellow-beings. These individuals, who see good times before they appear to the many, perceive no misery in their dwellings, nor perhaps in their prosperous establishments; but let them visit the wretched labourer or operative, who has to toil fifteen or sixteen hours in the day, the latter in a most unhealthy atmosphere, and who with his family lives upon a scanty supply of food of the most inferior description; and then let these wealthy individuals say, at what expense of human suffering their profit and luxuries are obtained.

This system, unwise and vicious in every point of view, must, while it shall be allowed to afflict the world, produce continual over-production, continual over-population, continual poverty and crime, and continual misery. It is fit only for an ignorant and barbarous people, who have less useful knowledge than many savage tribes, who know much better how to enjoy human existence. The inhabitants of Jaquemel, in the island of St. Domingo, appeared to me, when I saw them but a few years ago, in a condition greatly to be envied by our labourers and operatives. They appeared to live to enjoy their existence; while our working-classes appear to live to toil for others, who ill-treat, despise, and grievously neglect them. The most miserable population I have yet seen in any part of the world is the working-classes of Great Britain; while if the immense scientific powers at the control of the nation were rightly directed, the whole of the population might be in a much better condition than any other people.

The improvements, therefore, in physical knowledge, which, if wisely applied, would produce a superfluity of wealth for all, and abundance of leisure for the improvement and enjoyment of every one, have been made, through error, to destroy the wealth, and curtail the leisure for improvement, and increase the anxieties of the working-classes, going far towards creating hostile feelings between them and the non-producers.

These results have been produced by the extraordinarily rapid progress of new physical knowledge, unaccompanied by an equal degree of moral and political knowledge; and, in consequence, the new physical power has been permitted to act *against*, instead of *for*, the interests of society. If sufficient wisdom had existed to direct this enormous and now ever-growing power, for the benefit of society, the labour of all would have been diminished in the same proportion as their power increased; and the value of the diminished labour, whether physical or mental, would also have been very much increased, and great and continually-advancing prosperity would have been permanently established in these dominions. Instead, however, of this progress in civilization having been effected by this increase of power, the contrary results are everywhere visible. The period of daily labour for the workman has been extended; his wife and children have been called from the domestic employments to assist him; and yet his labour and theirs will not now suffice to furnish the family with the comforts, and too often not with the necessities of life.

The evils of this system are gradually extending through all ranks and professions in which the individuals have to support themselves either by their physical labour or intellectual acquisitions; the effects of an increased and increasing competition are now severely felt by all trades and professions.

It is now evident to every one who can take a comprehensive view of society, that this state of matters cannot long continue; that it ought not to continue. It ought not to be allowed to remain for another year, or for a month, if a remedy for it can be discovered and applied.

Mr. Owen having concluded his lecture, which he promised to continue, announced that there were two children to be named. The children having been brought forward by their parents, he took the elder, a fine little girl, into his arms, and expressed himself as follows:

"My friends, here is a young human being, whose parents wish it to be entered a member of the Rational System of Society. On all these occasions you can have no conception how many new and extraordinary ideas present themselves to my mind. I trust the time is not far distant, when every human being that comes into existence may be made, physically and mentally, greatly superior to any persons now living, or to any of our ancestors; but these circumstances have not yet been created. Feeling so strongly as I do concerning the evils which surround this child, I am compelled to exert myself to the utmost to bring about the new and superior state of things to which we look forward. Measures are now in operation, quietly but surely, to accomplish this change; and if I am not greatly mistaken, we shall, by the end of this year or the beginning of the next, witness the introduction of measures into practice, which shall rapidly accomplish the desired end. The parents of this child wish it to be called Frances Wright Clark; a name

which will call to the recollection of many of you a female who has greatly forwarded the cause of humanity in various parts of the world, particularly in America. She was in London a few weeks ago, where she remained only a very short time; but has promised to return in the spring, and make a longer stay among us. I hope this child will not disgrace her namesake, and that she may have health to live to enjoy the new state of society to which we are preparing the way.

"Here is another child, the brother to the last, whom the parents wish to be named Owen Clark. It has long been the practice of the old world to give children the names of various leading public characters, whose opinions or actions the parents may approve of; in the new world, however, no merit will attach to any individual. In that state, any superiority one person may possess over another, will be exerted for the general benefit. This child also, I hope, will enjoy good health, and live to become a member of our new state of society."

CORRESPONDENCE.

Bankhead's muse is rather intoxicated this time. We don't wonder at his admiration of the fair lady, who is the subject of his sketch, but we are afraid the insertion of it will cause a flood of rival feeling to be poured out against him, as there can be no doubt that his poetic genius has captivated many other dames, whose hair is "dark and glossy," and whose eyes spit fire. Moreover, there is as much personality in praising as in blaming individuals; and as the Crisis is or ought to be conducted upon the principle of no praise or blame, we are quite as likely to be called to account for the one as the other, except by the fair dame herself, who we know would smile sweetly, and say, "Oh, the dear creature! Why, do you know, I think Mr. Owen is wrong about no praise, but right about no blame; eh, my dear?"

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 9.

WE answered, last week, some objections of 'An Operative,' who professes to be intimately acquainted with the soil and its productions, but is sadly incredulous respecting the doctrine we usually advocate of a surplus of wealth—that is, the power of producing it. He is no Operative, in the common sense of the word, and we are not disposed to question the truth of what he asserts when he lays claim to a greater knowledge of practical agriculture than we are possessed of. We can boast of no personal experience upon the subject; we only form an opinion from the testimony of others, and this we believe is the most correct method of gaining acquaintance with so vast a subject, which is far beyond the individual observation of any man to investigate. We have sufficient authority to say, that there are many millions of waste lands in the country, and that these lands are reclaimable if only capital and labour were spent upon them. We have sufficient authority also to say, that land may be exhausted of its strength by injudicious management, and that, on the contrary, its strength may be increased to a very great

amount by a scientific method of cultivation and a rotation of crops; that by far the greater proportion of the land is entirely deprived of the advantages which are derivable from the modern discoveries of agricultural science, and consequently the land is deteriorating, instead of being improved. This is especially the case in Ireland, where fine rich land is subjected, year after year, in uninterrupted succession, to the drudgery of bearing crops of potatoes, each of which is successively worse than the other; and in England the landed or farming interest is in such a deplorable condition, that large tracts of land are going out of cultivation, or would go if not let out in small allotments to the poor, who cultivate them upon an improved principle, and derive both rent and profit from them. So convinced are many of the nobility and gentry of this important truth, that this very generation has witnessed the commencement of a new era in the disposition of land, or rather the revival of an old system, in the subdivision of farms and the patronage of the allotment or cottage system. The Duke of Buckingham, Duke of Bedford, Earls of Chichester and Carnarvon, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Barham, Sir Gerard Noel Noel, Lord Headley, &c., have all, for some time past, been acting upon this allotment system, as a means of improving the condition of the poor, and securing the return of their own rents. Yet all such experiments, successful as they have been, are of a very inferior order, since the poor labourers are left to their own resources, and chiefly spend upon their plots of land only the leisure time which they can spare from other employments. Were their whole time devoted to these agricultural pursuits—were sufficient capital invested on the land to give efficiency to the labour, and were all the discoveries of modern science practically demonstrated upon it—it is hard to say how far the work of improvement might be extended, both in the amelioration of the soil and the climate, and consequently the increase of production.

We have no desire either to diminish the allowance of food for man, or to deteriorate the quality. Quantity, however, as necessary as quality, and the most nutritious food is not most conducive to health and strength. A chemist, by analysing the substance of animal food, discovers that there is as much nutritious matter in one ounce of fat as in five ounces of lean; but few would be found who would prefer a solid meal two ounces of pure unadulterated fat, to ten ounces of pure rump steak. There is a ballast about the latter, which the former, with all its nourishment, cannot supply. Besides, it is not merely nutritious matter, as they call it, that man requires; he requires pure water as well; and, though we do not recommend potato

fare, or ever desire to be reduced to it, yet we have no doubt that although there is at least 150 times more nutriment in a pound of meat than in a pound of potatoes, we should fare much better on the pure watery potato diet than the pure grease. In a state of hunger, our stomach would unhesitatingly prefer a pound of good dry mealy potatoes even to a quarter of a pound of beef; and we question if there is a man in London who would not follow our example in similar circumstances; thus showing that it is not by its nutritious properties alone that the value of food is to be ascertained, but by other properties, which are equally necessary to preserve and rectify the system. Even potatoes, so much decried by Cobbett as to be put in the same scale with Milton and Shakspeare, will yet be found to be the most useful and the most wholesome of plants. Potato starch is superior to wheaten, and potato flour is frequently sold for arrowroot; mixed with common flour it is an improvement to bread both in taste and preservative properties; and if three-fourths of potatoes be water, the same and much more evil may be said of mutton broth.

But 'An Operative' will not be satisfied unless the population be well fed upon beef and mutton. Well, be it so; let him have his own way. But which is the best mode of procuring this beef and mutton; by feeding it upon a waste howling wilderness, or upon rich clover and other pasture, which are only to be found in a highly cultivated country? Nature has evidently provided for the inferior animals as well as for man. From her silent lessons, we may easily learn what is to befall the various species of animals which she has brought forth. Some men contemplate the entire appropriation of the soil for man alone, to the utter exclusion of the brute creation; but what says Nature, our bountiful mother, to this monopolizing humour of the lord of creation. She says that such a monopoly would be prejudicial to man himself, for it would ruin the soil. In former days, men used to let the soil lie fallow to recover its strength after exhaustion from a succession of crops; and many of our own farmers do so still: but it has now been discovered, that a rotation of different species of crops is better than bare fallow; that this rotation will actually enrich the soil; and that of these crops, the grasses or food for cattle form a large proportion. Thus it appears that the herbivorous animals are prospectively provided for by the unalterable laws of nature, and are in some measure rendered independent of human caprice and exclusiveness. But the same species of cultivation which increases the produce of food for man, is attended by the same beneficial results in respect to the brute creation, which are not only better fed in summer, but richly provided for in winter,

multiplied in number, heightened in flavour, and more richly imbued with choice gelatinous matter, which epicures delight in. Science itself will very soon discover what proportion of vegetable, and what of animal food it is best to rear; that which is best for the soil, is best for those who live upon it. If it be found that the soil is improved by a certain proportion of food for cattle, and a certain proportion for man, let these proportions be strictly adhered to; and let the prudence and precaution of the human race confine them to the limits which nature has prescribed them; but let them never talk of limits, until they have seen or approached them; until they have exhausted all their means, all their labour, all their capital, all their scientific skill. Let them not, like dastards, shrink from a task of mere difficulty, for it is no more; but with the same ardour with which we, a few years ago, subscribed by hundreds of millions at a time, to put a check upon the ambitious spirit of Napoleon, let us collect the yet remaining resources of our native island, and, casting off the bloody harness of murderous and all-destructive war, convert our swords into ploughshares, and our spears into pruning-hooks; and instead of incurring a debt upon ourselves and our posterity, as heretofore, we shall be laying the foundation of an eternal state of prosperity for our offspring, the mustard-seed of the kingdom of heaven, in which, peace, and plenty, and knowledge, will find themselves launched into an interminable line of progress, which will put to scorn the Malthusian fears of our modern parsons, whose faith has so far yielded to the temptations of Satan, that they are seriously afraid that God will not be able to provide for his creatures much longer, unless some preventive checks be employed to hinder them from multiplying. Yet even their own text-book proclaims the coming of a happy time, when "the ploughman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed; when the mountains shall drop new wine, and the hills flow with milk," and the world swarm with inhabitants rejoicing in abundance. Both science and faith combine to put to shame the now degenerate mass, who have not only apostatized from their own professed principles of benevolence and hope, but now retard the progress of mankind by their indolence and conservative fears,—fears which prompt them to activity in the preservation of what they have, but, like the foolish tenacity of the miser, prevent them from laying out their treasure to interest, or the profits of industry, lest they should lose the principal in hopeless speculation; and thus the wealth, which of itself is calculated to increase with accelerating speed, either dies in the hands of the proprietor, by the slow process of consumption, or, like

the talent in a napkin, becomes of no use to the owner or his species.

The immense capital which exists in the country, is invested in gambling and hazard; and the wealthiest of our citizens are those who shift the cards with the greatest dexterity, and become rich by the blind favours of chance. Princely fortunes, which might be employed in rearing food for man, are now floating in the funds, or driving the shuttlecock of unproductive profit from side to side, without a farthing of benefit to the nation. All the profit which is derived from the immoral game is individual profit,—profit shifted, by the chances of game, from the pockets of one man into those of another. No man can gain to any amount without another losing to the same amount. The general good is not promoted, but, on the contrary, the improvement of the useful arts is retarded by the captivation of the spell, and the dissipation and indolence which it engenders. The funding system is a devouring monster, which holds the industry of the nation between its jaws, and destroys it piecemeal. All the resources of the country are at its disposal, and it robs the many of the means of production, that itself may rise supreme over the prostrate bodies of a hungry and helpless people. Were that monster destroyed, we should have thirty millions annually, now lying in idleness on the gambling table, employed in the production of food and clothing. According to parliamentary documents, it appears that fifty millions, or one year's revenue, are sufficient to reclaim all the waste lands of Ireland, and make them productive for ever, providing for the wants of 500,000 families, or two millions and a half of human beings, who would increase the wealth of the nation by their industry, and amply repay the capital spent upon them.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

WE are officially informed in the *Official Gazette*, that we are "the principal writer in the *Pioneer*"; that we are paid for writing in the *Pioneer*, and of course write for the *Crisis* gratis; that the *Crisis* and *Pioneer* are one, and not two; and that that is the reason they compliment each other." Of course, it does not behove us to contradict official information. It must be true as a parliamentary document, for Mr. E. C. Douglas hath deposed it; and all the world knows Mr. Douglas to be incapable of uttering an erroneous statement, for Mr. Douglas is nobody at all, and who ever heard of Nobody telling a lie? And what matters it, though we are not aware of its being true, and though we can positively assert that the Editor of the *Pioneer* never wrote but one article, and that not an editorial one, in the *Crisis*, and that the articles in the *Crisis* and *Pioneer* respecting the Executive were not written

by the same individual; what matters it? we say: here is an official notice to the contrary!

Once upon a time, a Mr. Man was walking upon the highway, and he met a madman, and said "Good morning, Mr. Madman." Then the madman answered and said, "Who are you, Sir?" "Why," replied Mr. Man, "I am two men; a man by name, and a man by nature." "Two men!" said the madman; "then so am I; for I am a man beside myself; so we two will knock you two down:" and he gave him a blow which knocked him in the ditch. Now, we are the madman, without doubt; and Mr. Douglas is Mr. Man—the two men in the ditch, out of which we should be very happy to help them, did they not make such an unharmful noise about their dear brother Hall, and our exposure of his frailties, and did they not give us so much "mystery without rath," instead of "truth without mystery."

They have now, however, the good sense to suppress this motto of "Truth without Mystery," with which they set out, and have adopted in its stead, "Workmen, stand by your Order;" that is, never expose the rogueries and immoralities of your own class, but merely show up the rulers and legislators to detestation, for their love of power and their charitable concealment of corruption. Well, we wish them God speed in all their charitable intents and purposes; and we trust that, in the exercise of that charity which throws the mantle of concealment on the iniquities of associates, they may not be throwing obstacles in the way of the advancement of honesty, which has no other hope of preferment but by the exposure of villainy.

(From the *Official Gazette*.)

"THE EXECUTIVE.—The affairs of the working-classes are of too serious a nature at the present moment for us to enter into any wordy warfare with the *Pioneer* and *Crisis*. They will not interpret this into any inability on our part to answer their disinterested attacks. We shall merely observe that the clever and subtle turn given in the *Crisis* to our allusion to the Hercules' Pillars, did not deceive any body. That house had its visitors as well as its residents. They knew too well what we meant, and the force of the fact. The expressions used in the *Pioneer* of the same week, of "paltry remarks, and contemptible falsehoods," show that it was felt in the right quarter. It is not generally known that the *Pioneer* and *Crisis* are intimately associated, so that it is not virtually the adverse opinions of two contemporaries against us, but only of one. They are published at the same office; the principal writer, who is paid to write in the *Pioneer*, is the principal writer also in the *Crisis*, which of course is gratuitously. So much for the *Crisis*, and the high compliments they are continually paying each other! The articles about the Executive which appeared in both last week, were manifestly written by the same hand, and the same instigator. We were Hall's colleagues so long as we believed him true and honest, but

no longer; and we certainly object to the injustice of being identified with him, or any other man's roguery and cowardly desertion of the cause. We have now done with this disagreeable contest with our contemporaries, and as they had the first word against us, pretty often repeated, so they shall be allowed to have the last."

LONDON COFFEE-SHOPS.

SIR,—Amongst the various establishments to which the operatives of this immense metropolis are obliged to resort for refreshment and recreation, there are none which have contributed so much to their real comfort and moral advancement as the little cozy coffee-shops, which, notwithstanding their dull exterior and modest demeanour, are capable of yielding a pleasure to their frequenters at once calm, cheering, and intellectual. The sociality of communion and tranquillity of discussion; the liberal sentiments and leavening familiarity; these, and a thousand other delightful things which spring up spontaneously in these comfortable retreats must exert a powerful influence in softening down those ascetic asperities which unfortunately stand out in the producing man's character, like some rude and tangled object in a sylvan landscape, which throws the bright and better parts of the picture into dreamy distance, or sombre shade. But obvious and important as are the benefits that the humble coffee-rooms have rendered to the mechanical classes in a social point of view, they have also done other and mightier service in largely diffusing knowledge amongst them. Every one of these places is provided with the daily newspapers, besides talented literary periodicals in variety and abundance; and such a passion for reading exists among the frequenters of these rooms, that if a man were to sip his beverage, "that cheers but not inebriates," without perusing a book or newspaper, he would be regarded as an eccentric and singular individual. Here indeed you may see the fervent youth of seventeen, the calculating man of middle life, and the matured philosopher of seventy, all wedged together, and engaged in the same delightful occupation, of enlarging their apprehensions, and adding to their stock of intellectual produce, connected by all the sympathies of congenial pursuit and equality of condition, which has a natural tendency to make men feel independent, and give utterance to their opinions with eloquence and truth. In fact, the mechanics' coffee-room is a complete little republic, where warm arguments and good sense level all distinctions; and as the artisans, through being associated together in their workshops, have an opportunity of freely talking without interruption, they possess an admirable talent for conversation and debate, which many who consider themselves their superiors might feel glad to possess.

To those who take pleasure in observing shrewd countenances and grotesque character, I would say, visit the humble mechanics' coffee-shop; there you may see every variety of picturesque grouping and characteristic expression in the various combinations of heads which stand out in bold relief under a flood of gas-light, which pours down its radiance upon them, as if to show with magnifying power the baneful and wretched effects of the close confinement, immoderate labour, and unhealthy temperature of those dreadful prison-houses called factories and workshops, which in their processes stamp upon the artisan's pallid countenance and

twisted body the infallible marks of their mischiefs and injustice. Instead of their appearances bearing the visible and unequivocal signs of those enjoyments which ought to animate the existence of sentient beings; instead of the industrious operative receiving a fair proportion of the produce of his hands, which would put him in possession of means to recruit his health, and invigorate his energies;—instead of having leisure enough to wander through the green meadows, to rejoice with the lambs that skip upon the uplands, to breathe the fragrant balm of the quiet mead, or, as Spencer has beautifully said—

“To take the air, and hear the thrush's song;”

their lives are one dreadful, monotonous round of daily labour and daily wrongs, rendered doubly distressing and acute by the physical sufferings they are called on to endure from the premature miseries and infirmities of old age, which, together with the undoubted certainty that should they live longer than their hands can support them, they must of necessity become the cheerless in-dwellers of a parish poorhouse, to be badged like felons, and coerced like children, until a workhouse shell encloses their sad remains, and they are rudely lowered into the dust of forgetfulness. Call this a gloomy picture if you please; but every thinking producer knows and feels that it is a true one; and the harassing fear of these truly painful and very unmerited results coming upon them in the winter of their days, when they are left standing solitary and alone, like a smitten trunk in the midst of a world which competition has made a cheerless, pathless waste, has the effect of making the majority of working-men vindictive and violent, while it damps the embers of energy and exertion in those who are better informed, and too often prevents them from exerting themselves as they should do for the amelioration of their suffering order.

London coffee-shops are as yet but in their infancy; they are daily increasing, and, judging from the very superior manner in which some of the large ones are managed, with their extensive libraries and other superior attractions, a very few years can elapse before they will generally assume a very formidable appearance, and that too at the expense of the public-houses, and the limitation of a very large portion of their withering and destructive consequences. Already the merits of the coffee-rooms form a daily topic of discussion in the workshops; and the leading operatives being generally in favour of these resorts, will soon raise a powerful opinion against the beer and spirit-shops. After misery, perhaps the next strongest inducement to drunkenness is a want of excitement; this must be most peculiar to very ignorant people, who, through their minds being a complete blank, are apt to become dull, serious, and stagnant; they then fly to stimulants, and that which is the easiest got is the most patronized; but as rival stimulants have of late come into competition with the gin-shops, such as coffee-shops and circulating libraries, which are now to be seen in the poorest neighbourhoods, supplying the people with cheap literary excitement, which, together with the quantity of unstamped newspapers that are sold, show at once that the means of education are making rapid strides, which are writing and reading. And if our governors were anxious to secure the happiness of the people, they would immediately enlarge the means of

acquiring knowledge by removing entirely every tax and restriction on knowledge, for progressive and peaceable amelioration depends a great deal more upon the right knowledge of a people, than upon any efforts that a government can make by a rigorous administration of bad laws, which have long since been stigmatized by public opinion. The mechanics and artisans of this country are quickly becoming a thinking and intelligent race, and if their acquirement of information does not keep pace with the progress of society towards a great change, the whirlwind may burst over our heads before we are prepared for it, and retard rather than accelerate our progress.

Having, Mr. Editor, not only an anxious wish, but a firm belief, that the working classes, with whom I am identified in every particular, will ere long emerge from the miseries of their present condition, in an unprecedented, peaceable, and effectual manner, I remain, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

ONE OF THE UNWASHED.

MORAL UNION.

Society, in the true sense of the word, implies a number of individuals united for the purpose of promoting their physical, intellectual, and moral improvement, individually and collectively, and who are convinced that the surest way of securing these advantages is, by each endeavouring to promote the welfare of all, regarding himself as a constituent part of the whole, sympathizing in the sorrows and participating in the joys of every member. Let us consider how two or three individuals, having their physical wants supplied, either by private fortune or professional pursuits, convinced of these truths, and desirous of attracting the attention of mankind to their efficacy, would proceed. They would endeavour to realize, as far as circumstances permitted, those pleasures of sympathy which result from congenial feelings, and which must be infinitely more grateful as those feelings and objects are the more exalted. “Doing good,” says Sir Philip Sidney, “is the only certainly happy action of a man's life.” They would exemplify in their own conduct towards each other, and to external society, the happy result of true principles.

For their moral and intellectual culture, the three friends meet two or three times a week, or oftener if possible. They regard themselves as forming one body. Is a fault committed? it is not considered by whom, but it is repaired in the same spirit as if it were committed by each; for the cause is to be found either in a less perfect organization of that member, or in a deficient amount of moral feeling in their body: in either case the remedy is to be attempted by striving to infuse a larger portion of health or moral feeling into the whole body, and this is effected by still more arduous endeavours to strengthen their minds and purify their hearts. In this manner would they correct each other's errors, and share each other's virtues. Such a procedure would be in strict accordance with the idea conveyed to the mind by St. Paul: “So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.”

And what is the consequence if one of our members be afflicted? In the case of an injured arm for instance, the whole body suffers and sympathizes; we not only refrain from greater indulgence, but are more abstemious

than usual, and a more exclusive attention is devoted to the afflicted member: it becomes the object of our constant attention and care; and even when it is restored to health and usefulness, we recollect that it is more liable to be affected by future accidents and contingencies than any other part of the body, and therefore demands more vigilant protection. Thus would it be with a member of this society afflicted with any moral evil, traced as it would be to the malconformation of the individual member, or to the unhealthy state of the whole body, in which greater care might have prevented the aberration: the member becomes at once an object of anxious solicitude; he is soothed by the most tender attentions; the kindest sympathy alleviates his regret, and animates him to renewed exertions.

By such means they could not fail to increase in intellectual power, in kind feelings, in general usefulness, and most certainly in happiness. Such a society would realize, upon an extended scale, the idea of true friendship expressed by Cicero in the following passage: “Whoever is in possession of a true friend, sees the exact counterpart of his own soul. In consequence of this moral resemblance between them, they are so intimately one, that no advantage can attend either, which does not equally communicate itself to both: they are strong in the strength, rich in the opulence, and powerful in the power of each other. They can scarcely, indeed, be considered in any respect as separate individuals; and wherever the one appears, the other is virtually present.” Pursuing their object in earnest sincerity, they would in a year form a collective mind of considerable power. Let us suppose that one was distinguished by a tenacious memory, another were a good logician, and the third gifted with a vivid imagination. If a composition was wanted, such a composition would receive the benefit of their varied talents, and be at once copious and felicitous in its illustration, clear in its reasoning, embellished by chaste ornaments, and elevated by an expanded imagination. One of the leading objects would be to qualify themselves for public speaking, and reading lectures in the most impressive manner.

No period in the past history of the world appears to have been so well prepared for the reception of truth as the present. When Luther preached, he could find few willing auditors but the ignorant: now, it would be difficult to collect an audience in which a considerable degree of intelligence did not prevail. In his days, both readers and books were scarce: now they are increased a thousand-fold. The minds of men were at that time shrouded in darkness, and sunk in torpor: now, they are cultivated, conscious of existing error, and eager to enquire.

To return to our triumvirate. If, before the public, they exhibited any irritability from the annoyance of ignorant or sarcastic opposition, or attempted to retaliate in the same style, this would be a subject for correction; and by degrees they would become attractive as public lecturers. Their whole conduct would prove to the world that they were not seeking a triumph, that they were not endeavouring to expose the ignorance of their opponents,—but that they were actuated by a real desire to inform them and advance their happiness. They would deem it not only unnecessary, but detrimental to their cause, to attack a prevailing opinion, however wrong, satisfied that the exposition of an opposite truth was alone suffi-

cient for its renouncement. Some have maintained that, before error was destroyed, truth could not be admitted; as if the mind, like a vessel, must be emptied of its contents ere new propositions can be received. But the darkness of error must remain until it is expelled by the light of truth. To declare that to be a noxious weed which has hitherto been esteemed a beautiful flower, springing from a root containing healing virtues, arouses the prejudices of men, who immediately prepare to defend its excellence. But if, on the contrary, you present them with a flower obviously more beautiful and salutary, they will examine for themselves, and discard their former favourite; for it is flattering to the mind to disabuse itself of its own errors. Those who found out the truths of astronomy and chemistry, did not employ themselves in exposing the fallacies of the astrologers and alchemists, but simply proclaimed their discoveries; and in like manner would those proceed who advocated in a right spirit the science of society. They would display a conciliatory disposition and an elevation of mind more influential than eloquence itself. For whatever ridicule or neglect they met with in the world, they would always be sure, in the bosom of their little society, of finding friendly consolation; and they would thence derive fresh courage and fortitude to sustain their conflicts with those who mistook and misrepresented their motives. "Tell me," said Bernardo, the father of Tasso, to his son, "of what use is that vain philosophy upon which you value yourself so much?" "It has enabled me," said Tasso modestly, "to endure the harshness of your reproofs." And such would be one of the most important uses of this application of a correct knowledge of the science of society. It would enable each to endure with undiminished cheerfulness the harshness of the world's reproofs. In the mean time they would look around for the individual manifesting the greatest proximity to them in opinion and conduct: with him they would often associate, and in due time, succeed in uniting him to their body. As they increased in number, they would increase also in moral power, and thereby enlarge their sphere of beneficence. . . . The union we are contemplating would contain within it, a principle of growth, which would be the constant and sedulous care of all to cherish. In time, a fifth and sixth member would be added, until the number, as well as their general influence, became considerable. Their meetings would then assume a more important character, and one meeting during the week or month would perhaps be open to the public. They would go on from day to day increasing in affection for each other and enjoying the purest friendship. The sobriety, good feeling, and high intelligence of the parties would give them great power. If the mind is invigorated by exercise, so likewise the feelings; and a right method once begun, no limit can be assigned to the accession of strength which a desire to improve would gain, or to the higher dignity of conduct to which such a society would rise: nothing within the reach of human attainment could be too great for them to achieve through the silent but irresistible influence they would obtain over the public mind.

Thus would their conduct harmonize with their professions,—unlike many of those who avow similar opinions, and yet condemn even with severity. There is nothing more calculated to bring discredit upon any system, much

more upon one which regards society alone as responsible for the misconduct of its members, than the exhibition of feelings of antipathy by its advocates towards any individual or towards any class. After witnessing the meekness, the anxiety to arouse his hearers to a sense of duty, and the pious deportment of a clergyman in his parish church, there is something peculiarly revolting in hearing such characters rudely denounced by one whose vituperation and sarcasm create a reasonable doubt of his own professions of sincerity, and render the contrast between the calumniator and the calumniated greatly disadvantageous to the former.

If it be incumbent upon us to regard with indulgence errors imbibed in childhood and professed by society at large, how much greater consideration is due to those who have not only been subjected to the same general bias, but to other influences of similar but more powerful tendency, upon whom it has been imposed as a sacred duty, from the period of their attaining manhood, to uphold the ordinances of the Established Church, and whose lives have been spent in conscientious endeavours to strengthen their own faith, and to impart confidence to others!—*Hampden in the Nineteenth Century.*

CORRUPTION.—Nine-tenths of the drugs used in pharmacy are sophisticated. Peruvian bark is first mixed in Spain, and then by dealers with mahogany saw-dust, oak-wood, &c. Rhubarb, ipecacuanha, James's powders, &c., are also spuriously manufactured. It is the same with hartshorn, magnesia, calomel, &c. Paterosa, or Tolu lozenges, are compounded with pipe-clay. Brandy is made of oil of vitriol, oil of almonds, oil of turpentine, oil of juniper, spirits of wine, and lump-sugar, rubbed in a mortar, and then mixed with lime-water, rose-water, sugar, and rain-water. Confectionary and pastry, pickles, and sauces are subject to the most pernicious adulterations, and often made up of the most poisonous compounds. Cigars are imitated by cabbage-leaves, soaked in tobacco-water, and cheroots are made of lettuce. Lead is used by wine-merchants to stop the acetic fermentation of wine, and to render muddy white wines transparent. Alum, in large quantities, is used by bakers to bleach bread so as to gratify the fancy of consumers. Beer, by most public brewers, is made of malt, hops, liquorice, treacle, burnt sugar, salt, cocculus indicus, capsicum, poppy-heads, coperas, alum, quassia, tobacco, nux vomica, grains of paradise, ginger, &c. &c. Linen, tape, &c., are made up of flax and cotton thread. Colours for artists and house-painters are adulterated. Soap is mixed with Cornish white clay. Paper is thickened with plaster of Paris, and bleached with oxalic acid. The manufactory of plate and jewellery is a system of frauds.—*Accum.*

Shortly will be published by B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields,

THE WORDS OF A BELIEVER, by the **ABBÉ DE LA MENNAIS**, translated into English by a Lady. This extraordinary production has caused considerable excitement over the whole Continent. It has been condemned, and its Author anathematized by the Pope, although the Abbé was formerly the right-hand man of his Holiness; it has also been proscribed in Germany as tending to inflame the religious world, and make them discontented with present things. It is a book which is calculated to give satisfaction to all parties, teaching the doctrines of a new and more equitable state of society, and a perfect toleration of opinion; whilst, at the same time, it abides by

the original and fundamental principles and precepts of the Christian religion.

"The famous Abbé de la Mennais, though but just pardoned by the holy see, has relapsed! And what a relapse! The *Paroles d'un Croquant* have doubtless already crossed the channel, and you will have perused this singular work. It is a new book of the prophets, a kind of *Alcoran*, divided into chapters and verses. It is a book written in the Apocalypse style, and would seem to have arrived from old Jerusalem, and to have been inspired on the banks of Jordan. Is the same malediction the Abbé de la Mennais confounds supreme pontiffs, kings, preachers, and warriors, all powers, and privileges, and all social order. There is only, he contends, one legitimate sovereign, and that sovereign is "Christ." Christ alone is great, and la Mennais is his prophet! Under the reign of Christ the earth will be covered with flowers, and the little children will constantly bring nosegays to their mothers. This is a favourite image of this prophet, since he frequently adopts it.

"There is no doubt such a work as this has its ridiculous side; but we must not on that account treat it altogether without weight. It is admirably written, and on weak and ignorant minds, and youthful imaginations, it can hardly fail to exercise a baneful influence. It will assuredly produce fanaticism, and the Abbé de la Mennais will then have his sectarians. This book puts weapons into the hands of the factions of every denomination. It is a fireship launched into the midst of the moral world. I regard its publication as an event. Its editions multiply, and certainly it will be considered in the light of a gospel. The Abbé de la Mennais flatters the lower classes with as much address as perfidy; and his words are calculated to excite that cry which sleeps, but which never ceases to exist in the breasts of those who suffer, when they come in contact with those who enjoy. This work of which it grieves me to have to speak, will be spread over the whole of Europe. There is no doubt but its appearance will provoke the indignation of the church of Rome, and that its thunderers will be aimed at the head of this marvellous preacher. But it seems he has made up his mind to this, and that persecution would be congenial to his taste, for persecution elevates and glorifies innovators."—*Times*, June 11.

"I have formerly taken occasion to remark the little apparent intolerance of the greater portion of the Belgian priesthood in matters of politics. Every day's experience strengthens that impression; and it has become more decidedly confirmed since the publication of the late work of the Abbé de la Mennais, *Les Paroles d'un Croquant*, which has gone through several editions, both in French and Flemish, and the wild and heterodox doctrines of which find many partisans, if I am not greatly misinformed, among the younger portions of the clergy, and even among the bishops themselves, in spite of the Papal denunciations. The denouncing bombast of that very curious book contains much and most dangerous excitement for the 4,000 or 5,000 wretchedly paid priests, whose average incomes do not probably exceed 20l. a year. I have heard it openly asserted as the opinion of some, that the truths of the work were indisputable, and that its only fault was its appearance twenty years too soon."—*Times*, Aug. 3; *Scots Correspondent*.

"The Abbé de la Mennais has roused the thunder of the Vatican by his *Paroles d'un Croquant*. The pope has addressed an evangelical letter to all the prelates of the Catholic world, in which the Abbé is compared with John Huss and Wickliffe, and his holiness says "We damn for ever this book of small size but huge depravity."—*Morning Post*.

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THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 19, VOL. IV.]

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 1834.

[Price 1½d.]

INSTITUTION, CHARLOTTE-STREET.

SUNDAY MORNING, AUGUST 10.

Mr. Owen continued the subject of his lectures of the preceding Sunday:—

After as full a consideration of these subjects as any one, perhaps, has yet given them, I do not hesitate to say that a remedy may be applied that will be permanently beneficial to all ranks and descriptions of persons, without excepting the members of the government or the sovereign of these kingdoms. It is now practicable to give another direction to the great and daily-growing scientific powers of production, which have been hitherto under the control of individuals in this country, who have employed it solely for their own aggrandisement, in opposition, although unintentional on their parts, to the well-being of the great mass of the population.

Manual labour was formerly of considerable value as an article of commerce: it is now no longer so, having been superseded by scientific power; and it has no chance of ever again recovering its former value. It is now, however, capable of creating fifty or a hundred times more property, or real wealth, than it could produce a hundred years ago; and in a rightly organized society, the producer of this property would enjoy all the advantages that this change in his creative power is calculated to obtain for him.

The great questions then, in the solving of which the whole world is deeply interested, are, why has this injurious direction been given to the new powers of production? and why have they become a curse, instead of a blessing, to the industrious part of the population of every country into which they have been introduced to any extent?

These questions are of higher interest to the population of the world, than any which have yet been submitted to man; for the permanent happiness or misery of the human race depends on these questions being truly and faithfully solved. It is now my intention, for your benefit and for the benefit of the world, to attempt to solve them, without having regard to the prejudices of any human being.

Hitherto, society has been, of necessity, formed, educated, and governed by the inexperience of individuals placed under ar-

rangements in which their apparent interests have been opposed to the great interests of society. Each man has been so placed as to feel it necessary to take care of himself and his family, without regard to the interests of others; and the wisdom of the world is still in favour of this principle of action, by compelling the inexperienced individual to contend against the experienced world, and the world to contend against the individual. My conviction, after all I have read, seen, and heard, is, that the wisdom of the world is foolishness, is the very essence of ignorance and folly; and, that by pursuing a system formed on this principle of action, society is daily sacrificing advantages, wealth, and enjoyment, beyond its present powers to estimate; that the population of Great Britain and Ireland are, by this error, sustaining a loss of property exceeding two millions sterling daily, even at the present high value of the circulating medium, and that its loss, in improvement and enjoyments, is beyond any means we possess of making the calculation.

But this subject cannot be properly understood by the public, except through a knowledge of the science of society, the outlines of which I will now endeavour to explain in a manner to be generally understood.

Society consists of four parts: Production, Distribution, the Formation of Character, and Government.

The department of Production includes the consideration of the number, kinds, and amount of the powers of production, with the extent and qualities of the things produced. The department of Distribution includes the consideration of the economy or mode by which the wealth produced is distributed for the benefit of all the members of society. The department of the Formation of Character includes the consideration of the means adopted to cultivate the physical, mental, and moral faculties and powers of all the individuals composing the population. The department of Government includes the consideration of the laws, regulations, and power by which the people are directed in their proceedings, locally and generally, in all their domestic and foreign relations.

These are the component parts of society in all its stages, from the most ignorant savage to the most civilized and enlightened communi-

ties of men. By examining the present state of each of these departments, in what are called civilized nations, and particularly in Great Britain, we shall discover that we have not yet advanced much, if any, beyond a very barbarous state of existence; for when we analyze the department of Production, as it now exists in Great Britain and Ireland, it will be perceived that the powers of production are little known, and that the kinds and qualities of the productions generally are not those the most beneficial for the population, but the reverse; and that in this department alone society is suffering a loss of several hundreds of millions annually. When we analyze the department of Distribution, ignorance itself could scarcely make it worse than it now is; for in this, the most simple of all the departments in the science of society, there are annually several millions of property sacrificed injuriously to all. While an analysis of the department of the Formation of Character will exhibit an extent of error frightful for the imagination to contemplate. Look in the streets of this metropolis and of other towns, and in the country parishes, and notice the characters, physical, intellectual, and moral, which have been formed for the mass of the British and Irish population; and reflect for a moment what a character, individually and nationally, might have been given to it, if the science of society had been known and acted upon by our forefathers! In this department, the sacrifice of knowledge, of powers of intellect, and of enjoyment, made to ignorance and prejudice, is not to be estimated by any known arithmetic. If we proceed to analyze the department of Government, it will be found to partake of the errors of the three preceding departments, and to involve a sacrifice of individual and national loss which can be imagined only by reflecting on the injuries society sustains in the three preceding divisions. And when these departments are analyzed, and the defects of their combination investigated, it will be seen that the united errors committed by the individual competitive system in the afore-mentioned departments, have afflicted society with poverty, crime, disunion, and misery, or with a wretched tinsel splendour; instead of creating universal wealth, union, virtue, permanent prosperity, and happiness.

When I said, that the wisdom of the world is foolishness, and that through the folly of this worldly wisdom a sacrifice was daily made, in these dominions, of more than two millions of property, at the present value of your money, I did not deceive you; I should have been justified in doubling or trebling that amount; for your means for the creation of wealth, if they were rightly directed, are truly inexhaustible, or, in other words, they far exceed the power to satisfy every possible want of society, as soon as its character shall be formed to be rational. The loss, however, of your wealth, great as it is, by the errors of the system under which you now live, is little indeed compared with the sacrifices to support it which you are compelled to make of truth, of sincerity, of charity, of the superior intellectual faculties, and of the best and kindest feelings, which, under a right system of society, will flow from one to all of the human race.

By the individual competitive system, which involves you in the ignorance and distress which you have experienced, you have been compelled to become a population of inconsistent, wretched, irrational creatures. By the adoption of the united rational system, you cannot fail to become a population of highly-intelligent, rational beings, to whose continually-growing prosperity there will be no limit.

Wretched, however, as your condition is, no men of the present day can be rightly charged as being the authors of any of the evils which you experience. It is useless and unjust to blame individuals or classes of men for errors proceeding from the ignorance of our forefathers, or for us any longer to waste our time in finding fault with the unavoidable ignorance of former or present times. Our proper business is to remove the obstacles which prevent the acquisition of real knowledge, and the enjoyment of human existence.

A knowledge of the laws of nature, and of the science of society, will enable the inhabitants of this and other countries to remove speedily all the obstacles which now retard the progress of general extensive improvement, and to adopt measures that will not only dissipate the existing distress, but also prevent the possibility of its recurrence, except by some great and overwhelming convulsion of nature; for a knowledge of the science of society will discover to us, 1st. The extent of the manual and scientific powers of production now at the control of the nation; 2nd. The extent of the present misapplication of these powers; 3rd. The means of creating both kinds of power in the manner most advantageous to the nation; 4th. The most beneficial mode of applying these powers; 5th. The ease with which a surplus of productions may be permanently secured for the whole population, as soon as it shall be educated in accordance with the principles that will be developed for the formation of character; 6th. The means of preserving and distributing the productions or property of the nation; 7th. The arrangements requisite to form the best character, physical, intellectual, and moral, in every member of the community, in order to prevent evil to any one from a single inferior character being formed; 8th. The best mode of governing society locally and generally; and lastly, The united arrangements of all the preceding details into one general system, to create and secure the greatest amount of enjoyment to the greatest number, or rather to the whole, of the human race.

These are the practical proceedings which a

knowledge of the science of society will make familiar to the world, and it will be readily perceived that the perfection of society will arise from each of its component parts being thoroughly understood, being properly arranged to perform in the best manner the object of each department, and in these separate departments being so united as to produce, by the daily action of one grand physical and mental combination, the most beneficial, permanent results for every individual.

By applying the principles developed through a knowledge of the science of society to the present condition of the British empire, it will be discovered that, with powers competent to attain results the most grand, magnificent, and beautiful that the human mind can conceive, not only for its own population, but also for the people of other nations and empires, it is, at this moment, a compound of as much error in practice as can well exist without producing a conflict between the different classes of which it is composed.

The extent of these errors can be known only by a full development of the details in each division of the science of society; were I now, however, to enter upon the explanation of these details, it would be necessary for me to detain you here for weeks; but as such detention is impossible, it becomes requisite that I should adopt some other mode of giving this information, in order that a sound public opinion may be formed upon a subject so deeply affecting the interests of every class in the community. In my next lecture I will proceed to develop the remedy for the general distress of the country.

SUNDAY EVENING, AUG. 30.

Mr. Owen lectured in continuation of—

I have stated that the rapid extension of mechanical inventions and chemical discoveries for the abridgment of labour, is, under the individual competitive system, the cause of the general distress which pervades all classes who are compelled to support themselves either by physical operations or mental acquisitions; that is, that the easy modes by which one individual, by the aid of modern improvements, can bring to market a large amount of many things, compared with the power of production which he formerly possessed, has carried the competitive system to the full extent that it is bearable in practice, and that it is now essentially opposed to all the higher and permanent interests of the whole population. In fact, that the whole machinery of society is worn out, and that an entire new combination is absolutely necessary to permit the improvements of modern times to be applied for the benefit of the human race.

However, extension of mechanical powers and other improvements, have rendered manual labour of little commercial value; they have destroyed all absolute necessity for any man longer to "earn his bread by the sweat of his brow;" they have destroyed the possibility of men or nations existing much longer in comfort, peace, or morality, under the individual competitive system; they have prepared the most ample means of providing, by new and scientific arrangements, a superior state of existence for mankind; they have destroyed the necessity for, or possibility of, a much longer continuance of a system of disunion among the different classes of which society is now composed; they have carried society nearly to that period when distinction of rank will be rendered

impracticable, and to all undesirable; they have produced a state of society which inflicts the greatest injustice upon the industrious classes, and which will, day by day, increase their sufferings until they will be compelled, to save themselves and families from starvation, to adopt a new practice for their relief founded upon other principles,—a system of union and of mutual aid, leading to universal co-operation, in opposition to the present individual competitive practices of the world. For it is the modern improvements of society, misdirected by the individual competitive system, that alone afflict the civilized world with poverty and disunion, and with all their consequent train of crime and misery.

As a permanent and effectual remedy for these evils, I at once propose a change of system from the individual competitive to the co-operative, and to commence the change with the unemployed among the industrious classes who are competent and willing to work; and I propose that arrangements shall be immediately formed to prevent the necessity of one individual among the working classes being unoccupied for a single day in the year. I propose these arrangements upon the acknowledged principles that society, when properly constituted, can more easily support any portion of its population in constant habits of idleness than in a continued or in a partial state of idleness, and because every well-governed community will be sure to make provision for the most beneficial employment of its population.

This brings me now to the most important part of the subject to be discussed between myself and the modern political economists. These gentlemen, for many of whom I have a sincere personal regard, have been taught from their youth to the present day to believe that society is best conducted by each individual being allowed to act independently for himself, in opposition to all the individuals and associations of individuals who are around him, and who already occupy the best places and the advantage ground in the contest.

But, with all due deference to the learning which these gentlemen have received, I feel myself irresistibly compelled to dissent entirely from this view of the subject; and no impression can be made deeper, or more vivid upon any one, than the conviction which long experience has forced upon my mind, that this principle is the most erroneous that could be adopted; that the practice which emanates from it must be, of necessity, the most ignorantly selfish and the most opposed to the well-being and happiness of all individuals and of all societies, under whatever form of government they may exist; that it will prove, in practice, to be the highest wisdom yet known to man; that the inexperienced infant shall be placed from the hour of his birth under the best circumstances that the collective wisdom of the world, directed by past experience, can devise and arrange, and that he shall continue within circumstances of a similar character to the hour of his death.

The individual competitive system appears to me to be the principle of evil in the world; the father of lies and of discord; the roaring lion, going about seeking whom he may devour. And what, my friends, can be more like roaring lions, going about seeking whom they may devour, than the monopolists and large capitalists of the present day, who, with money in their hands, go to the needy manufacturer, and taking advantage of his necessities, tempt him to sell

his goods to them for less than they cost him; and who, by means of their large capital, and by purchasing their articles at less than prime cost, are enabled, with a profit to themselves, to undersell all their competitors in the same line of business,—who are thus forced in self-defence to endeavour to lower the wages of the working man, in order to maintain their ground a little longer in the market, inevitably causing the greatest distress and misery in the tens, and hundreds, and thousands of families who are connected in any way with their proceedings?

The enlightened co-operative system seems to me the principle of good, the source of truth and sincerity, and of that pure charity which thinketh no evil of any one, but creates pity and compassion for the unfortunate, and kindest feelings and love for all; that, by wise and consistent general arrangements, will remove all motive to anger or to the creation of crime, or of any of the inferior feelings or passions, and render this earth, and the abodes of men, a paradise full of intelligence and of active enjoyments.

Under the individual competitive system, what have you but a world full of deception and of inconsistencies, of poverty and distress, and of overgrown wealth and ignorant oppression? It has had its reign; it has attained its fullness of iniquity, and its downfall is at hand. The union and intelligence of the working classes, who are preparing, like rational people, to work for each other, will render the longer continuance of the individual competitive system impracticable.

The time is come, my friends, when there must be a friendly compromise between the producers of wealth and those who do not produce it, but who now are the chief cause of preventing an enormous increase to the wealth of society in the most valuable productions. From this compromise, the parties cannot now escape without the non-producers bringing destruction on themselves. But, fortunately, the knowledge that will be derived from the science of society will render all contest between the producers and non-producers quite unnecessary, for it will be discovered that by a union, which may be made greatly beneficial to both parties, and not unpleasant to either, the means of attaining all that human nature can require will be so easily obtained and permanently secured, that it will be useless to contend by force, fraud, or competition, for individual privileges or advantages.

When it shall be perceived that arrangements may be easily formed to produce a superfluity for every one of all that can be rationally desired, and that this superfluity can be maintained by a constant reproduction exceeding the consumption, all accumulation of individual wealth will become useless, and no one will remain so irrational as to desire to be burdened with its preservation.

There is, however, a difficulty to be overcome, which must be fairly met. The individual competitive system has created habits which belong to itself,—habits of exclusion, of personal ambition, and advantages which have become a second nature to the existing population of the world. Long-established habits cannot be suddenly removed without pain. It is better, therefore, that they should be gradually changed. The new state of society cannot be attained without new thoughts, new feelings, and new habits. To reconcile these opposing circumstances, it becomes necessary

to devise some means by which the present thoughts, feelings, and habits may be gradually changed with the least inconvenience to the parties possessing them; and by which new thoughts, feelings, and habits may be acquired without creating any division or confusion in society. For this purpose, I propose that the change should be effected by different modes, to meet the existing circumstances of the population of the country; which modes I will undertake to bring forward when the various classes shall manifest a desire to enter upon the subject for their adoption. By the adoption of these plans, the unemployed among the working classes would be immediately occupied in the creation of new and better arrangements for the creation of wealth, and the formation of a superior character for all classes of the population.

I ask you, my friends, to give your undivided attention to these subjects for the next few weeks, by which time I hope to be enabled to introduce measures for the greatest change in society that has ever taken place in the history of mankind. It will be recollected that I have several times alluded to a gentleman (Mr. Bernard) who has excited considerable attention by his new work on the "*Theory of the Constitution*," and who has devoted the last three years to the investigation of the causes of the evils in society. He considers that there must be radical changes in all our political relations, a much greater reform in the houses of parliament than had hitherto taken place; essential alterations in the present relations of king, lords, and commons; and great and fundamental changes in religion. In the second volume of his work, which is not yet published, he will develop what he considers the origin of moral evil. He thinks that, unless the origin of moral evil can be found out, no good can be done. I have stated so years ago. I consider moral evil to arise from two simple errors, but errors which, in the most mysterious manner, the world have been taught to believe to be the most immutable truths. These errors, however, are now giving way to the spread of intelligence.

The priests of all sects and nations have been the prime propagators of these errors, with a view of getting all power and government into their own hands. They all have but one cuckoo-note. Without explaining what human nature is; without founding their government on facts which are evident to the commonest apprehension, they have in all ages shrouded themselves in darkness and mystery, saying to their deluded followers, "You must believe as we tell you to believe, and you must feel as we tell you to feel." Would you believe it, my friends, the priesthood has been created for no other purpose than to cram down the throats of the people these two dogmas? In order that their power might be riveted the more firmly, and that you might be kept their abject slaves, they never told you, what is the truth, that you cannot believe or feel, or love or hate, at the command of any human being, but only as you are compelled by your organization, or by the evidence of your senses. Can you believe that I am not here speaking to you? Try, and you will find you have no such power. These errors are the origin of all the evils in the world. The priests have constantly exhorted you to speak the truth; but were you to speak the truth for one single day, they would be the first to place you in a lunatic asylum as insane. We are now living

in the midst of ~~land~~ and institutions founded on the above errors, and until we can overcome them, the producers of all wealth must, as mechanical and scientific knowledge shall increase, sink deeper and deeper in misery and degradation, until this earth, beautiful as it is of itself, and capable of being rendered still more so, shall become a Pandemonium, and we rendered fit inhabitants of such a Pandemonium.

PRODUCTION.

In spite of disadvantages of climate, agriculture is conducted in Scotland on more scientific principles than in England; and the rapid improvements of late years are ascribed to the currency of 11. notes, which the wily Scotch retained when they were stopped in England. English farmers are therefore without capital in currency of credit, for improvements of any kind.

England and Wales have 37,084,000 acres of superficies, of which about 10½ are in tillage, 16 in pasture, and 10 in wood and waste. In 1815, the total rental was 29,476,856*l.*, which, on the tillage and pasture, was about 23*s.* per acre, and on all not 16*s.* The poor-rates and other direct assessments were 12½ millions.

The annual profits of the land of the United Kingdom are taken by Marshall at 160 millions; and this is the fundamental item of our national wealth. The next item is machinery, which enables us to draw on the natural produce of other nations for another 30 or 40 millions.

Marshall estimates the annual produce of the soil of Great Britain to be 160 millions; and this he distributes as under:

Subsistence of producers	26
Rental	40
Wages of servants	4½
Day-labour	26½
Parochial assessments	5½
Tithes	4
Artisans and mechanics	12
Profits for luxuries	48½
	160
Imports in exchange for exports	45
	205

Which 205 millions constitute the sum total of our profitable transactions, however they may be variegated and multiplied by wholesale and retail dealing, or disguised by artifices of banking, fictions of money, &c.

The rentals of houses assessed to the house-tax, in England and Wales, and rated at 10*l.* and upwards, is 11,164,109*l.* on 378,786 houses. True returns would make the amount double, and the houses at least 600,000.

800 acres of hunting ground produce only the food of half an acre in arable cultivation.

MAN.—About the age of thirty-six the lean man usually becomes fatter, and the fat man leaner. Again, between the years forty-three and fifty his appetite fails, his complexion fades, and his tongue is apt to be furrowed upon the least exertion of body or mind. At this period his muscles become flabby, his joints weak, his spirits droop, and his sleep is imperfect and unrefreshing. After suffering under these complaints a year, or perhaps two, he starts afresh with renewed vigour, and goes on to sixty-one or sixty-two, when a similar change takes place, but with aggravated symptoms. When these grand periods have been successively passed, the gravity of incumbent years is more strongly marked, and he begins to boast of his age.—*Waterhouse.*

TO OUR READERS.

The Crisis has for some time past been a losing game; in fact, it never more than paid the publishing: it is impossible to carry it on any longer without a considerable pecuniary sacrifice. We have, therefore, resolved, with Mr. Owen's consent, to terminate its existence next week, at No. 20, with which we shall give a Preface, and an Index to the third and fourth volumes. We do not mean, however, to abandon our readers, if they choose to continue to favour us with their patronage; for, on the Saturday following, we mean to bring forth another publication, entitled "THE SHEPHERD," a literary, independent, and useful publication; which shall not be exclusively confined to one subject or party, neither shall it be established upon the formula of a creed, but shall make use of the discoveries of science, and the liberty of thought, to throw light upon all subjects that are interesting to humanity. We intend to make it both amusing and instructive, for ONE PENNY.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 16.

WE are in a dilemma once more,—not in respect to our own views or principles of action, but in respect to our friends', and their "no praise and no blame doctrine." Mr. Bankhead has written us a very gentlemanly letter upon our refusal to insert a poetical portrait of a lady, who is well known to all the friends for her endearing qualities of mind and temper. The poetry is excellent, and the praise is deserved. We do sincerely think that Bankhead is a true poet by nature—that he is not attempting a task for which he is unqualified, but merely exerting his native vivacity of imagination, with as much propriety and facility as a bird flies in the air, or a fish swims in the water, their own elements. We were a little waggish in our reply last week, but it was in perfect good-nature.

We entirely agree with Mr. Bankhead, that praise ought to be bestowed upon individuals who are peculiarly estimable for good endowments of mind, or temper, or personal graces. "If censure," he says, using our own words, "is a powerful circumstance to acute minds, do you imagine, Sir, that our approbation of correct principles is without its beneficial effects?" Certainly not. We are quite at one with Mr. B. on the subject, and had given out the poetry for publication, but were dissuaded by some of our co-operative friends. We acknowledge that we did wrong in rejecting the poetry on account of the praise it contained; but we did so merely to show to our readers that, in consistency with the "no blame" system, the "no praise" system ought to be strictly followed as well; and that if a man errs in reproaching a friend, he commits a similar error even in thanking him for a favour, or commending him for a good deed. There is more praise in B.'s poetry, than blame

in our censure. Yet it is deserved and chaste, that is, for poetry, which can always use more liberties with the ladies than prose.

All men act, speak, and think upon the principle of praise and blame, and cannot act upon the contrary principle; but we wish our friends to understand that there are metaphysical doctrines which are true in one sense and false in another, and such is the case with the no-praise no-blame doctrine. Literally and metaphysically speaking, mankind are not deserving of praise or blame; but in the practical intercourse of society both are expedient and necessary. All nature is full of such mysteries, the ignorance of which has occasioned a great deal of metaphysical wrangling, which does not deserve the name of controversy. Mr. Bankhead says he is a Necessarian; so are we. But what of that? we are free agents as well, and in the same breath that we say that our will is bound, we say that it is free, and there is nothing in nature that is more free. Pray, what is the difference between the freedom and the necessity of the will? The difference is not the breadth of a mathematical line, and that has no breadth at all that is cognizable to the senses. "Whenever my will is formed, I have no desire to destroy it; and when I act by its impulse, I not only act necessarily, inasmuch as my will forces me; but I act freely, inasmuch as my will inclines me." To talk, then, of the necessity or freedom of the will is inaccurate; there is neither necessity nor freedom, or both necessity and freedom, for the one cannot exist without the other; they are like the two gases which form water, oxygen and hydrogen. Water is neither oxygen nor hydrogen, for it is not a gas at all; and yet it is both oxygen and hydrogen, for it is compounded of the two. Now, what would you think of a sect of philosophers who maintained that water was hydrogen and not oxygen, or oxygen and not hydrogen? Yet such is the blunder into which Necessarians and Libertines (excuse the term, we cannot find a better) have fallen in taking merely one view of the subject, without acknowledging the truth of the other. We know that many startle at this novel method of analyzing nature, but it is only their educational prejudices that make them startle. They have been taught to believe that only one side of the old questions of the schools must be right, and the other wrong, without knowing that the schools have all along been splitting a hair; and the modern philosophers are still so blind as to believe that there are two hairs instead of one. Necessity and liberty are only one hair, and we challenge any man to prove that they are two. If the will is not free, then the word freedom should be banished from the Dictionary and the lips of man, for

nothing else can be free. Is the air free? no—it acts by impulse of heat. Is thunder free? no—it is obliged to roar when the gases meet. Is the lightning free? no—it is compelled to move where it can find a passage. Is there any thing free? No—otherwise why talk of the law of nature? Is not all nature under the law? certainly. Then what is the meaning of freedom?—there is no such thing. Then why use the word? To make a distinction between certain laws. "There are some laws which in obeying give pleasure, and others which in obeying give pain; when I obey the former, I call myself free; why? because I do not wish to escape; my will is gained, and whenever the will is gained I am always free; when I obey the latter, I call myself bound; why? because I will to escape, my will is not gained. In both cases I am bound; in the one by pleasure, and in the other by pain." The one is a pleasant necessity, the other is a disagreeable necessity; and this is the true difference between liberty and necessity; which difference must always be preserved as long as language has a being, and man communicates ideas to his brother man. Pleasant necessity is what we call liberty, and painful necessity is bondage; but to abandon the use of the term liberty, in respect to the will, is to become unintelligible for ever.

But some may reply that, admitting all this to be true, still it must be allowed that we cannot form our own will. This, like the other, is both true and not true. We do not form our own will, inasmuch as it is formed by a combination of motives from without; and yet we do form our own will, inasmuch as it is formed by a combination of motives from within. "I will to eat game; why? because my palate and my stomach relish game; and they conspire, with the game, and the eye that sees the game, and the nose that smells the game, to make me will to eat the game. Perhaps some one may say that my stomach is not myself, but only a bag or pouch for holding meat; and that my eyes and ears are not myself, but only holes for letting in light and sound! Well, allowing it to be true, what then? My hands are not myself, nor is any part of my body myself—in fact, I myself am not myself. Now, what comes next? There is no use in going any further, for I have lost myself. In fine, it is not I who write this, it is only a hand." Such is the course of reasoning we must pursue when we take up one-sided metaphysical doctrines, such as this of the formation of the will, by something out of self; but by acknowledging that the will is formed by self and no self, you come to a definite truth, which, though a mystery (and what is not a mystery?) is mathematically and demonstrably correct. All causes are

infinitely incomprehensible, and it is folly to attempt to unmythify them, for mystery is their true and their only character; infinite—eternal—invisible—God—Nature—without beginning and without end.

APPARITIONS.

After my return from a long journey, (says Sir Humphry Davy,) being fatigued, I respired nine quarts of nitrous oxide, having been thirty-three days without breathing any. After the first six or seven respirations I gradually began to lose the perception of external things, and a vivid and intense recollection of some former experiments passed through my mind, so that I called out 'What an amazing concatenation of ideas!' On another occasion, after having been enclosed in an air-tight breathing-box, of the capacity of nine cubic feet and a half, in which he became habituated to the excitement of the gas, which was there carried on gradually, and after having been in this place of confinement an hour and a quarter, during which time no less a quantity than eighty quarts were thrown in, this experimenter says, 'The moment after I came out of the box I began to respire twenty quarts of unmingled nitrous oxide. A thrilling, extending from the chest to the extremities, was almost immediately produced. I felt a sense of tangible extension, highly pleasurable, in every limb; my visible impressions were dazzling, and apparently magnified. I heard distinctly every sound in the room, and was perfectly aware of my situation. By degrees, as the pleasurable sensation increased, I lost all connexion with external things; trains of vivid, visible images rapidly passed through my mind, and were connected with words in such a manner as to produce sensations perfectly novel. I existed in a world of newly-connected and newly-modified ideas. When I was awakened from this semi-delirious trance by Dr. Kinglake, who took the bag from my mouth, indignation and pride were the first feelings produced by the sight of the persons about me. My emotions were enthusiastic and sublime; and for a moment I walked round the room perfectly regardless of what was said to me. As I recovered my former state of mind, I felt an inclination to communicate the discoveries I had made during the experiment. I endeavoured to recall the ideas—they were feeble and indistinct. One recollection of terrors, however, presented itself, and with the most intense belief and prophetic manner, I exclaimed to Dr. Kinglake, "Nothing exists but thoughts; the universe is composed of impressions, ideas, pleasures, and pains!"'

The inhalation of malaria, the poison which produces fever, affords an equally striking illustration of the modification of sensation, and of all the subsequent operations of the mind, by a cause affecting the nerves and blood-vessels of the brain. Febrile miasma is a depressing, nitrous oxide stimulating, agent; the effect of the former on the brain ought therefore to be the reverse of the latter, and, accordingly, on receiving into the lungs the febrile miasma, the pulse becomes oppressed and weak; languor and lassitude pervade the limbs; the countenance becomes pale, the surface cold; headache, giddiness, and sometimes vomiting, supervene, while the mind is feeble, full, dejected, incapable of the effort of attention, and utterly unable to control or even to connect the trains of gloomy and distressing

images which terrify the imagination. 'Some circumstances had occurred,' says a physician who carefully observed the phenomena which attended the progressive derangement of his own mind under the influence of fever, 'to render me anxious and despirited; of these I took an exaggerated and gloomy view. I had been studying during several months with unusual severity. One day in the cold weather of January, after having been occupied many hours in the practical duties of my profession, I returned home fatigued. Great as was my bodily exhaustion, the depression of my mind was still more remarkable. My head ached, and unable to study or to attend to any professional engagement, I lay on the sofa and attempted to read, chance having thrown in my way the American novel called the *Water Witch*. I became interested in the story, but the pain and confusion of my head increasing, I requested a friend to read to me, my own eye continually wandering from the page. The progress of the fever was rapid; its chief force fell upon the organ that had been recently over-excited, the brain; and delirium came on early, and somewhat suddenly, immediately before I became decidedly delirious. I received an invitation to the soirées given by the Duke of Sussex to the members of the Royal Society. The friend I asked to return an answer expressive of my regret that I should be unable to attend on account of illness, used, as I conceived, an expression not strictly correct: this verbal inaccuracy, I thought was construed into wilful falsehood; the matter was brought before this assemblage of learned men, who unanimously declared that it ought to exclude me from the society of honourable men, and that I should no more be admitted amongst them. This announcement was brought me from the palace, accompanied with martial music, but of a more solemn and impressive kind than I had ever heard before, in which was predominant the sound of bells, soft, and as if of silver tone. Remonstrance was vain: the decision, of which I succeeded in obtaining a reconsideration, was confirmed; this confirmation was brought me in the same manner as the first announcement, accompanied with the same kind of music, only still more solemn and impressive. I saw no person forming the band of musicians, but occasionally I heard very distinctly their measured step. I now thought myself an abandoned and lost being; and the apprehension that every one about me hated, and sought occasion to destroy me, took possession of my mind. My physicians, my nurses, my dearest friends, were in league with a malignant spirit, which assumed the shape of the demon of the *Water Witch*. By an object of my tender affection, who was anxiously watching over me, but in whom I now saw only the willing agent of the demon, I was betrayed, and through this treachery the malignant spirit obtained entire possession of me. No sooner was I in the power of the demon, than he began to suggest to me the commission of crimes abhorrent to my nature, and at last there fixed upon my mind the impression that I had really been guilty of the crimes, by the vivid picture of which my imagination had been disturbed. I pass over the hurricanes and storms I encountered, evidently suggested by the descriptions in the novel I had just been reading; on the sudden subsidence of these I thought I stood before an invisible tribunal. I felt a solemn consciousness that an all-seeing eye was on me; while there was vi-

sible to me only a portion of the deck of the *Water Witch*, and very obscurely the shadow of my malignant accuser. Not the crimes falsely laid to my charge, but the actual events of my life, even the events of childhood and youth, long forgotten, were now called up before me with extraordinary vividness; all the circumstances of place, person, dress, language, and attitude, such as had actually accompanied them, being revived. Of each of these events I was compelled to give a true account, an invisible hand recording every syllable that fell from my lips, and a secret power obliging me to utter the words which expressed the exact truth. During this ordeal, I saw the countenances of dear friends, and of secret and open enemies, those that had long been dead, as well as those that were still living; the former cheering me by their attitudes and words, the latter scowling upon me and assuming menacing postures, but uttering no sound. And now again I felt myself under the power of the demon, by whose uncontrollable agency I was compelled to accuse myself of the crimes of her own suggesting; and while suffering the bitter anguish of self-reproach, and expecting some fearful punishment, I again saw my dearest friends, with their innocent and happy countenances, engaged in occupations with which associations of a highly pleasurable nature had been formed in my mind, but whom I could not make sensible of my presence, and with whom I was doomed to hold affectionate intercourse no more. After this I have no remembrance of any thing that passed, until consciousness of the return of some obscure and vague recollections. I had the impression that some calamity had befallen me; but I felt as if a soft and refreshing breeze were blowing gently upon me; and soon I found myself in a vast ocean, in a beautifully-constructed vessel, with a fresh and invigorating breeze, sailing rapidly along a coast presenting the most magnificent and lovely scenery; and at length the vessel entered gallantly a port unknown to me, but the strand was crowded with human beings with happy faces, and still happier voices. I had returned from a long voyage, but I could not make out where I had been. I felt hungry and fatigued; and now, for the first time, I recognized the individuals of my family, after having been violently delirious upwards of a fortnight, during the last three days of which time I lay in a state of total insensibility, my physicians and friends expecting every moment to be the last.'

Whoever will consider carefully the mental phenomena produced by the different and opposite conditions of the brain in these two instructive cases, the one produced by the operation of a physical agent, the other arising under the influence of disease, will have no difficulty in conceiving the origin of spectral illusions, either with a consciousness that they are illusions, or with a temporary or permanent persuasion that they are real existences, and whether arising from external or internal causes, or from both combined. The case of Nicolai, the celebrated bookseller of Berlin, affords a curious illustration of the long continuance of vivid spectral illusions, without the slightest belief of the real existence of the apparitions. 'In a state of mind completely sound, and after the first terror was over, with perfect calmness,' says this remarkable man, 'I saw for nearly two months, almost constantly and involuntarily, a vast number of human and other forms, and even heard their voices.'

* See *Crisis*, No. 14, vol. iv.

There are many cases on record which directly prove that there is often the closest possible connexion between the very shape which these phantasms assume and the images which have previously occupied the mind. A writer in the fifteenth volume of Nicholson's *Philosophical Journal*, who was haunted with the apparition of frightful spectres, and who was at length struck with some connexion between these images and his previous thoughts, states that he tried the experiment, whether, by fixing his meditation upon other objects, he could not make these assume the place of the phantasms which persecuted him; that with this view, while the faces were flashing before him, he reflected upon landscapes and scenes of architectural grandeur; that accordingly, after a considerable interval of time, a rural scene of hills, valleys, and fields appeared before him, which was succeeded by another and another, in ceaseless succession; that the manner and times of their respective appearance, duration, and vanishing, did not sensibly differ from those of the faces; that the scenes were calm and still, without any strong lights or glare; that, after a time, these figures changed entirely, and consisted of books, parchments, or papers, containing printed matter. The writer adds, 'I was now so well aware of the connexion of thought with these appearances, that, by fixing my mind on the consideration of manuscript instead of printed type, the papers appeared, after a time, only with manuscript writing, and afterwards by the same process, instead of being erect, they were all inverted, or appeared upside down.' The intelligent and philosophical Nicolai saw nothing but men and women, in their natural form and aspect, horses, dogs, and birds: the illusions of superstitious minds consist of angels or devils, which assume all sorts of fantastic shapes. Remigius, who was a commissioner for the trial of witches in Lorraine, and who boasts that, in the course of fifteen years, he had condemned nine hundred criminals to the stake, paid particular attention to the form, features, and dress of demons; yet his statements clearly show that they did not vary from the gross sculptures and paintings of the middle ages, and that recollected images only were present to the persons labouring under the delusions for which they suffered death. They are said to be black-faced, with sunk but fiery eyes; their mouths wide, and smelling of sulphur; their hands hairy, with claws; their feet horny and cloven. A devil would appear like an angel, seated in a fiery chariot; or riding on an infernal dragon, and carrying in his right hand a viper; or assuming a lion's head, a goose's feet and a horse's tail; or putting on a raven's head, and mounted on a strong wolf; with innumerable other fantastic shapes of a similar description. These mysterious and frightful images were not only made familiar to the imaginations of the people, but even to their very senses. They could go neither into their dwellings nor their temples without seeing them; they were sculptured on the walls of the church, they were carved on the wainscots of the domestic hall, and the air and the earth were peopled with them; there was not a hill nor a valley, not a wood nor a grove, not a fountain nor a stream, in which they were not seen and heard, and communion with. No place was void, says Burton, 'but all full of spirits, devils, or other inhabitants; not so much as a hair-breadth was empty in heaven, earth, or water above or under the earth.' 'Our mothers' maids,' observes Reginald Scott, 'have so terri-

fied us with an ugly devil, having horns on his head, fier in his mouth, and a tail in his breech, eyes like a bacon, fangs like a dog, claws like a beaver, a skin like a niger, and a voice roaring like a lion, that we start and are afraid when we hear any one cry *baugh!*'

INTEMPERANCE.

THE argument for the manufacture and sale of ardent spirit derived from the fact that these employments afford occupation for multitudes, when viewed in its bearings on political economy, will be seen to be unsound. What one gains another loses. Even if the government derive a revenue from the manufacture or the sale, it changes not the case; the consumer loses the whole. The government can never be benefited by a traffic, the result of which is a total loss to every one of the entire amount of the article which is the object of the traffic. For illustration, suppose the government should import infection for spreading the cholera or the plague through the country, and a revenue should be derived from a traffic in the article, and an army of druggists and of the medical faculty and attendants should find full employment, the business become extended, the revenue increased till one half of the population of the country was required for administering relief to the wants of the other half; would the government be profited? Would this be a wise system of political economy? Just so far as the moral or physical energies of a people are diseased or palsied by the acts of the government, just so far the government is weakening, impoverishing, and ruining itself. In this respect, what is true of a single family is true of a nation; as well might the father of a family imagine that he was accumulating wealth from a traffic which should bring idleness, profligacy, disease, and death within his own doors, as a government could imagine itself deriving a beneficial revenue from a traffic producing similar consequences upon its own citizens. Take another view of the same general principle, of revenue from human suffering, merely as a question of political economy. Suppose the government barter the lives, the health, the means of usefulness of its subjects for gain. A revenue is derived from the traffic, human scalps, or amputated limbs, by supposition, are in great demand in a foreign market; the government possessed of the power "to enforce the wrong, dooms and devotes its subjects as their lawful prey," furnishes that market till the avails should fill the government treasury to overflowing, would it be a saving policy for the nation? Their energies crippled and all their powers palsied, the remainder, helpless, miserable, wretched remnant of humanity, a charge on public charity and objects of pity, at which even savage mercy would weep tears of blood. Apply the illustration to the effects which ardent spirit is producing in the land, and these facts are but faintly represented. It is ascertained that thirty thousand die annually in the United States by intemperance, probably many more. A portion of these are for a time cast on the public for support. The loss to the community of the labour of each for a single year, is at least fifty dollars, which he might have earned more than the supply of his own wants. By this traffic he is made a pensioner on the public to a like amount. Thirty thousand of such cases would cause a loss of three millions of dollars annually. If the government has gained in revenue, it has granted no equivalent to the victims of the traffic.

Another argument in favour of this traffic is, that producers might be multiplied to an injurious extent, were it not for the class of consumers. It is said that what was not likely to be consumed would not be produced: the argument is an old one, and is simply this, the producer will not apply his labour to supply his own wants and increase his own comfort, unless he can apply a portion of his produce to support the idle and the prodigate; a fact is assumed in this case which has nothing to support it. Examination will prove the reverse of the proposition, the assumed fact is mere delusion.

Six years ago, there were in the county of Hampshire, Massachusetts, about forty distilleries; the county contains about thirty thousand inhabitants. At many of these distilleries there were consumed annually for each one, several thousand bushels of grain. These have ceased to operate, and our grain bears a higher price uniformly than when they were in operation. What is true in that county is true elsewhere: we may discover a reason why it is so. The mere consumer does nothing to benefit the producer. Like the horse-leech, he cries give; like the devouring element, he makes no return. If he returns an equivalent for what he receives, it is the fruit of other labours, and might as well have passed in the hands of the producer without his interference, as with it; all he possesses is as a pensioner on the bounty of others, "reaping where he has not sown, and gathering where he has not sown."

Again, no government has ever acted on the principle that a class of mere consumers is necessary or useful, and such a class has never existed but as objects of compassion or of dread. If such a class be necessary, the true policy of the government would be to designate them with reference to their moral character, and that their number be such as would produce the greatest amount of labour to the nation. The principle, as bearing on the economy of the nation, may be seen under the inquiry, who remunerates the producer for what is furnished to the mere consumer? It is very evident that the mere consumer cannot, for he has nothing to pay with; the answer may be the government. And who is the government in this connexion, and what the means and source of its wealth? This is labour—the industry of the producer. This mode of market-making brings us to the anomaly in political economy, that for the purpose of creating a market for our surplus produce, we must have a class of mere consumers, and that the producers must pay themselves for what is thus consumed; and do we not come to the same result as before, that it is a total loss? The price of labour cannot increase but by an increase of the funds from which it is remunerated. Every effective labourer takes from the producing class diminishes the general fund. To increase the effective labour of a nation must increase its wealth and all its resources, and this in its turn again increases the rewards to active industry. Hence every member of the community is interested in increasing the means for remunerating the labourer, that they become as abundant as possible. The prosperity and increasing wealth of a nation furnish the richest rewards to the labourer, and are an inducement to activity and diligence in the active pursuits of life. The mere consumer hangs as a continual discouragement upon the active industry the country. The

truth of this principle may be illustrated by adverting to such judgments upon the fruits of the field as produce a scarcity; here is a consumer, but is it beneficial to the public? Have patriots or Christians ever desired the visit of blights or mildew on the fruits of the field, for the purpose of creating a consumption, or making a market for the surplus produce of the labourer? The locusts and caterpillars of Egypt were consumers, but no blessing to the nation. By the unalterable laws of God, labour is the source whence our wants are to be supplied, and without it the world would be depopulated. In savage life, labour is limited and supplies scanty; labour does not go beyond the production of mere necessities; yet something in the form of labour does exist, and no nation can do without it. The grave would hardly be more barren of supplies for the wants of life, than the earth without the aids of active industry. To discontinue the traffic in ardent spirit would increase the wealth of the nation almost beyond calculation. In a few years, the value of our lands would be doubled, purchasers would be multiplied, active labour greatly increased, and wealth accumulating for the useful purposes of life. New investments and applications of capital would give elasticity to mind and enterprise in action; these in their turn would become accumulative, and seek new investments for purposes beneficial to the public. Railroads and canals would bring into commercial nearness the most distant parts of the land; means of instruction in the useful arts of life would be furnished and directed to the improvement of the intellectual and moral powers of man. It is not within the scope of my design to carry out in statistical detail the effects of suppressing the traffic in ardent spirit, neither could it come within the limits prescribed for this essay; all that can be done here is to present general principles, leaving the details and the application of them for others.—*New York American*.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—I have no claim upon your attention on the ground of age or experience; but having been for several years an anxious observer of the progress of the New System principles, it is not without pain that I perceive the variances now subsisting between yourself and the former Editor of the *Crisis*. Mr. Owen, consistently with his own doctrines, is unwilling to evince anger towards any individual, however erring or vicious; herein he is right; but it seems he would have these errors and vices passed over in silence, and buried in oblivion, however injurious they may have been: herein he is wrong. It requires, I think, no extraordinary acuteness to discriminate between that exposure of individual feelings, which is made necessary by the injuries they have done and still threaten to others, and the angry, uncharitable blame of them, in which we are all of us liable to be precipitated through a defective education. If an individual has betrayed the trust reposed in him, the fact must be recorded as a warning to others to be more careful in their selection of those in whom it is necessary to place confidence. If a band of ignorant men are led by the delusion of supposed self-interest to act in defiance of all that is wise and righteous; if they are led by ignorant pride and narrow-minded selfishness into acts of persecution the most disgraceful and injurious, the fact must indeed be recorded as a means of destroying the system, or rather the want of system,

generative of such evils. But what further does it behove us to do, who are more fortunate in the practice and appreciation of truth? Shall we speak of these truly unfortunate men as wretches, villains, tyrants, monsters? Shall we revile them in our anger, and deride them in our mirth? Shall we not rather remember that like us they are human; that like us they are creatures of surrounding circumstances; and that reason and charity will be better calculated to uproot their errors, than scorn, and hatred, and contempt?

But, Sir, though I regret the differences existing between the New System leaders, I am pleased with the independence which is the cause of them. That the judgment of Mr. Owen should be slavishly followed without conviction, were a much greater evil than the little differences which necessarily arise out of the free expression of various opinions. Let there but be charity between yourselves, and towards those who are at present your opponents, and your success will be as speedy and as easy as it is now certain.

I remain, Sir, yours respectfully,

S. H. M., an Epicurean.
Birmingham, Aug. 3, 1834.

A FABLE.

In a certain part of the world there was an island which produced in the greatest abundance, by a moderate application of labour, all the necessities and comforts of life. I am not compelled to account for the fact, that once upon a time there found themselves upon this island a hundred men and women, and children in proportion. Finding themselves masters of this beautiful spot, they determined to divide it equally among themselves: it being resolved that each family should maintain themselves upon their own ground by their own isolated exertions. But each of them finding that the diversity of the occupations demanding his attention rendered his labour continual and severe, became tempted to encroach upon the hard-earned stores of his neighbour, which loss being discovered, produced indiscriminate reprisals on the part of the sufferer. From that day wealth was obtained, but not enjoyed, by the strongest. Weak as the weak were, they were able to destroy the security of the strong: peace became a stranger to their bosoms, and plenty entirely forsook their habitations: and thus might they have continued had not heaven been more bountiful than themselves were wise. As one of them was sleeping in his wretched home, there appeared to him a vision. He dreamed that he saw an immense slab of marble, so the middle of which was attached a chain, which, passing over a pulley fixed in a neighbouring oak, hung loosely to the ground. Wondering what might be the meaning of what he saw, he was startled by a trembling as of an earthquake, and turning to ascertain the cause of it, he beheld the majestic form of a beautiful woman. Upon her forehead was written in letters of light, UNION IS STRENGTH; LOVE IS HAPPINESS. She was crowned with glory, in which was written, in characters of excessive brightness, TRUTH. The skirts of her garments, floating in the wind, were hemmed with sentences extracted from various philosophical works, and embroidered with devices expressive of peace, wisdom, glory, wealth, and happiness. "Son of the earth," she cried "beneath this stone is a talisman which will secure to yourself and fellows the possession of wealth more than you can consume, of happiness more than you can conceive. Take that chain, and

remove the only obstacles to the attainment of your ardent wishes." He attempted, but in vain, to remove the enormous weight. "Is there not strength then in thy single arm to accomplish this?" said the spirit. In this instant the air was darkened by a gathering storm; large drops of rain fell, as sweat, from the face of the heavens, and the lightnings flashed quick and strong from the black clouds. "UNION IS STRENGTH!" was articulated by a tremendous peal of thunder, which now seemed to shake the face of nature—and he awoke, and behold it was a dream. But this dream was not in vain. Assembling his companions as quickly as circumstances would permit, he related his vision to them, explaining at the same time the loss that all of them sustained by the unwise system upon which they had acted. His arguments were directed to a willing audience; they had each of them felt the inconvenience of this individualized plan; they had each of them discovered that infinitely more was lost by the weak than was gained by the strong; they had discovered, in fact, that they were social beings, and that in union was their strength, security, and happiness. They passed the following resolutions unanimously: We, the lords of this isle, do hereby surrender each to all, our individual independence;—we do each of us hereby solemnly swear allegiance to the united authority of ourselves and our fellows;—we will that henceforward the industry and talent of each member of our society be directed by our united suffrages to one end; namely, to increase the comfort and happiness of ALL;—we will, that there shall be no distinctions whatsoever amongst us; that each of us shall be occupied in employments the most suitable to his particular abilities and dispositions, thus embracing the advantages offered to us by Nature, in the admirable variety of character which she produces. From this moment peace and pleasure took up their abode in this charming land. By their united and wisely-directed exertions there arose immediately a convenient habitation, containing within itself all the conveniences of individual and social enjoyment; by increasing leisure and increasing skill it was perfected and adorned from time to time, each of them taking a pride in adding to that beauty and splendour of which themselves were undisputed lords. Their fields, highly cultivated, yielded to them more of the necessities and luxuries of life than they could consume, thus banishing for ever from every breast the individually selfish feelings which had swallowed up every better disposition; since they found by positive experience, that by the generous system which they had now adopted, they obtained all that the most grasping selfishness could desire—a full, constant, and secure supply of every thing that was necessary to make life desirable. The most refined and intelligent amongst them were charged with the care of their youth, who were classed according to their respective ages, and were taught by nature to be active, and by art to be beneficially active; by nature to desire happiness, and by art, how the most effectually to obtain and secure it. All was done by one power, the power of the united whole, with one end in view, viz. the happiness of that whole. The air they breathed was burdened with their joyous hymns; the earth they trod upon was bright with the blessings of their heaven-taught policy; their habitation was called the Palace of Light, and their island the Isle of the Blest.

S. H. M.

CHESTER ASSIZES.

MURDER BY TRADES' UNIONISTS.—*Joseph Mosley*, aged thirty-four, and *William Garside*, aged twenty-five, were indicted for the murder of Mr. Thomas Ashton, at Werneth, on the 3d of January, 1831. The attorney-general stated the case. In the year 1831 great excitement prevailed among the manufacturers in the neighbourhood of Werneth, Ashton, and Stayley, in consequence of a dispute between the masters and their workmen; and there were no less than fifty-two mills standing still. Mr. Samuel Ashton, one of the master manufacturers, had two mills, one the Aphorne-mill, and the other called the Woodley-mill. On the 3rd January, 1831, Mr. T. Ashton took the superintendence of the Aphorne-mill. On the evening of that day he was proceeding towards the mill through the Aphorne-lane, and at the same time three men were seen going in the same direction. Immediately afterwards the report of a pistol-shot was heard; and Mr. Ashton was found on the road quite dead. There was no doubt that the shot was fired by one of the three men, of whom the prisoners are the other two. This William Mosley would distinctly state that Garside was the man who fired the shot, and that he and the two Mosleys had agreed with one Samuel Scholefield, one of the Unionists, to perpetrate the deed, for which they were to receive 10*l.*, supplied from the funds of the Unions. William Mosley, the accomplice: I am the brother of Joseph Mosley, one of the prisoners at the bar. Garside and Joseph told me that they had agreed with those men that they were to shoot one of the Mr. Ashtons. I asked what for? and they said because of the turn-out Unions. I asked what they were to have for it? and they said 10*l.* They asked me to meet them for that purpose the next day; I at first refused, but was persuaded to consent. On the Monday, about four o'clock, I set out from Romily to go to the Gravel-pits, where I found them. They had each a loaded pistol—one large, like a horse-pistol, and the other a small one. Garside had the large pistol. They sat down at the back of the ditch, waiting for Mr. Ashton. Shortly afterwards some one came along the foot-path towards the mill; Garside got up, pointed the piece towards the man, and fired. When the shot was fired we all ran away. I asked Garside if the man was dead. He said, "Yes, dead enough. He never stirred after." They appointed for me to meet them the next day at the Bull's-head at Marple. We did meet at the Bull's-head, and the man named James Scholefield, or Stanfield, was there. He said he had settled with the other two, and he would settle with me. He then pulled out three sovereigns. I would take only two, saying, I would be content. They signed a book, and I put my mark to it. I cannot read. We then all went down on our knees, and, holding a knife one over the other, said one after another, "We wished God might strike us dead if we ever told." The man who paid the money did it first, and then Garside. The cross-examination of this witness was continued at very great length, but the Learned Counsel did not succeed in materially shaking the most important part of his testimony. A great number of other witnesses were examined, who gave a variety of circumstantial evidence tending to fix the imputed crime upon the prisoners. The prisoner Garside, when called upon for his defence, said that he had been told by Dr. Forrester that he would obtain a pardon if he would give in-

formation by which his accomplices might be discovered, which he accordingly did. The prisoner Joseph Mosley put in a written defence, denying any participation in or knowledge of the crime; and charging many crimes and felonies both upon his brother William and the prisoner Garside, the latter of whom, he said, would not hesitate to swear away any man's life for drink. The Jury found that Garside was the actual murderer; and returned a general verdict of *Guilty* against both the prisoners, who instantly fainted in the dock. Several females in the court also sobbed aloud. Mr. Baron Parke passed sentence of death on the prisoners.

This day is published, 1*s.* stitched, or 1*s.* 6*d.* bds. by B.D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn.

THE WORDS OF A BELIEVER, by the **ABBÉ DE LA MENNAIS**, translated into English by a Lady. This extraordinary production has caused considerable excitement over the whole Continent. It has been condemned, and its Author anathematized by the Pope, although the Abbé was formerly the right-hand man of his Holiness; it has also been proscribed in Germany as tending to inflame the religious world, and make them discontented with present things. It is a book which is calculated to give satisfaction to all parties, teaching the doctrines of a new and more equitable state of society, and a perfect toleration of opinion; whilst, at the same time, it abides by the original and fundamental principles and precepts of the Christian religion.

The following are extracts from the *Times* and *Morning Post*:

"The famous Abbé de la Mennais, though but just pardoned by the holy see, has relapsed! And what a relapse! The *Paroles d'un Croquant* have doubtless already crossed the channel, and you will have perused this singular work. It is a new book of the prophets, a kind of *Alcoran*, divided into chapters and verses. It is a book written in the Apocalyptic style, and would seem to have arrived from old Jerusalem, and to have been inspired on the banks of Jordan. In the same malediction the Abbé de la Mennais confounds supreme pontiffs, kings, preachers, and warriors, all powers, and privileges, and all social order. There is only, he contends, one legitimate sovereign, and that sovereign is "Christ." Christ alone is great, and la Mennais is his prophet! Under the reign of Christ the earth will be covered with flowers, and the little children will constantly bring nosegays to their mothers. This is a favourite image of this prophet, since he frequently adopts it.

"There is no doubt such a work as this has its ridiculous side; but we must not on that account treat it altogether without weight. It is admirably written, and on weak and ignorant minds, and youthful imaginations, it can hardly fail to exercise a baneful influence. It will assuredly produce fanatics, and the Abbé de la Mennais will then have his sectarians. This book puts weapons into the hands of the factions of every denomination. It is a fireship launched into the midst of the moral world. I regard its publication as an event. Its editions multiply, and certainly it will be considered in the light of a gospel. The Abbé de la Mennais flatters the lower classes with as much address as perfidy; and his words are calculated to excite that envy which sleeps, but which never ceases to exist in the breasts of those who suffer, when they come in contact with those who enjoy. This work, of which it grieves me to have to speak, will be spread over the whole of Europe. There is no doubt but its appearance will provoke the indignation of the church of Rome, and that its thunders will be aimed at the head of this sacrilegious preacher. But it seems he has made up his mind to this, and that persecution would be congenial

to his taste, for persecution elevates and glorifies innovators."—*Times*, June 11.

"I have formerly taken occasion to remark the little apparent intolerance of the greater portion of the Belgian priesthood in matters of politics. Every day's experience strengthens that impression; and it has become more decidedly confirmed since the publication of the late work of the Abbé de la Mennais, *Les Paroles d'un Croquant*, which has gone through several editions, both in French and Flemish, and the wild and heterodox doctrines of which find many partisans, if I am not greatly misinformed, among the younger portions of the clergy, and even among the bishops themselves, in spite of the Papal denunciations. The demoralising bombast of that very curious book contains much and most dangerous excitement for the 4,000 or 5,000 wretchedly paid priests, whose average incomes do not probably exceed 30*l.* a-year. I have heard it openly asserted as the opinion of some, that the truths of the work were indisputable, and that its only fault was its appearance twenty years too soon."—*Times*, Aug. 5; *Foreign Correspondent*.

"The Abbé de la Mennais has roused the thunder of the Vatican by his *Paroles d'un Croquant*. The pope has addressed an evangelical letter to all the prelates of the Catholic world, in which the Abbé is compared with John Huss and Wickliffe, and his holiness says "We damn for ever this book of small size but huge depravity."—*Morning Post*.

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THE CRISIS,

AND

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADES' UNION GAZETTE.

"THE CHARACTER OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS FORMED FOR, AND NOT BY, THE INDIVIDUAL."—Owen.

No. 20, VOL. IV.]

SATURDAY, AUGUST 23, 1834.

[Price 1¹/₄d.]

OFFICIAL DOCUMENT.

To the Unions of Great-Britain and Ireland.

London, 20th August, 1834.

THE Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland having experienced much more opposition from the employers of industry, and from the wealthy portion of the public, as well as from the government, than its promoters anticipated, deemed it prudent to call an especial meeting of delegates from all parts of England, to consider what would be the wisest course to adopt to save honest industry from the most injurious and unjust oppression, and to put an end to the unnatural feelings of hatred and hostility which have arisen through the ignorance alone of both parties, between masters and operatives from one end of the kingdom to the other. In consequence, delegates came from all the principal towns and districts in the country, and assembled in council in the Burton Rooms, Burton-street, Burton-crescent, in the metropolis, and commenced their business the first Monday of the present month, and continued their sittings day by day, and concluded their proceedings yesterday.

Each delegate, on presenting his credentials, and instructions from his constituents, stated to the council that he was desired to represent not his own particular trade, as was usual on all former general meetings of the Trades' Union, but to endeavour to dive to first principles, and to ascertain what measures in the present state of men's minds could be adopted without open violence, personal injury, or fraud to any parties, that would insure a just and equitable remuneration for labour, and at the same time secure the means for the whole industry of the country, including Ireland, being at all times fully occupied and beneficially directed; and great was the surprise of the meeting when it was ascertained that, although in somewhat varied language, the spirit of the instructions of each delegate was the same; and in this spirit of union they commenced their important task.

Among other conclusions, which, with the reasons for them, will be hereafter given to the public; they came to the following:

1. That the name of the Union should be changed, from that of the "Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland," to that of the "British and Foreign Consolidated Association of Industry, Humanity, and Knowledge."

2. That the interests and objects of the producers of wealth and of all the industrious ought to be the same, and that if the subjects

bearing on this conclusion were fairly and fully developed, it would be demonstrated that the employers and employed have precisely the same interest.

3. That, to relieve industry from the inhumanity and injustice by which it is, at this time, in this country, more oppressed, owing to a combination of the most extraordinary new circumstances, than it has ever been at any former period; it becomes most desirable that all the various orders of industry should now unite and form one Consolidated Union, that they may at once, by that Union, emancipate the most valuable labour and the most useful knowledge from the destitution and degradation which they now suffer.

4. That measures shall be adopted with the least delay to create a friendly intercourse and a good understanding between the owners and cultivators of the soil, manufacturers and artisans of every description, that all of them may discover the interest which they have in becoming members of the GREAT UNION, that is, of the "British and Foreign Consolidated Association of Industry, Humanity, and Knowledge."

5. That effective measures be adopted by the directing officers of the Association to reconcile the masters and operatives over England, Ireland, and Scotland.

6. That, to the greatest extent practicable, the principle of individual competition shall be abandoned, and the principle of union or mutual assistance shall be substituted.

7. That the business of the Association shall be directed under one mind, to insure unity of design and promptness of execution; but that the person exercising this high trust, and his immediate official assistants, shall be at all times responsible to the Great Metropolitan Council of the Association.

8. That all secrecy be abandoned, that the laws and initiatory ceremony be amended, simplified, and made in accordance with the laws of the land.

9. That a full and free communication be made with the government, and that a charter be applied for, to enable the Association to diminish pauperism, and ultimately to remove it from this and all other countries.

10. That, as a pledge of the sincerity of the parties uniting, who, at the same time, hold very varied religious and political opinions, the Council, by acclamation and with one voice, called upon Robert Owen, their Chairman, to accept the chief office, under the title of 'Grand Master of the Order;' who accepted it upon condition that his election should be confirmed by a majority of the lodges; that the debts of the late

Executive should be honourably discharged; that funds should be provided to pay the current expenses of the new proposed government; that no debt whatever should be incurred; and that he should not receive any remuneration for his own services.

By order of the Delegates Council,
W. R. WOOD, Sec.

MONEY.

CASH, or money, was defined to be the current coin of the country, and to form capital or property. In that definition, paper currency was not included, as forming money or capital.

Paper currency may be defined to be a circulating medium, in which capital or property is assigned to the bearer of the note or bill, either on its being presented, or at some specified period.

The great objection to paper currency hitherto, has been on account of its being issued by banks or companies, on whom were on restriction, with regard to the extent of their issues.

Many of these companies, therefore, issued more paper than they had capital to answer for; and when the notes were returned, they could not exchange them; by which the holders of the notes suffered loss.

But another great objection to paper currency is, that banks do not keep a regular and equal quantity in circulation; they frequently withdraw their issues, which is the cause of fluctuations of price, and of much misery to speculators and merchants.

Paper money is a convenience, as it serves for the medium of exchange, and facilitates the means of commerce; and could its circulation be secured against forgery, and the public be secured against loss or failure on the part of the issuers; and at the same time the issues continued always nearly of the same amount, then perhaps a paper currency might be beneficial; and the following scheme it is supposed would combine these advantages.

Permit every land-owner to issue as many notes, which may be called assignats, as is equal in value to eighteen months' rent of his property: each of these assignats to be stamped on the back with a government stamp, as security for its not being forged, and indicative of its value. On the face, it ought to bear a plan of the estate over which it is secured, with the amount of the whole sum to be issued, or one and a half year's rent. These government stamps might be made so as almost to preclude the possibility of forgery; the cost of the original plate might be such as to put it out of the power of ordinary individuals to imitate it.

These assignats being secured over property, valuable and durable as the earth itself, there could be no reason why they should not be extensively circulated; or should suffer depreciation. They might be made payable in gold or silver once in every twelve months, a few days after rent-day; but if not called for at that period they should not be exchangeable till the following year at the same period.

It is obvious, that a proprietor having these assignats, would issue them for whatever he purchased; they would be returned to him in rents, or for the raw produce of the soil; and if he continued to issue more than the amount of his rents for one year, they might be presented to him for change at the day fixed for that purpose: but as there could be no doubt as to their value, that would not likely take place, because gold itself could not be less liable to depreciation, and would not be so convenient for the purposes of commerce. It is evident, however, that he could not issue more yearly than his rents brought back to him, or he would get into debt.

These assignats would be always a burden on the estate when sold: the number issued would be known, and so much kept off the value on that account; and those unissued would be paid over to the purchaser.

By this method of issuing paper money, no depreciation of value could ever take place, nor any loss to the holders: neither could there be unlimited issues. If the assignats could not be exchanged when demanded, the estate could be immediately attached. But if the landowner possessed prudence, he would issue few more than the amount of his rents, and then the assignats would all be returned into his own hand at the rent day, when they became exchangeable.

Banking companies might still exist, but they should be compelled to issue all their notes with the same landed security for their payment as the issuers of assignats, and their issues restricted to eighteen months' rent of the property. Proprietors might, however, be allowed to issue to the extent of two years' rent, if it could be shown to be advantageous to the country.—MILNE.

The Crisis.

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 23.

THE great crisis of human nature will be this week passed. The system under which man has hitherto lived dies a natural death, and another assumes its place. The accursed system of the old world of ignorance, of poverty, of oppression, of fear, of crime, and of misery, this week, this memorable week in the annals of man's history, dies for ever. The delegates of the British and Foreign Association of Industry and Knowledge, called especially from all parts of the kingdom to their great council, held, during the last sixteen days in the metropolis of the most civilized nation of the earth, to consider in what manner the AWFUL CRISIS in which industry and knowledge were involved, should terminate, have, by their wisdom and firmness, now declared unanimously to all people, that the change from this Pandemonium of wickedness and lies shall not be by violence or by fraud, nor yet by any of the arts or weapons of the expiring old world; but that it shall be through a great moral revolution of the human mind, directed solely by truth, by charity, and by kindness.

Such are the decrees of this first council of the "British and Foreign Association of Industry and Knowledge;" and these decrees have, ere this, gone forth with the power of truth and simplicity into all parts of the kingdom, by the return of the delegates to their respective constituents, to communicate them to their several grand, district, branch, and auxiliary lodges. Men of all nations and colours, rejoice with us in this GREAT EVENT, for the certain deliverance from all human wickedness and folly is near at hand! Regret not that this *Crisis* now expires, for it dies at its appointed period, to be succeeded by the "*New Moral World*," in which truth, industry, and knowledge will for ever reign triumphant. For TRUTH is alone VIRTUE and RELIGION.

The "*New Moral World*" rises now into existence on the downfall of the old world, in which falsehood, idleness, and ignorance, united with mystery, have, at all times, in all nations, been the great ruling power to destroy the happiness of mankind.

The *Crisis* paper was established by me to develop the errors of the system under which all the transactions of mankind have been conducted, to the prejudice of every government, and of every class, sect, and party, whether religious, political, or commercial, which they governed, and to destroy the system.

The *Crisis* has succeeded in effecting these objects; for the industrious classes, by their representatives in full council assembled, have now decided that this wretched system shall be no longer their system; and what the industrious classes have in wisdom willed, and shall support in moderation, but with firm perseverance, must be the law of the land.

Having some time seen that the great object for which the *Crisis* was established was secured by the change of public opinion, which it had effected among the thinking and best-disposed of the productive classes, and having my attention occupied with other matters of great public interest, connected with the change of the system, I was under the necessity of giving up the direction of this paper to others, and thus, latterly, the *Crisis* has become a compound paper, containing heterogeneous opinions, some in unison with, and others opposed to, my principles; the parties conducting it thereby thinking to increase its sale; but it appears that many of the friends of the new Social System, in consequence of this change, withdrew their support from it.

The lovers of "truth without mystery, mixture of error, or fear of man," desire a paper that shall unmythify all that is necessary to be known to form a superior individual and national character, and a superior permanent state of society, under a system which will be consistent in all its principles and all its practices; and as the old world is full of inconsistencies in both, the "*New Moral World*" will supersede the *Crisis*, as was originally intended, as soon as the period of time required to advance from the old to the new world should be passed.

As soon, therefore, as the arrangements can be completed, the "*New Moral World*" shall appear, to take the place of the *Crisis*. The "*Shepherd*," as appears by its announcement, will be a paper unconnected with the "Social System;" while the "*New Moral World*" is intended to be a paper in which one sentence shall not be in opposition to another. The fundamental principles upon which the "*New Moral World*" will be based, being laws of

nature, form a moral science, which, like physical science, is at once destroyed by the admission of contradictions or inconsistencies.

The friends of the New System may therefore speedily expect a paper in which the whole of the "*New Moral World*" will be displayed and explained. ROBERT OWEN.

THE above is written by Mr. Owen, and intended as his parting address in the *Crisis*. We should, out of pure respect, have published it without any remarks, had it not contained some unkind allusions to ourselves, and some false statements, which oblige us to say a few words in our own defence. We are very glad to hear that the object for which the *Crisis* was originally published is gained, and that the prospect which now presents itself before our worthy friend is so cheering; but it would have been much more agreeable to our feelings, and much more conciliatory on his part, had we been told so without any of those unpleasant allusions to the conduct of the paper, which sow the seeds of hostility in the very last number of that publication, which was originally intended to promote goodwill: so far, at least, the object of the *Crisis* has failed.

But when we are told that the circulation of the *Crisis* has diminished on account of the introduction of heterogeneous matter, sometimes in unison with, and sometimes opposed to, his views, we are told what is directly false in fact, and full of mystery withal. The *Crisis* never was better than it has been in our hands. It came to us a lean and haggard-looking starveling, and we reared it to manhood and respectability. When it came into Mr. Cousins's office, the circulation was about 1250. It had previously been conducted by Mr. Owen and his son; but it was dying so rapidly that Robert Dale Owen made a present of it to Mr. Cousins, who has the written document to show that it actually is his property. At its first appearance, in 1832, great things were expected from it, because great things were promised, and the friends of the system were advised to give it as wide a circulation as possible; consequently, some of the most zealous and wealthy purchased ten, twenty, and, in one or two cases, a hundred copies, to distribute gratuitously. On this account it made its *début* under very prosperous circumstances. But this was merely an illusion, and the readers, or subscribers, formed but a small fraction of the number of copies printed. The zeal, however, of these wholesale dealers speedily cooled, and the sale of the work was a regular descent from the first week downwards to the time that Mr. Cousins began to publish, and Mr. Smith's lectures began to be introduced. Mr. Smith and Mr. Cousins began together; and since that time it has had a regular ascent until the

failure of the Exchange and the late disorganization of the Unions; which latter circumstance has diminished the circulation of every paper which advocated their principles; and now the *Crisis* is left by us in better condition than we found it; the plain inference from which is this, that its success has been greater under the present management than ever it was under the former.

Mr. Owen was told by Mr. Cousins more than a month ago that he meant to discontinue the *Crisis*; and Mr. Smith desired him to take it into his own hands, for he did not want to continue the editorship. He has had sufficient warning of the cessation of the work, and sufficient time and opportunity to establish a successor. No clandestine behaviour has been used on the part either of editor or publisher; yet one "Friendly Reader of the *Crisis*," in the true style of assumed charity, writes to Mr. Owen, in a letter which was publicly read by him on Sunday evening, without any expression of disapprobation, as follows, "*I hope I am not uncharitable, but really I cannot help suspecting that the real cause for discontinuing the *Crisis* has not been stated.*" This is a charitable way of telling a man that he is a liar, or suspected as such; but as the gentleman cannot help it, it is needless for us to rebuke him. This disciple of charity also asks if we object to the *Crisis* being conducted by any other parties, for he thinks if conducted by proper hands it would prosper: we have no objection to make him a present of it.

We are very glad to find that Mr. Owen intends to bring forth a successor to the *Crisis*, but we do not admire altogether the manner in which the announcement is made. There is room for all in the world; as Uncle Toby said, when he let the fly out at the window, "Go, little straggler, this world is big enough for thee and for me." Then, why announce to the readers of the *Crisis* that the *Shepherd* is to have no connexion with the Social System? Why, it will treat of nothing else! it will treat theoretically and practically of all subjects which concern the social intercourse of man; and if it should not be a paper in which "*not one sentence shall contradict another*," it will be all the better for that, inasmuch as it will give a faithful view of both sides of the question.

We have now done with the disagreeable subject, and we leave it with a light heart and a clear conscience. If we have offended, we feel convinced that we have not wronged any one; and if we have occasionally introduced matter not in unison with Mr. Owen's opinions, we did it by the right which his own creed has accorded to every one, of thinking for himself and declaring his sentiments; for

truth is only to be found out or illustrated (when found) by the collision of contrary theories. The *Crisis* was always open to Mr. Owen; there never was an article of his rejected; it was always sent up for insertion immediately, even without the editor's perusal, and consequently he had an opportunity of disavowing or refuting whatever displeased him.

"*The Shepherd*" is not intended (as suspected) to supersede the *Crisis*, but to be an independent paper, conducted by the Rev. J. E. Smith, and others. There is no rival feeling entertained by the one party, and the other party will always find the pages of "*The Shepherd*" open to the defence of its own, or the refutation of other doctrine. If some of the disciples of Mr. Owen, therefore, are really as charitable as they profess to be, let them exercise this charity, and give us credit for as good motives as they themselves are influenced by, (*for they are sure to take credit to themselves for good intentions.*) But there are a number of discontents amongst them, whose charity, like the piety of the priests and their disciples, is all upon their lips, and who have very little reason to charge the religious world with hypocrisy. *Time will cure them*, if not in life, in death at least, when the tongue of strife shall be silenced for ever.

The little quibbles with Mr. Owen are not to be understood as personal; we entertain the kindest feelings towards him. We have always received the greatest personal kindness from him, and hope to preserve the mutual friendship to the last. The petty riots which we have sometimes kicked up, have arisen wholly from the liberty we have taken of thinking for ourselves; and we much doubt if Mr. Owen could find another editor who thinks for himself, and preserves a more respectful and friendly deportment towards him.

EXTRACT FROM "AN ADDRESS TO THE NOBILITY & LANDOWNERS."

The history of the world affords no parallel to the situation in which we are at present placed—fraught with so much mischief, and yet containing, within ourselves, every element of happiness and prosperity; but, unfortunately, we are like a vessel richly laden with gems, wherein the passengers from providence and want of forethought, and proper provisions, are driven by necessity to feed upon each other. I repeat again and again, that it is my firm opinion we can be relieved only by a reduction of interest, or an equitable adjustment, similar to what Mr. Locke would have recommended were he in existence, together with an extended circulating medium.

Machinery has in many cases superseded manual labour, and increased the evils of which we complain. By the power of steam have arisen amongst us a new order of men, that bid fair to outvie the olden lords of the land. A great capitalist can now, by means thereof, with but few hands, produce more mercantile commodities than formerly gave employment

to thousands: does not this increase the complaint, by throwing numbers of workmen out of employment, without any proper protecting power to yield them succour or relief? Had legislation kept pace with the inventions of man in arts and sciences, instead of proving a curse, they would have proved a blessing. The property used in machinery, or the engines themselves, should be rated in common with houses and lands, to support the poor; were that the case, the land would be relieved of some part of its insuperable burden. As it stands at present the reverse is the case. The capitalist, under present circumstances, appears almost regardless of man, and seeks for the aid of machinery with much more earnestness than one is generally inclined to believe, and too frequently builds his prosperity upon the wreck of manual labour, without contributing his quota to the exigencies of the state. He stalks through the land unblest and unblest—a splendid example of how man may become, by the unchecked indulgence of self-aggrandizement, totally unworthy of the name—for, while the poor creatures are mercilessly turned adrift without employment—he, a *mis-anthrope in a multitude*, is loling on his sofa, or driving in his carriage, regardless of the wants of those who, but a few years since, were the generators of the wealth by which they are undone.

Although, from the unequal manner in which property is distributed and taxed, no permanent or extensive relief can be afforded but by legislative enactment, yet much of the misery deplored and complained of may be disarmed of its poignancy by a proper attention, on your parts, to the moral duties of your station. To point out to you how those benefits may be best administered, is the object of my present address to you; therefore, after I shall have noticed several schemes that have been formed, and companies instituted, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the labouring classes, I intend to proceed to set before you an example of what has been done, by one philanthropic individual—an example that deserves to be followed by every nobleman and great landed proprietor in the empire.

If the misery and wretchedness, pervading the industrious poor, of which I complain, were not apparent to the most opaque vision, the numberless meetings that have been advertised and held would demonstrate the fact, that the labouring husbandmen and mechanics, from your supineness, and lukewarmness to your own interest, together with the causes heretofore enumerated, are suffering in the midst of plenty; while the proud imperious lord of machinery, Jew-jobber, contractor, placeman, sinecurist, &c., are preying like vultures upon your property, and the produce of their labour.

At the head of the "Labourer's Friend Society," are their Majesties as patrons. "The design of this society is to print in a cheap form, and distribute, communications of facts, on the advantages of small farms, and the important benefits which have been and may still be derived by labourers, from possessing small portions of land, as well as to the country, and the landowner, by the small amount of poor-rates in places where such holdings have been granted, or continued to the labouring population."

At the head of another association, "The

Agriculturist Employment Institution," we find the Marquises of Bristol and Douro, Lords Shrewsbury and Oxford, the Lord Mayor, &c. &c.—all subscribing to the following incontrovertible facts: "The distress that has overspread all parts of the kingdom for a considerable time, and the consequent increase of wretchedness and crime, are apparent to every individual." Thousands of our fellow-creatures, from want of employment, are suffering the most severe privations, without the hope of amelioration: and many, to satisfy the cravings of nature, are unhappily driven to violate the laws of their country, and become outcasts or the miserable inmates of a prison: had they been trained to habits of industry, or not deprived of the means of employing themselves in useful labour, in all probability they would have become valuable members of society. "In a well-governed and well-regulated community, nothing is more true or consistent with justice than that an industrious man should be enabled to support himself and family by his labour." This society proposes to find a remedy for this evil, "by obtaining waste and other land by gift, grant, lease, or purchase; to divide the same into small portions, and by letting it to the poor, bring the same into a state of profitable cultivation, to enable them to train up to habits of industry and honesty their children, and thus in a great degree relieve parishes from the dreadful burdens of the existing heavy poor-rates, and to diffuse the blessings of contentment and happiness unknown among the poorer classes of this country for many years past." From an estimate laid before parliament, it appears that "above 15,000,000 of acres are now lying waste and uncultivated, yet capable of cultivation; and also that there are millions of acres in the United Kingdom which produce very little, from the want of cultivation, but which, by judicious managements, might be rendered abundantly productive." What a lesson is here read to parliament and to our hereditary legislators, the principal proprietors of the soil; and to our absentee landed proprietors, who are spending the little that their half-cultivated estates afford them, in foreign countries? This is no party question, it is a matter of general interest and import. Why so vehemently encourage expatriation and emigration to unknown climates and wild uncultivated deserts? It is a well-ascertained fact, that the propelling power in all improvement is capital:—while the grass grows the steed starves—and every one who may have paid any attention to the subject, or watched the movements of society, knows that the country suffers a great loss of wealth and intelligence in every one who voluntarily thus expatriates himself; then why not adopt some system that shall direct the capital, industry, and intelligence, thus disgracefully transported, to our own native fields? Would to God, the wiseacres who dwell in our Isle of Laputa could be made to hear without state flappers, and induced to descend from their lofty, elevated land, to visit their poorer relatives below, in their education and juvenile pursuits, residing as they do in a sphere beyond the reach of vulgar breath. I am fearful, few of them are aware of the truth, that while they are enjoying the delicious fruits drawn from distant regions by the magnetic power of their gold, that, really and truly, the island upon which they thus voluptuarize is a nuisance to all but themselves, for it overshadows and prevents the benignant rays of heaven from cheering and fructifying

the rich uncultivated fields below. In plain words—would but our capitalists condescend to visit the fields of their ancestors, and devote that capital which is now spent in foreign extravagances, to the encouragement of useful industry, they would soon find a blessed return for their consideration of the distresses of the poor, in the sincere, heart-rejoicing benedictions of the happy labourer; while their wide-spreading domains would glad their hearts, loads of autumnal produce would fill their coffers with riches. Even the niggardly, soul-less miser, who, with his idols and ingots in his bureau, contents himself with a trifling interest, in order that he may enjoy his sacred worship undisturbedly, might, by devoting it to the purposes of home colonization, reap a rich and secure harvest for his loan; while he would also enjoy the conscious blessing of knowing that the board he had amassed had given bread and comfort to thousands.

When there is confessedly such an abundance of real wealth in the nation, why should not government give a direction to it, that may render it serviceable to the community? Money is like manure—in heaps, a nuisance; but dispersed in proper fields and districts, it fructifies the earth, and gives happiness to mankind: and what is so delightful to a benevolent heart as the sight of a happy and cheerful cottager? Let any one but take a look in the suburbs of this great metropolis, and view the many neat alms-houses, supported by beneficent bequests of some Christian philanthropist; and let him, while he views the happy inmate, whose fate it may have been to be shocked by the hard blows of fortune, seated in comfort and cleanliness; I say, while he views him thus, let him ask himself in what real happiness consists: his own bosom, the god within the heart, will reply—it is in the lowly cottage that the goddess dwells, with her handmaid, Industry, and her playmate, Health. But I have digressed too far; my intention was simply to impress upon the attention of our capitalists and governors, that we do wrong in encouraging foreign colonization, that only disappoints the hope of those who embark, and only expatriates the man of worth and integrity: while we have thousands of unemployed poor at home, who are driven to such distress, that I boldly assert, without fear of contradiction, they would gladly commit a petty offence, in order to be sent out of the country, were it not for the disgrace attending conviction and a common jail: and, further still, I will venture to declare, that even in the lowest state of human degradation, in nine instances out of ten, a man would rather work than thief. Then, under such circumstances, I again ask, is it not a dreadful reflection that these poor creatures are thus driven to desperation, while the nation abounds with unemployed wealth, and we have 15,000,000 of acres of good and productive land lying waste?

The Association above alluded to, propose to remedy this evil; and exhibit an extract from the progress of the Dutch Poor-Colony at Fredericksdorp—the plan of which they propose to follow; and which colony has been remarkably well conducted, and attended with singular and decided success. It was established in 1818, when twenty thousand persons engaged to contribute one penny per week each, and thence was produced an annual rental of 5,833*l.*, which was expended in the purchase of one thousand acres of waste land, and the erection of cottages, wherein to locate objects of charity.

ALIMENT.

Vegetable aliment, as neither distending the vessels, nor loading the system, never interrupts the stronger action of the mind; while the heat, fullness, and weight of animal food is adverse to its vigorous efforts.—*Cullen.*

You ask me for what reason Pythagoras abstained from eating the flesh of brutes? for my part, I am astonished to think what appetite first induced man to taste of a dead carcase; or what motive could suggest the notion of nourishing himself with the loathsome flesh of dead animals.—*Plutarch.*

Nothing can be more shocking or horrid than one of our kitchens sprinkled with blood, and abounding with the cries of creatures expiring, or with the limbs of dead animals scattered or hung up here and there. It gives one the image of a giant's den in romance, bestrewn with the scattered heads and mangled limbs of those who had been slain by his cruelty.—*Pope.*

Anthrophophagi, or feeders on human flesh, have existed in all ages, and still exist in Africa and the South Sea Islands. Diogenes asserted, that we might as well eat the flesh of men as the flesh of other animals. The Greeks inform us it was a primitive and universal custom. Some of their gods lived on human flesh, and the Cyclops did the same. Aristotle and Herodotus name various nations who preferred human flesh to that of animals. The Greeks, and several African nations, have the same preference; and we all remember the practices at Owyhee, New Zealand, &c. &c. Human flesh has the flavour of hog's-flesh, and the tenderness of the flesh of calves.—*Million Facts.*

THE COLONIES.—Nothing can be more unpromising than the colonial interests of England. Nature appears to work against a colonial system, and to plead for the independence of distant countries. The East India Company are in debt several millions, with impracticable assets. The West India proprietors are beggared by over-production in new colonies, by current expenses and mortgages, and by the wearing out or exhaustion of land by carrying away the crops. Such property was treated as perpetuity, and millions invested in it; but it appears that exhaustion takes place in fifteen, twenty, or thirty years; and the crops do not afterwards sustain even the expenses. Nature produces and reproduces from the same elements, but if these are carried away, exhaustion renders reproduction impossible. Consumption on the spot assures some return of manure, but consumption at 6000 miles distance affords no returns beneficial to the soil. This then is the limit of colonial wealth and production. Egypt has poured out its grain for 5000 years, but the Nile works a miracle in renewing the soil.

LECTURES, &c.

At the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street.
Mr. Owen, Sunday morning, at half-past seven, and Sunday evening, at seven o'clock.

The 61st Social Festival of the Association of the Industrious Classes will be held at the Institution, 14, Charlotte-street, on Monday, Aug. 22.

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